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**After the Asylum: place, value and heritage in the redevelopment of
historic former asylums**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Stigma has been seen as a barrier to the adaptation and reuse of buildings and for historic former asylums, the fear of the “madhouse” has been argued to have transferred to the buildings themselves. They are buildings which are both socially and historically challenging. However, as these sites have closed and have begun to be converted into residential accommodation, the negative perceptions of the asylum appear to have eased, to be replaced by an appreciation of their built form through their architectural and heritage features. Research into the reuse of historic former asylum sites is limited, as is research exploring the subjective or emotional influences on property development decisions. This research addressed this gap by investigating the phenomenon of reuse of historic former asylums. It did so through the examination of the intersecting factors involved in that process; the perceptions of the stakeholders in respect of place attachments, stigmas, and values ascribed to the sites. It also investigated the perceptions that stakeholders had of themselves, each other and the re-development process.

Three historic former asylums in the North of England were identified to provide context to this research: St Mary’s in Stannington, Northumberland, St George’s in Morpeth, Northumberland and Lancaster Moor Hospital in Lancaster. Within the context of each of these sites, interviews were carried out with the different stakeholder groups involved in the redevelopment of these sites. These stakeholders were planners, developers, heritage bodies, former staff members and the owners of the sites. The public was also surveyed in Morpeth and Lancaster through questionnaires, as were new residents of converted former asylum sites. Through the analysis from this data collection, it was found that an acceptable level of stigma surrounding these sites persisted; any stigma that remained did not prevent the reuse and redevelopments from taking place. The buildings were viewed as heritage buildings but predominantly from an age or aesthetical value perspective rather than being valued for their specific history. However, this history was not simply forgotten or erased, it was often incorporated or used in subtle ways within the developments, the level to which depended on the individual developer and site concerned.

This research brought together two areas of research in the built environment which are not often combined: heritage and real estate. The examination of the reuse of historic former asylum sites showed more fully the valorisation process of a historic

building through the redevelopment and reuse process. In doing so, it highlighted that the reuse and redevelopment process of historic former asylum sites was a complex one. The valorisation of the sites through their age and aesthetics was connected to their perceived economic value which enabled the sites to be converted by developers; as the sites become reappraised as heritage and therefore valued as such, this consequently created a perception of economic value and therefore a demand for the properties.

This research project also highlighted that as well as a perception of value, people were attached to these sites, including some of the professional stakeholders involved in the development process. Former staff members were strongly attached due to the length of time they had spent working and living on the sites. Some of the development professionals also expressed attachment or a sense of responsibility for sites that they worked on. This was an unexpected finding as they only worked on the sites for a relatively short time and were seen by themselves, as professionals, to be objective in their working lives. This revealed an interesting juxtaposition in that the professionals felt that they were objective experts in the process, unhindered by the emotions those non-development stakeholders were thought to feel. In fact, many of those non-development stakeholders held pragmatic views about the need for something to happen with the empty sites, something not anticipated by the development stakeholders.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Asylums, as functioning institutions are often depicted as feared places, places that segregated the mentally ill from normal society. They are usually presented in the media as ghostly places of terror, of horror, of scandal as places of nightmares. And yet as they have closed, become empty and have started to be reused, the negative perceptions appeared to have eased. These previous perceptions have been replaced by an appreciation for their architectural qualities (Franklin, 2002) and they are now being turned into luxury apartments. Something has changed from the idea of the asylums as a place of cure, to them being considered as places of fear and scandal to subsequently being considered as luxury residential properties.

This thesis and the research project underpinning it explored the redevelopment and reuse of historic former asylum buildings. In doing so, it examined issues of place stigma, place attachment, valorisation, (used in the thesis to mean the adding of, or attributing of value), and the perceptions of the stakeholders involved in the redevelopment and reuse processes. It did so to explore the reuse of historic buildings focussing on a building type that was large and therefore complicated and costly to reuse and redevelop but also one that possessed a difficult or challenging past. The combinations of this past history, their size and their historic nature made them an ideal building to explore the complexities of historic building reuse, something underexplored within academic and professional built environment literature.

As Guy and Henneberry (2002:4) argued, “urban development is a complex process which entails the orchestration of finance, materials, labour and expertise by many actors within a wider, social, economic and political environment”. The development and reuse of property is therefore a series of complicated processes and negotiations between stakeholders and for historic buildings this is often more so due to the additional tensions in the process between stakeholders (Deloitte, 2013). This research examined the phenomenon of what to do with redundant historic buildings and how new uses arise for them. It looked at historic former asylums as large, former institutional and stigmatised buildings, built originally in remote locations which closed in large numbers in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Historic former asylums were chosen as the focus for this thesis for several reasons. They were buildings which held particular connotations associated with their former use and this use or past history has been considered to be a barrier to their reuse (Kucik, 2014, Moons *et al.* 2015). They were also buildings of considerable size and therefore present a specific challenge for their reuse: finding a use that is suitable and achievable, both in terms of the physical building but also financially. This research sought to examine the factors affecting the reuse of historic former asylums and to do so through the perceptions and views of those stakeholders involved, including the former staff who were connected to the previous use of the sites. These factors or perceptions affected how different stakeholders viewed these sites and therefore how, when and if these sites were redeveloped. These perceptions have changed to enable former asylums to go from being buildings and sites that were seen as having no future use to ones that are being converted, reused and redeveloped.

The study investigated the issues of stigma but also attachments to the sites, particularly for the former staff members as place attachment has been seen to increase the likelihood of “place-protective action” (Devine-Wright, 2009). It explored how the different groups of stakeholders attributed value to the sites and the perceptions of the different stakeholder groups towards the sites, the process of reuse and each other. This first chapter in the thesis provides the context of historic former asylums from their original construction through to their closure and subsequent reuse. It briefly outlines the three sites that were chosen as research sites for this project and provides an overview of the thesis as a whole.

1.1 Researcher positionality

My interest in whether, and consequently how, emotions and attachments affect supposedly objective real estate and built environment decisions began during my masters studies in real estate. For my dissertation I researched the effect of emotion, health and safety legislation and Victorian cemetery memorials to explore how emotions influenced property management decisions. Following completion of my masters degree, I worked in the commercial real estate sector for several years during which time I was involved in projects which included historic buildings and sites. It was during this time that I became particularly interested in the intersection between historic buildings and the commercial property industry, the tensions that

existed and different views from different stakeholders despite those stakeholders working on the same sections of the built environment. I decided to pursue these interests further and undertook a masters in research as a precursor to beginning my doctoral studies. During the masters in research degree I investigated the emotional aspects of the redevelopment of historic buildings exploring the demolition of part of a listed former maternity hospital.

The combination of my research experience at masters level and my professional experience as a surveyor inspired my desire to complete my doctorate looking further at the redevelopment of heritage or historic buildings. As a result of my previous academic and professional experience, I experienced how the property and heritage communities did not view each other as rational actors. Whilst they might not have agreed that either community was rational, they did both agree that those outside professional communities were not rational, those outside the professional communities were seen to be very emotional and driven by those emotions in respect of any heritage redevelopment. This provided the motivation and topic for this research as I wanted to examine further (as someone who felt in-between these two communities because of my research and professional interests) the different communities involved in heritage redevelopment, both professional and non-professional. The reasons for the specific choice of historic former asylums as the focus for this research has been outlined above and will be expanded on in the following sections.

This chapter now will provide the context and background history to former asylums as a building type, the reasons for which they were constructed, their time in use as functioning hospitals and their subsequent closure and reuse.

1.2 Context

Prior to the eighteenth century, there had been virtually no formal theory of insanity, nor any strategies for dealing with it (Mellett, 1982) and those who exhibited signs of madness were generally treated at home.

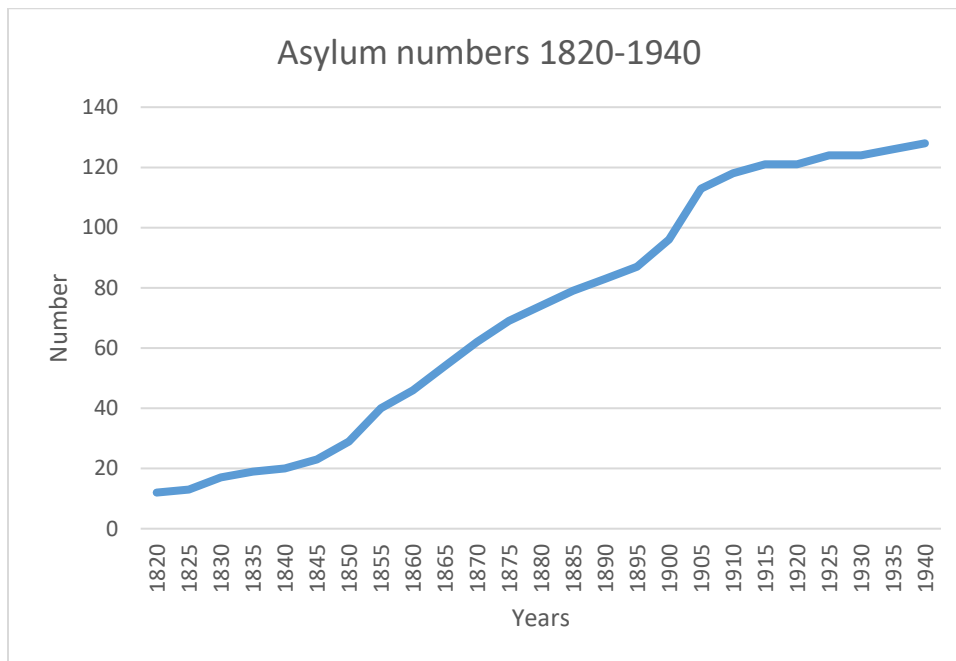


Figure 1.1: The rise in asylum numbers 1820-1940 (source data taken from Taylor, 1991. It should be noted that data on asylum opening is known for being unreliable in the early period of their existence as per Philo, 2004).

The data in Figure 1.1 shows a considerable rise in the number of asylums, particularly between the years 1845 and 1905. Following the County Asylums Acts of 1808 and 1845, each county was required to have its own asylum which was to be overseen by a committee of governors and financed through the county rate, a local levy (Jones, 1993). With this requirement to build asylums in every county a new building type appeared that had not previously existed and asylums continued to be built into the 20th Century. The Victorians, who started the mass building of public asylums, built large facilities for the mentally ill on the outskirts of towns and centres of population (Korman and Glennerster, 1990) and these institutions were meant to rehabilitate people, to cure them and return them to society (Mellett, 1982). The purpose of the asylum and its design or physical layout, together with other institutional buildings such as prisons, workhouses and schools, was intended to shape and change the behaviour of individuals through the environment of each institution (Driver, 1985; Royle, 2012).

Foucault argued that the confinement of people through the rise of the new institutions (workhouses, asylums, prisons) was motivated by the desire for moral reform of the population (Smart, 2004). Equally, he suggested that the establishment

of these new institutions for the regulation of people enabled a medical discourse to be created (Foucault, 1973) which viewed madness as an illness that could and should be cured. This change in attitudes towards madness as an illness necessitated the creation of new institutions, (asylums in this case) in which to house and cure those who were suffering from these illnesses. As Philo (2004:537) contended, the “primary special attribute of the public asylum [...] was regarded by contemporaries as more than just a knee-jerk response to an all-pervading quest for social order”. Philo (2004) citing Foucault, argued that the asylum increasingly became the space for society to remove people who they considered mad and in doing so, became increasingly medicalised in the way they were run and organised. This begins to demonstrate how the attitudes towards both the institutions and those within them changed over time. These changing attitudes resulted in new legislation (the Asylum Acts of 1808 and 1845) which enabled new building types (asylums), new ways of considering the “mad” (as ill and therefore treatable) and consequently new social attitudes towards these people and the institutions in which they were housed.

These changing attitudes towards people considered to be “mad” and “madness” itself, brought about an increasing medicalisation of both the illnesses and their treatment (Foucault, 1973). This medicalisation resulted in the growth of the institutions, and, combined with a rise in patient numbers, they consequently became more custodial and less curative (Markus, 1993). The rise in the number of patients led to the abandoning of the idea of the asylum as a place of cure and Butler (1993) suggested that this change in the view of asylums from a place of cure to a place of confinement for the mentally ill occurred generally within three decades of their creation. These large Victorian asylums became part of the “local landscape and mythology” (Korman and Glennerster, 1990:7) and a place of fear, the fear of incarceration. The architecture of new sites reflected this apprehension or isolation with the introduction of high walls and long drives (Jones, 1993) and the terror of the “madhouse” was transferred to the buildings and institutions themselves (Mellett, 1982). This was important for this study as Markus and Cameron (2002:42-3) have argued that “the connotations that attach to different terms and pervade whole bodies of discourse, were likely to affect people’s attitudes to and experiences of certain kinds of building”. They also suggested that “the effect of the language of classification is that it tends to resist both social change and design innovation since

category labels are strong and slow to change” (Markus and Cameron, 2002: 46). Firstly therefore, how people view particular buildings was likely to affect their attitudes towards that building type and secondly, the perceptions and classifications applied to those buildings persist through time.

As explored above, initially the idea of cure was important but became problematic with the rise in patient numbers. The cost of constructing these institutions was also something considered by the authorities charged with financing them. The Commissioners of Lunacy stated “while we have no wish to advocate the erection of unsightly buildings, we think that no unnecessary cost should be incurred for architectural decoration” (1844, cited in Jones, 1993:81). The state funded institutions were for the poor of society and as such, the issue of cost played an important part in their construction and ongoing maintenance. These were functional buildings with a specific purpose in mind; the curing of the “mad”. However, despite the Commissioners’ desire to keep the costs to a minimum when building the asylums, their architecture was seen by prominent asylum doctors to be of great importance to the cure of the patients:

Designed from the outset to facilitate “the comfort and cure of the inmates” and providing spacious and aesthetically pleasing accommodations, the building itself made vital contributions to the “moral training” of its inmates, constituting one of the more powerful means of replacing “the morbid feelings... [with] healthy trains of thought” (Browne [asylum doctor], 1837:183, 191, cited in Scull, 2006:21).

Their physical structure was therefore seen by those working within the asylums as being a tool for aiding the cure of madness (Scull, 1981). This links back to the rise in these institutions, their increasing medicalisation and the resulting surveillance of patients (Foucault, 1973; 1977; 1988, Markus, 1993). Asylums were places where order and a set of rules was key and, as Markus (1993) argued, these rules were built into the spaces and their management. These sites were intended “to achieve an order which is made concrete” (Markus, 1993:106). They were designed with a particular purpose in mind, a purpose that subsequently became obsolete as will be outlined below.

Asylums as functioning buildings became problematic as “the Magistrates go on adding wing to wing and story to story, contrary to the opinion of the profession and to common senses, rendering the institution most unfavourable to the treatment of patients, and their management most harassing and unsatisfactory to the medical superintendent” (Conolly, a prominent asylum doctor, n.d. cited in Harwood, 1986). Given the choice between hypothetical cures and savings, magistrates consistently chose the latter. As Ayers (1971) argued, the Poor Law Guardians sent not only their mentally ill patients but also the incurable cases putting pressure on institutions that were intended as places of treatment and care, not detention. Former asylum buildings demonstrate the demand or need for a specific type of building at a certain time to solve a particular problem that was perceived to exist. Buildings become investments in those demands and needs until that demand or need changes when they become obsolescent. How particular buildings, here asylums, are valued and perceived by the people managing, working and living in will therefore also change over time as the needs or demand for the services of the building changed and this research sought to explore this.

The First World War prompted a serious questioning of the nature and treatment of mental illness through the Shell Shock injuries sustained by soldiers (Busfield, 1986; Butler, 1993). The suitability of asylums to treat these afflictions was questioned, although it should be noted that during the First World War, a distinction was made between soldier patients with Shell Shock and pauper patients in terms of hierarchy of need, treatment and stigmatisation (Barham, 2007). Following the 1930 Mental Treatment Act, the prevailing policy for mental health matters sought to turn asylums into general hospitals and then to start to develop a system of community care (Busfield, 1986). After the Second World War and the creation of the National Health Service (NHS), mental health services were incorporated with all health services (Busfield, 1986). It was during the 1950s that the possibility of the closure of these asylums was first discussed (Wing 1991). Patient numbers had started to fall since the mid-1950s due to “introduction of social methods of rehabilitation and resettlement”, as well as the introduction of “effective medications” (Wing, 1991:10). Following the incorporation of the asylums into the NHS, they had also become more visible in the public domain (Korman and Glennerster, 1990).

This growing visibility of asylums within the public consciousness, combined with changing social attitudes, and a number of scandals started to produce a change in the public's and politicians' attitudes to asylums (or mental hospitals and they had become known) (Korman and Glennerster, 1990). By the 1960s, asylums were seen as the problem in the healthcare system (Butler, 1993) and government policies reflected this. Enoch Powell, the then Minister for Health, gave his now famous "Watertower" speech in 1961 (Busfield, 1986) and this was interesting for this study for several reasons. Firstly, the language used when describing these institutions:

There they stand, isolated, majestic, imperious, brooded over by the gigantic water-tower and chimney combined, rising unmistakable and daunting out of the countryside - the asylums which our forefathers built with such immense solidity to express the notions of their day. Do not for a moment underestimate their powers of resistance to our assault. Let me describe some of the defences which we have to storm (British Medical Journal, 1961)

These two sentences were perhaps the most famous of the speech with the image of asylums as looming, solid edifices which must be conquered. Secondly, for this study, the next few sentences were also of interest:

First there is the actual physical solidity of the buildings themselves: the very idea of these monuments derelict or demolished arouses an instinctive resistance in the mind. At least, we find ourselves thinking,

"Can't we use them for something else if they cannot be retained for the mentally ill?"

"Why not at least put the subnormals into them?"

"Wouldn't this one make a splendid geriatric unit, or that one a convalescent home."

"What a pity to waste all this accommodation!"

Well, let me here declare that if we err, it is our duty to err on the side of ruthlessness. For the great majority of these establishments there is no appropriate future use, and I for my own part will resist any attempt to foist another purpose upon them unless it can be proved to me in each case that,

such, or almost such, a building would have had to be erected in that, or some similar, place to serve the other purpose, if the mental hospital had never existed (British Medical Journal, 1961).

This iconic speech was interesting for this study in a number of ways. Firstly, Powell highlighted the physical nature of these buildings and referred to them as “monuments”. Whilst this likely related to the size of the buildings rather than the aesthetic qualities, he raised the idea that they were “splendid” locations hinting at their architectural qualities. Secondly, he argued that it would be a “waste” not to find a use for them but then appeared to contradict this by suggesting there was no future use for them. In this argument, Powell was responding to a reduction in patient numbers due to the introduction of more effective drug treatments and the feeling that the buildings were no longer fit for purpose, given these new treatments.

In the decades following the speech some former asylum sites have been demolished but many have found new uses, primarily that of residential accommodation (Chaplin and Peters, 2003). It appears therefore that perceptions of former asylums have changed in the time since this speech, their subsequent closure and the present day to enable them to be reused. This is where this study contributed to knowledge as it examined the lifecycle of these sites and buildings, predominantly focusing on their reuse in the present, but exploring how the sites have changed over time and how people’s perceptions and valorisations have changed to enable them to go from being buildings and sites that were seen as having “no future use” to ones that are being converted and reused. This research was therefore original in that it sought to explore how asylums, a particular type of place with a particular history, stopped being used for their original purpose and investigated how they became something else.

Returning to the history of asylums, following the Powell speech in 1961, another Minister for Health, Kenneth Robinson, argued in 1968 that “progress in modernising the organisation of mental illness services was lagging behind progress in applying modern methods of treatment” (Reed, 1991). Yet, despite this continuing desire to close the asylums, many remained open into the 1990s. As well as the issues of the loss of patient liberty and the changing attitudes (Korman and Glennerster, 1990), there was an increasing view that care in the community would be cheaper,

particularly as many of the buildings were now very old (ibid) and therefore would before long, need costly maintenance in addition to what was already required when in use. They were also seen as increasingly functionally obsolete in terms of being able to provide up to date medical treatment and the buildings becoming progressively obsolete physically (Korman and Glennerster, 1990; NHS Executive, 1995; Schneeloth *et al.* 1992). The Thatcher government sought to make the NHS more business-like (Butler, 1993) and this involved selling off under-used land and buildings of which asylums were a part (Harding, 1993). Whilst the age of these buildings was seen as a reason to sell them because of their obsolescence and unsuitability for modern healthcare, their historic nature complicated this mass disposal of buildings as outlined by Harding (1993:33):

Hospital buildings are a prominent feature of every town and city. Although recent hospital building has generally been of “undistinguished character” the older examples can be of considerable architectural merit.

The above quote highlighted how former asylums have been reconsidered as having architectural or historical merit. It also demonstrated the change in the perception and consideration of these buildings through time as a result of changing policies (medical and heritage), changing social conditions and changing physical requirements. Although this thesis examined these buildings and sites at a particular point in time, that of their conversion to residential use, it was important to consider what has come before as these traces of the past history of a place linger and affect their present and future uses (Markus, 1993). The thesis therefore charts the interplay of the material rise and fall of the asylum as a type or form of place, of perceptions, of attachments and stigmas at the point of conversion to a new use.

Although the closure was often a drawn-out process; from the initial decision to close the asylum to the vacating of the building itself, the graph below shows that the peak of the closure process occurred in the 1990s:

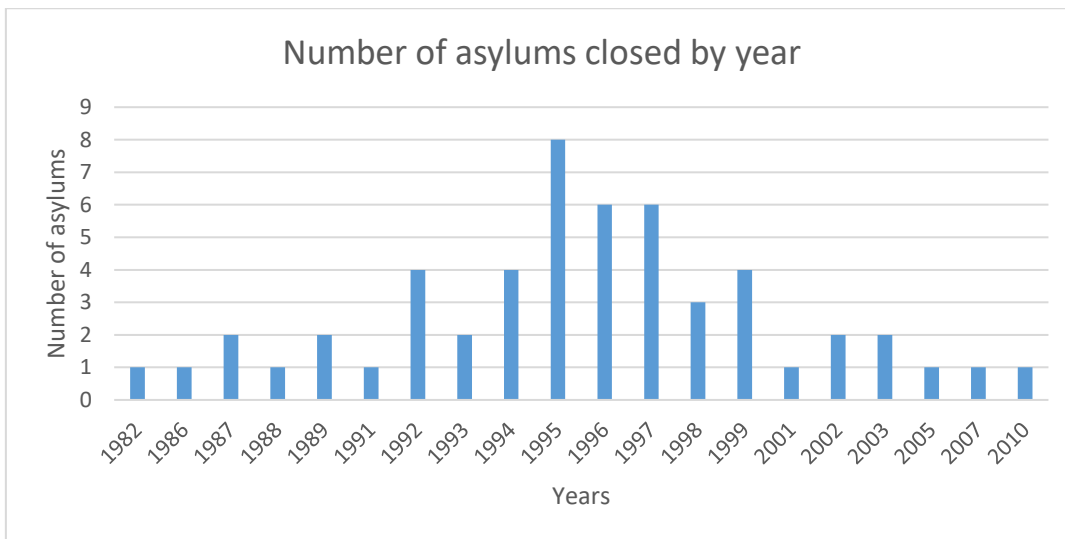


Figure 1.2: Asylum closure over time, (source data from The Time Chamber, n.d. graph by author, n= 53, see note on Figure 1.1 regarding the difficulties of asylum data).

During the period of closure, the NHS and National Audit Office ((NAO) an independent body responsible for auditing government departments) were involved in the sale of these former asylums sites. The NAO (1988) highlighted that, following the encouragement to dispose of surplus property within the NHS, this was likely to result in a sales figure of more than £240million in the period 1987-88. Clearly therefore, these former hospitals were sites that would command large sums of money for the NHS through their disposal. NHS Estates *et al.* (1994) stressed that when disposing of these properties the highest and best value (the use which gives the most value) for the site must be achieved without however making any conditions for sale overly onerous, thereby discouraging potential purchasers. This requirement hinted at the possible difficulties or challenges with the disposal of these often historic sites because of their age and a further publication, in 1995, by the NHS Executive and Historic England sought to address this.

The NHS Executive *et al.* (1995) dealt specifically with the challenges of historic buildings and interestingly for this study, raised the tension between their historic nature and possible future use. The scale of the issue facing the NHS in 1995 when the publication appeared was considerable:

It is estimated that over 120 major sites containing historic buildings are likely to become surplus and sold over the next ten years. In addition, other public bodies, such as the Ministry of Defence are carrying out similar disposal programmes simultaneously involving large, purpose-designed listed buildings. This represents a major challenge to all parties involved in the disposal of listed buildings and their adaptation to beneficial new uses” (NHS Executive 1995:5).

The NHS Executive (1995) also stated that these “major sites” contained a variety of types of building, including asylums, and that similar buildings would continue to come up for disposal as modern healthcare methods changed stressing both the reasons for closure as already noted in this chapter but also that this would be an ongoing issue. The nature of these buildings as “purpose-designed” was one reason for choosing to focus on historic former asylums. They were buildings that had a specific use when designed which subsequently became obsolete and their size and nature provide additional challenges for their reuse. Some of these challenges associated with these buildings was also highlighted by the NHS Executive (1995:25):

Many major hospital and medical complexes comprise remarkable architectural compositions in prominent locations, often set in beautiful landscaped grounds. They occupy a very important role in the architectural, historical and social heritage of this country. When they become redundant, with skill, imagination and vision they can be adapted to a wide range of alternative uses. They should be regarded as potential assets rather than liabilities.

This quote succinctly demonstrated the tensions involved in the reuse of historic or heritage buildings; the balance between their historic nature, finding a new use for them and their perceived economic value. This uneasy tension between the realisation of economic value and their reappraisal as heritage buildings (Franklin, 2002) was clearly present at the time of their closure but also continues to the present day as these sites have been redeveloped (Moons *et al.* 2015). This tension, which will be explored further in Chapter 2, was raised by Howard (2003:122-3) who argued “the disposal of mental hospitals and defence installations have both been

examples of the tension between government as owners and as designator of heritage". Joseph *et al.* (2013:140) suggested that this tension is present in recent government strategy for these buildings:

The strategy of using the profits from housing development to finance heritage conservation began to be actively promoted by English Partnerships [now part of the Homes and Communities Agency] in 2005, and was subsequently concretised through their acquisition of 96 former hospitals (including a number of former asylums). With a commitment to incorporate affordable housing as well as preserve heritage and promote sustainability, this constituted a critical framework in the UK for decision-making on reuse, replete with implications for memorialisation and remembrance.

The link between heritage conservation and economics was evident in the above quote; redevelopment was used to finance the conservation of these former hospital sites and therefore to realise both their economic and heritage potential. This tension was however a complex one as Harding (1993:229) further identified:

Once the ability of such sites to nurture a strong sense of place is perceived the conflicts over the future of redundant hospitals appear to be inevitable. The reasons for wanting to preserve them are the same as the reasons for selecting them for disposal, only from a different point of view. The buildings are elaborate, beyond the demands of their functions, architecturally unique and old, the grounds are spacious, well wooded and under exploited. Sites can be seen as having enormous potential to realise either economic or amenity value, but not both.

This quote raised an important question for the reuse of historic buildings: the tension between realising economic value and heritage value in the same site through their redevelopment (an issue which will be explored in further detail in Chapter 2). Former asylums hold additional tensions as socially they are challenging buildings which are argued to carry a stigma associated with their previous use (Joseph *et al.* 2013; Kearns *et al.* 2010; Moons *et al.* 2015). This stigma has been seen as being a barrier to adaptation or reuse (Kucik, 2004). As will be explored further in Chapter 2, asylums were often feared places (Jones, 1993; Korman and Glennerster, 1990;

Mellett, 1982) and yet many have been adapted and reused as residential accommodation since their closure. Their reuse and the process of conversion has not widely been studied and this chapter now outlines the gap in knowledge this thesis seeks to address.

1.3 Gap in Research and original contribution to knowledge

There has been limited research which explores the reuse and redevelopment of historic buildings and particularly former asylums. Despite the interest in the link between heritage and identity (for example see Kearns *et al.* 2010; Lewicka, 2008; Milligan, 2003; Tilley, 2006), one issue that has been underexplored is the relationship between what should be conserved and consequently what types of meanings and designs should be encouraged or discouraged through that conservation (While and Short, 2011). Equally, there has been limited research exploring the influence of emotion on property management and reuse. This research therefore sought to address these gaps by investigating the phenomenon of the reuse of historic former asylum sites through examining place attachment, place stigma, perceptions of the development process by those involved in it and the taxonomies of value that the different stakeholders ascribed to these sites. The focus on these areas of research sought to explore the gaps in knowledge (which will be outlined further below) and how the above factors interacted within the redevelopment process of a historic building. It also aimed to examine whether or not these factors influenced or shaped that process and how the building was, or was not reframed.

Former asylums, subsequently re-named as hospitals in the twentieth century, provided an ideal study for a research project examining the factors involved in the reuse and redevelopment of heritage sites. The transformation from asylums to hospitals was the start of the process of evolution in the history of these former asylum sites as well as being a change culturally in how they were viewed and perceived. This thesis sought to investigate these ensuing changes and evolutions once they were closed, emptied and were then reused, together with the resulting cultural and economic changes associated with this through examining the themes outlined above.

Place attachment and its relationship with the environment has been explored extensively in literature on environmental psychology and cultural geography (for example Cresswell, 2004; Rollero and de Piccoli, 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2009) however the study of negative or ambiguous places has hardly been explored (Manzo, 2014). This study therefore examined this gap by investigating whether attachment to places that are perceived as being negative was possible and the implications of this on the reuse process. Less attention has also been paid to the relationship between heritage, place attachment and the built environment and how people's attachment to heritage places affects their reuse process.

Equally limited was the literature surrounding negative places and the reuse process and therefore former asylums provided an opportunity to examine both a historic place but also a potentially negatively perceived place. The difficult nature of heritage and former asylums has been highlighted by Weiner (2004:190) in her critique of the development of Colney Hatch asylum into luxury residential flats as she stated "some buildings are not necessarily lost to wholesale demolition but rather to what has, in fact, been carried out in the name of "preservation"". She was referring to her suggestion that the trend for preservation creates a generic past and removes the "lived experience which makes the vast building stock a testimony to those who came before" (2004:190). Weiner's (2004) critique of the Colney Hatch redevelopment highlighted the difficulty in combining the task of preservation with property development and reinforced the difficulties faced in reaching a consensus on how we should use and preserve our built heritage. Edensor (2005) argued that heritage buildings are made to conform to certain characteristics and are remembered, memorialised or focused on by developers and experts for middle class inhabitants.

What we choose to preserve, and therefore what we value culturally and economically, will be examined in respect of institutional historic asylum buildings. Whilst much has been written on both cultural and economic values and heritage (for example Lichfield, 1988; Mason, 2005; 2006; 2008; Throsby, 2001), as outlined above there has been a limited number of studies exploring the reuse of former asylum sites and therefore limited literature on cultural and economic value in relation to these buildings. Equally, this thesis will argue, the perceptions that the stakeholders in the process of reuse will affect how these values are ascribed to the

sites. This, together with the perceptions of the stakeholders in respect of each other in the process, was also something that has had limited research devoted to it and was therefore the final area to which this thesis contributes. The discussion above introduces the additional areas this thesis explores: valorisation and perceptions. Ascribing value to a place or site, as well as place attachments and stigmas all involve perceptions as they are related to personal and societal views of these places. Where “perceptions” is used in this thesis, this refers to the person to person views of the stakeholders involved in the process of redevelopment with values, attachments and stigmas separated out as they were key themes of the research.

This thesis investigates the issues of historic former asylums, a building type that has been considered by two important theorists, Foucault and Goffman. Within the thesis, these two theorists will be drawn upon where pertinent however they do not form the basis of the discussion of the thesis. This is because both Foucault and Goffman focused on asylums when they were functioning institutions, looking at the people within them and the power structures that held them together. This is not to deny the contributions to the examination of these institutions made by these two important theorists but the topic of the reuse of historic former asylums was felt to need theorists that looked at the factors affecting the reuse of these institutions in the period since they have closed.

1.4 Research questions, aims and objectives

In light of the discussion above, this study’s central research questions were: What are the factors that affect the reuse of historic former asylum sites? To what extent do these factors (positive and negative) help or hinder their redevelopment? In seeking to answer these questions, the following as its aims and objectives were adopted:

Table 1.1: Aims and objectives of this study

Aim 1	To investigate how the interplay between place attachments, stigmas, stakeholder perceptions and the concept of “value” affects the reuse of historic former asylum sites.
1.1	Explore how the asylum buildings fell out of use and the processes involved in their reuse

1.2	Investigate the factors that aid or hinder the reuse of historic asylum sites and any connections between these factors
1.3	Examine if a tension between heritage preservation and property development exists in the reuse of historic former asylum sites

Aim 2	To critically examine the different taxonomies of value identified by the different stakeholder groups and how these affect the reuse of historic former asylums.
2.1	Establish the types of values associated with historic former asylums
2.2	Explore how the different types of values change during the recent history of historic former asylums
2.3	Evaluate whether there are any connections between the different taxonomies of value and whether this affects the reuse process
2.4	Examine the different concepts of value and their impact on the reuse process

Aim 3	To explore the roles of place attachments and stigmas in the reuse of historic former asylums.
3.1	Evaluate and define the concept of “place attachment” and determine its role in the redevelopment process
3.2	Define the concept of “stigma” and determine its role in the redevelopment process
3.3	Explore the perceptions of former asylums before, during and after the redevelopment. How is their past, present and future (re) negotiated or (re) constructed?
3.4	Examine whether the past use of the site has to “die” before a new use can be put in its place.

Aim 4	To investigate how the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved in the redevelopment of historic former asylums affect its reuse.
4.1	Evaluate the perceptions of the stakeholders with respect to each other and the role this plays in the redevelopment
4.2	Explore the perceptions of the stakeholders with respect to their own roles in the redevelopment process

4.3	Evaluate the roles of professional and personal identity for the professional stakeholders within the context of the redevelopment and the bearing this has on the process.
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1.5 Terminology

This thesis employs several terms that require explanation. Throughout the thesis the term “asylum” is employed. This was a deliberate choice although it was recognised that it was potentially a contentious one. The research explored the connotations of the previous use of former asylums through their reuse and redevelopment process and, combined with this, people’s perceptions of the buildings within that process. Asylums have been considered stigmatised places (Moons *et al.* 2015) and therefore they are argued to have certain negative connotations applied to them. As this research sought to explore how these connotations from the former use affected (or did not) the reuse process it was therefore felt that the term “asylum”, with all its incumbent connotations, was the appropriate one to use. It is recognised that it is a problematic term however it was precisely this nature that the research sought to examine and therefore employing a less challenging term would not have had the same weight.

The thesis uses the term “professionals” or “professional stakeholders”. In the context of this research, it refers to the professionals who were part of the reuse process. It is recognised that the former staff members were professionals and equally members of the general public could be professionals in their particular sphere however for the thesis it was used to denote the developers, owners, heritage bodies and planners who could be considered to be the “experts” within the process of reuse and redevelopment. The question of expertise and professional perception are themes that the thesis explores and problematizes through the data collected and is examined in Chapter 6. The word “stakeholder” has been used throughout to refer to each of the types of groups involved in the process of redevelopment. In this thesis stakeholder therefore refers to a particular group of people who had an interest in that redevelopment.

The terms “conservation” and “preservation” needed also to be clarified and distinguished. This thesis uses the definitions proposed by Historic England (Historic

England, n.d.) which described conservation as “the process of maintaining and managing change to a heritage asset in a way that sustains and where appropriate enhances its significance” and preservation as “preserving from harm” (Historic England, n.d.). Part way through this research in 2015, English Heritage was divided into two organisations and the part of the organisation that deals with the legal and policy areas of heritage was renamed Historic England. Therefore where this thesis discusses this organisation, “Historic England” will be used and where the thesis references research previously published under the name “English Heritage” this will be used.

There are other terms that are used within the thesis, including the different definitions of value and the different types of stigma ascribed to historic former asylum sites. These will be defined in the relevant sections as they form key parts of the discussion and findings within this research.

1.6 An Introduction to the research sites

Three former asylum sites were chosen as sites of investigation with which to explore the aims and objectives (Table 1.1). A brief introduction to the history of the three sites is provided below with the reasons for choosing each site being discussed in Chapter 3. Photographs of each site are provided to give architectural context and were all taken by the researcher.

Over time the names of each of the three hospitals changed from asylums to mental hospital to hospital. Although the term “asylum” will be used in this thesis for the reasons outlined above, the hospitals will be referred to as St Mary’s, St George’s and Lancaster Moor throughout the report rather than using their original county asylum names. This is partly for ease as the original county asylum names were long but also to reflect the change that took place in their history and because it was by these final names that they were known by former staff members and other participants interviewed in this study.

1.5.1 Lancaster Moor, Lancaster

Lancaster Moor is located on the outskirts of Lancaster, close to the M6 motorway. The original decision to erect an asylum in Lancaster dates to 1809 when a

Committee of Justices was formed to “take into consideration the provisions of the aforementioned Act [for better care and maintenance of Lunatics]” and provide an asylum (Williamson, 2002 n.p.). The asylum, designed by Thomas Standen, opened on 28th July 1816 and was based on a typical Georgian country house (ibid). As shall be seen with all three sites, the original asylum building became full and a new wing was added in 1824 with the asylum “rapidly developing into a wholly self-contained community of its own, with farms and allotments, bakeries, sewing workshops, a soda-water bottling plant, as well as the extremely vital laundry” (ibid). The expansion of the patient population continued and in 1879 work started on “the Annexe” at the cost of over £100,000 which opened on 1st March 1883 with a capacity of 825 beds (ibid). This building (the Annexe, shown in figures 1.3-1.5) was in total contrast to the original asylum and was built in the Victorian neo-Gothic style (ibid).

The original 1816 building was listed as Grade II* by Historic England in 1994 with the Annexe listed as Grade II the same year (Historic England, 2016). Listing is the process by which historic buildings receive “special protection” (Historic England, 2016) which creates additional protection and regulation through the planning system. The former asylum closed in 1999 with the original 1816 hospital having been converted into Standen Park, a residential development, in the early 2000s, with the later Annexe addition being converted into a new housing development during this research. It was the Annexe part of the site that this thesis focused on, as it was this section of the former asylum that was under conversion at the time of the research.

The photos below show the Annexe which is the focus of this thesis. As with the other former asylums that follow, the photos show the architectural features of the former asylum to provide context for the reader.



Figure 1.3: front of the Annexe section of Lancaster Moor



Figure 1.4: Rear of the Annexe section of Lancaster Moor during redevelopment (author, 2014)



Figure 1.5: The main entrance of the Annexe, Lancaster Moor (author, 2014)

1.5.2 St George's, Morpeth

St George's is located in Morpeth, Northumberland, approximately fourteen miles north of Newcastle upon Tyne. St George's opened in 1859 as the Northumberland County Pauper Lunatic Asylum (Northumberland NHS Trust, 2016), accommodating 100 male patients and 100 female patients. However, as seen with other asylums, it soon became full, requiring additional buildings in 1888 when the patient population rose to 267 male and 244 female patients (ibid). This trend of overcrowding continued and by 1956, the now St George's Hospital contained 1,257 patients (ibid). By 1985 the patient numbers were reducing and today the remaining mental health patients are housed in a new hospital next to the Victorian one.

None of the buildings at the St George's site were listed. At the commencement of this study St George's was empty but with a developer interested in converting the property. A planning application was subsequently submitted in 2014, approved and the redevelopment started on site. This redevelopment was ongoing through the length of this research and continued after the research had finished. The photos presented below show the chapel, the main entrance of the hospital and two of the

wings. They illustrate the architectural nature of the former asylum as well as the condition prior to redevelopment in order to provide the reader with context and an appreciation of the appearance of the buildings.



Figure 1.6: The chapel at St George's, Morpeth (author, 2014)



Figure 1.7: Wing of St George's, (author, 2014)



Figure 1.8: St George's main entrance (author, 2014)



Figure 1.9: Building at St George's (author, 2014)

1.5.3 St Mary's, Stannington

St Mary's is located outside the village of Stannington, south of Morpeth in Northumberland. Despite being located in Northumberland, St Mary's opened as the Gateshead Borough Lunatic Asylum after the Gateshead visiting committee had advised that "the council should provide a separate Asylum for the accommodation of Gateshead lunatic paupers" (TWAM archives, ref 1957/5), Gateshead's paupers having previously been accommodated in asylums in the Durham and Sunderland areas. St Mary's was the last to be built of the three asylum sites, having been completed at an estimated cost of £114,000 and opening in January 1914 (ibid). By the end of that year it accommodated 380 patients and was further extended in 1929 with the building of a nurses' home and then again in 1938 when it was extended to house 754 beds (ibid).

The asylum was planned by one of the well-known asylum designers George T Hine (Historic England, 2016). He designed the building with a view to it being further extended. As with many asylums, including the three in this study, the wards were segregated by class, gender and health level (ibid). Whilst the hospital, shown in Figures 1.11 and 1.12, itself is not listed, the gardens were listed as Grade II in 2000 by Historic England who note that "much of the landscaping, particularly the planting, was carried out from 1914 by the male patients as part of the therapeutic regime" (ibid). As with many asylums, St Mary's closed in the 1990s and was being redeveloped throughout the duration of this thesis including all the buildings being demolished and a new structure being erected in their place (Northumberland County Council, 2014). The two photos below show one of wings of the asylums and the administration building, the wing being demolished towards the end of this research as outlined above and the administration building having been converted to a gastro pub and accommodation during the research. Towards the end of the research, the pub closed, citing a delay in construction work and the continuing disruption of that work. The notice announcing this closure (St Mary's Inn, 2017) stated that they hoped to reopen once the construction was complete.



Figure 1.10: Wing of St Mary's Stannington, prior to demolition (author, 2014)



Figure 1.11: St Mary's administration building after conversion (author, 2014)

1.6 Thesis Synopsis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. This first chapter having provided the background context to this study, Chapter 2 reviews the current literature examining place attachments, place stigmas and taxonomies of value including Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* and its adaptation for this thesis. It discusses people's perceptions of stigma, attachment, each of the stakeholders in the process and the process of heritage redevelopment. It examines how these perceptions were formed and the interactions between them as well as the limited existing literature on the reuse of historic former asylums. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology employed in this research including the data collection methods. The study adopted a mixed methods approach to address the aims and objectives (Table 1.1). Chapter 3 also details the choices of the three former asylum sites of investigation as well as detailing how the interview and questionnaire participants were selected and the justifications for this. It comments on the challenges and limitations of the methodology and the ethical issues relevant to this study.

The three following chapters, Chapters 4-6 discuss the data from this research. Chapter 4 examines the different taxonomies of value ascribed by the stakeholder groups to the former asylum sites together with the connections between them and the influences on these values. Chapter 5 explores the question of whether people were attached to the asylums and the nature of these attachments. It examines whether a stigma existed or persisted with the sites and any effect this had on the redevelopments. Chapter 6 then investigates the perceptions of the stakeholder groups in respect of themselves, their roles and each other in the process of redevelopment. The discussion chapter, Chapter 7, brings together the data from the three preceding chapters to examine the connections and links between them. In doing so it explores the factors of tension in the reuse process and argues that these factors also become, "enabling factors" (defined in Chapter 7) which resulted from the set of circumstances applicable to the reuse and redevelopment of historic former asylums. The chapter responds to the overarching research questions of this thesis. Chapter 8, the final conclusion chapter, discusses the findings from the preceding chapters and summarises the key points and conclusions as well as reflecting on the aims and objectives. It addresses limitations with the research by reflecting on the approaches adopted and offers recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

As outlined in Chapter 1, the process of redevelopment, particularly the redevelopment of historic buildings, involves a range of complicated processes and the interaction of different stakeholder groups. As well as the practices involved in the redevelopment of former asylum sites, the connotations associated with former asylums have been argued to add a further complication or challenge to their reuse (Kucik, 2014, Moons *et al.* 2015). Chapter 1 presented the aims and objectives of this study, with a focus on place attachments, place stigmas, values and the perceptions of the stakeholders involved in the process of redevelopment and reuse. These areas are each complex and broad subjects that span several academic disciplines: heritage studies, real estate, cultural geography and environment psychology.

Given the focus of this study, this chapter will concentrate on the current literature in place attachment and place stigma, perceptions and the redevelopment of historic former asylums and the concept of “value” when applied to historic buildings. This chapter does not seek to explore each of the types of value individually but rather to explore the concept of value as attributed to heritage buildings and the difficulties with this through their redevelopment. It investigates these areas of existing research in order to concentrate on the literature relevant to the aims and objectives of this study but also to explore the gaps in knowledge and to highlight where this study will contribute.

The chapter begins with an exploration of the current literature regarding the reuse of former historic asylums. It will then explore the themes identified in the aims and objectives in respect of the reuse of historic former asylums. It will investigate the literature on place attachment and place stigma, which will be defined, including the difference between a place stigma, a negative place image and other types of stigma associated with place. It will then examine the concept of value in terms of heritage property redevelopment and will outline the use of Rubbish Theory employed in this thesis. It will conclude with an examination of the relationships between stakeholders involved in the redevelopment and reuse of historic buildings including the tensions therein and the perceptions of the different stakeholder groups.

2.1 Reuse of historic former asylums

The reuse of historic former asylums has not been considered widely within any academic literature or discipline. Studies of former asylums tend to be from a historical perspective (for example see Jones, 1993; Mellett, 1982; Philo, 2004; Scull, 1981). What limited literature that does exist addresses practical issues at the time of their closure (NHS Executive, 1995; NHS Estates, 1994; NAO, 1998); the uses into which they have been converted (Chaplin and Peters, 2003; Franklin, 2002, Weiner, 2004) and more recently their reuse, with a particular focus on the remembrance of their history (Joseph *et al.* 2013; Kearns *et al.* 2012; Moons *et al.* 2015). Franklin's (2002) work was one of the earliest that explored tensions in the redevelopment of historic former asylums in particular; tensions between preservation, redevelopment and remembrance. She argued that it was "its derivation, form, appearance and location, which have led to its re-appraisal of heritage, and the consequent capacity to dissociate it from its former connotations" (2002:171). Whilst there is a tension between heritage and redevelopment outlined above, in the case of former historic asylums, there is the additional tension between its consideration as a heritage object and their former use.

Franklin (2002:174) suggested that it is the monumental qualities for which the asylums were once admired that has prevented all of them being demolished and that "a future for the asylums would rest on an ability to capitalise on these monumental qualities, to detach the physical structure from its symbolic associations and to appreciate it primarily as a built form". Franklin (2002:183) argued that time, distance and changes in society have allowed former asylum sites to be re-evaluated and that they no longer represent "containers of madness" but are conceived as "unique works of architecture". This quote would suggest that any stigma or associations surrounding the previous use have dissipated. However, Joseph, Kearns and Moon (Joseph *et al.* 2013 and 2009, Kearns *et al.* 2010; Moon *et al.* 2015) are some of the very few academics who have researched asylums, their reuse and their redevelopment and have a different perspective. They argued that there is very little literature on the fate of asylums sites (Joseph *et al.* 2009) and that there has been little investigation into the issue of stigma and how this has "persisted or been overcome in the transition to successor uses" (Kearns *et al.* 2010:732).

Moon, Kearns and Joseph published several articles examining the reuse of former asylum buildings and their desire to understand the way the history of these former asylum sites has or has not been dealt with through the sites' conversions led to the publication of *Afterlives of Psychiatric Asylums* (2015). In it, Moon *et al.* (2015) argued that the "tainted reputation" (2015: 20) of former asylums effected their interpretation, future and people's memories of these former asylum sites. Their focus was on this "tainted reputation" in their exploration of the "afterlives" of former asylums and what becomes of these sites. Moon *et al.* (2015) used three case studies to explore the reuse of former asylums analysing data collected from media coverage, government documents and websites. Discussing the developers who convert these sites, they (2015:110) argued that:

While property developers often deployed adjectives in their advertising – such as "seclusion" and "sanctuary" – that could be applied to the predecessor asylum uses, they very rarely made reference to those former psychiatric uses, "possibly reflecting the stigma of their former existence".

Moon's *et al.* (2015) analysis was taken from the property developer's marketing material, at no point in their study did they speak to the property developers, nor the other parties involved in the redevelopment process. This thesis would argue that property reuse and property development, whilst being contingent on economic, legal and political forces, includes a variety of different stakeholders; planners, developers, owners, heritage bodies and the public, therefore by not speaking to the actors participating in these processes, an important part of the process of these "afterlives" was omitted. This thesis thus differentiates itself from these previous studies by interviewing these stakeholders in order to examine each of their views and perceptions as reflected in the aims and objectives (Table 1.1). By investigating the perceptions of the people involved in the reuse of historic former asylum sites this adds depth to both this study and the existing literature and therefore existing knowledge.

Chaplin and Peters (2003), like Moon *et al.* (2015) reported that many property developers deployed adjectives in their literature and advertising that implied "seclusion" and "sanctuary" on their sites, something that could easily be applied to the former use as asylums and that the developers very rarely actually mentioned the

former use of the site directly. This omission of history was also explored by Weiner (2004) in her critique of the development of Colney Hatch asylum. She raised the question of selective remembrance but asked whose history it is that we are seeking to protect? In Weiner's (2004) account, the developer of Colney Hatch made no mention of former history of the building and Weiner (2004) argued that consequently the heritage of the people who lived and worked there was erased. She suggested that a sanitised or amended version of history was being preserved and in doing so the actual history of a particular place was being erased, together with what occurred there. Cornish (1997:105) in her study of St Lawrence's Hospital in Bodmin, similarly asked whether a place that was created to be excluded from society can be integrated back into the community having been identified as a space for the "other"? She argued that its past played a role in its present and future circumstances and suggested that its reworking was likely to be difficult (ibid). What was particularly interesting in the St Lawrence case was that whilst part of the site had been converted to housing, most of the houses remained unoccupied at the time of Cornish's study (1997). She suggested that this was due to the stigma of the site's former history, (something also suggested by Moon *et al.* (2015)) although her study did not go into enough depth to ascertain why this was the case.

The treatment of the history of these sites and the suggestion that certain stakeholders selectively remember (Moons *et al.* 2015) or hide the history (Franklin, 2002; Gittins, 1998) was not confined to one type of stakeholder (often the developers). Weiner (2004) argued that the selective remembering or modification of the history was also carried out in the name of heritage preservation. This can be seen particularly in Save Britain's Heritage's (a conservation group, to be abbreviated as SAVE) publication *Mind over Matter* (1998) which looked at the uncertain future of historic asylum buildings:

The project [the conversion of Moorhaven Asylum] has demonstrated that rather than being a liability, old hospitals actually make attractive and popular homes: they have secure, extensive and beautiful grounds, large south facing rooms and handsome, well-built buildings. Remove the cream paint, the signs, the smell of disinfectant, the post-war ancillary buildings, patched tarmac and outside pipes, and a new community is created (SAVE, 1998:17).

SAVE Britain's Heritage (1998), appeared to suggest that these hospitals become beautiful homes and were appreciated for the qualities (secure, extensive grounds) that they were, ironically, the very qualities for which they were originally valued. The focus was clearly aesthetic here, not the former use or former inhabitants and suggests that these, perhaps unpleasant or stigmatised elements could be removed simply with a new coat of paint and a wash. This interpretation by SAVE added weight to Franklin's (2002) suggestion that the past of the asylum was forgotten (here by heritage activists however) or at least the qualities of the sites reinterpreted for today's purposes by those who choose to live in them. This selective remembering was supported by Weiner (2004:201) who argued that "the preservation movement has taken an interest in saving a wide variety of buildings, though often at the expense of their historical meaning". Whilst to some extent asylums have been reappraised as heritage buildings through the appreciation of their form and architecture, there were still tensions that arise particularly when the buildings are reused (Franklin, 2002).

In terms of reuse, the most common successor use, as seen through the literature explored in the thesis thus far, is residential (Chaplin and Peters, 2003). The process of conversion from one use to another involves economic, legal and political factors (for example Cadman and Topping, 1995; MacLaren, 2003; Wilkinson and Reed, 2008). At no point within Moon *et al.*'s (2015) or any other study cited above did the researchers explore the actual process of redevelopment or acknowledge that the property market was also important in this issue. The focus of these studies was primarily the remembrance or memorialisation (Cornish, 1997; Moon *et al.* 2015) or the heritage reappraisal (Franklin, 2002; SAVE, 1995; Weiner, 2004) of these sites, rather than the process of reuse and redevelopment. This thesis would however argue that in examining the reuse of "afterlives" of a building, an investigation into the processes that enable or prevent that reuse is required and that this should involve the stakeholders involved in that process.

As the process of asylum reuse and conversion is a complex and multifaceted one, requiring an engagement with the different processes and actors involved in these practices in order to understand the reuse. This chapter will therefore now look at property development and heritage literature, together with the literature exploring the perceptions of those involved in heritage property development before moving on

to consider what value is found in the historic built environment and the attachments and stigmas created by these buildings.

2.2 Stakeholder perceptions and relationships

When instigating commercial property development, the property developer (or their agents) have to work with the various actors involved in the process and the academic property or real estate literature reflects this. The commercial developer is seen as having to manage conflicting and diverse objectives of the various actors involved (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008) and is perceived as being at the mercy of those stakeholders (MacLaran, 2003). Two groups of individuals are singled out in the literature as having the potential to disrupt property developer's proposals for a site; "amateurs" and the "self-interested neighbours of the proposed development" (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008:24) and the "well-organised, professional, permanent bodies at local and national levels" (ibid). Cadman and Topping (1995) suggested that the reason for this public interest comes when the "existing status quo might be disturbed" (1995:188). The public, either through amateur or organised interest was seen as being a potential hindrance or obstacle in the property development process for property developers.

The redevelopment of heritage buildings in particular is often contentious (Kalman, 2014) and the relationships between heritage practitioners and the public often difficult (Emerick, 2016). There is often strong opposition to the change (Devine-Wright, 2009; Larkham, 1995) and a sense of ownership of historic buildings where no legal basis exists (Howard, 2003) resulting in people seeking to prevent commercial redevelopments and to protect the historic buildings involved. Wilkinson and Reed (2008) and Cadman and Topping (1995) suggested that it is a similar group of people which both the heritage sector and property development sector see as being problematic: the amateur public. Heritage bodies also saw problems arising for owners and local authorities "when they do not have access to professional advisers with appropriate experience in dealing with the historic environment" (English Heritage, 2008:14). It was also felt that "the process of understanding a place and systematically development an appropriate scheme requires a range of professional skills" (English Heritage 2008:14).

The need for professionals to explain the historic built environment to others and the role of experts within the heritage sector has been written about by Smith (2006) who argued that what is allowed to constitute heritage is restricted by a small elite. This raised an important issue for the consideration of the reuse of historic former asylums and heritage redevelopment more widely; that of professional knowledge versus non-professional knowledge and the implication for the identification of what constitutes different types of knowledge. It was helpful to briefly address what a profession is considered to be and to this end, Ball (2002:115-6) offered the following characterisation of a property professional:

There is no general precise definition of a profession, so it is difficult to expect that one can be given for property development specifically. [...] Profession [...] becomes virtually synonymous with “middle class job”. The term is also used to denote behaviour. To be “professional” in common parlance is to undertake a task conscientiously and with skill. This common-sense notion highlights an important characteristic of a profession – the ability to signal to others that someone has competence and integrity. The other key aspect of most professions is the tasks they undertake require extensive knowledge acquire through lengthy education and practice. Professional people therefore have specialist knowledge.

The key points to draw from the above quote are competence, integrity and specialist knowledge. Professionals were seen to have knowledge that non-professionals did not possess, created through years of training and experience. This is true of all the professionals involved in the redevelopment of historic buildings. As Cass and Walker (2009:66) have argued in relation to the planning system, the process is supposed to be “rational, reasoned and objective”; emotions were seen to have unpredictable consequences for those “ beholden to professional guidelines and structures” (Geoghegan, 2013:45). Therefore, emotions do not have a place in the rational, objective process of redevelopment.

There is limited literature exploring the reactions of professionals to places they manage or develop although the subjective-objective debate is one that has long dominated philosophical discussion. Henneberry and Parris (2013) discussed the attitude of an owner to his historic building, arguing that he had an emotional

involvement with it because it had been in his family for generations and this therefore influenced his attitudes towards finding a new use for it. Emotion in that case clearly played a role in the reuse of the building, family connections were present which would not normally be the case in most property (re)developments. Other literature explored the emotional enthusiasm for certain places in respect of those who are seen as the most emotional, the non-professionals (Bennett, 2015; Craggs *et al.* 2016, Geoghegan, 2013). Geoghegan (2013; 2009) explored enthusiasm and activism in the area of telecommunications heritage. She (2009:4) argued that enthusiasm was associated with “frenzy and religious fanaticism” and that traces of this association remain. Similarly, Craggs *et al.* (2016) suggested that enthusiasm is viewed as a threat to professional practice because it is inherently emotional; it undermines objectivity in the eyes of the professionals.

Hertzog (2012:40) suggested that this “animosity between [cultural] professionals and amateurs [is] due to the latter’s sense of dispossession or regulation”. It could also be argued that the threat perceived by professionals in respect of enthusiasts or the emotional non-professionals is one of losing control over their domain (Craggs *et al.*, 2016). Equally, the threat relates to what can be classed as knowledge as Smith (2006) has explored in respect of the heritage industry and the authority of heritage experts to dictate what can be considered heritage and what is not. She stated:

The practice of heritage may be defined as the management and conservation protocols, techniques and procedures that heritage managers, archaeologists, architects, museum curators and other experts undertake. These practices, as well as the meaning of the material “thing” of heritage, are constituted by the discourses that simultaneously reflect these practices whilst also constructing them (Smith, 2006:13).

The heritage practices that Smith (2006) outlined, are created by a particular community over time to sustain a particular collective narrative (Wenger, 1998). This can be widened out to the different groups of stakeholders within the process of redevelopment as Guy and Henneberry (2000:2400) argued “the built environment is shaped by these professional actors in the light of their particular way of seeing buildings and cities and their subsequent goals and actions”. Consequently, heritage professionals will interpret the built environment in ways that suit their practice’s aims

and developers, planning professionals and owners will interpret the built environment, from their own particular professional perspective or training.

Wenger's (1998) work on what he termed *Communities of Practice*, explored how collective learning or practices reflected particular goals and when these are shared they result in communities with common goals. These communities and goals can be officially recognised, for example through particular professional roles (such as developers, planners etc) but they do not have to be, they can be more informal (Wenger 1998). Similarly to Smith's (2006) discussion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) which suggested that a limited elite controls what can and cannot be considered heritage, together with the creation and control of that knowledge, Wenger (1998:93) posited that "controlling both participation and reification affords control over the kinds of meaning that can be created in a certain context and the kinds of person that participants can become". What is considered knowledge within a particular community is controlled and therefore learnt and remembered by the members of that community through their practices and experiences. This can be argued to have an impact on what each professional community will consider valuable and why, something that was important for this study to explore. Wenger (1998) termed the same object viewed by different communities as a "boundary object" and stated:

When a boundary object serves multiple constituencies, each only has partial control over the interpretation of that object. [...] Because artefacts can appear as self-contained objects, it is easy to overlook that they are in fact nexus of perspectives, and that it is often in the meeting of these perspectives that artefacts obtain their meanings. [...] The problem then is one of both participation and reification, to be dealt with in terms of opportunities for the negotiation of meaning within and among communities of practice (Wenger, 1998:108).

Using Wenger's (1998) terminology, former asylums could therefore be considered a boundary object that is negotiated over through the process of its reuse as each community or stakeholder group perceives it and acts upon their particular communities' knowledge; they develop actions consistent with their knowledge and position within the social system (Johnson, 1997 cited in Guy and Henneberry,

2002). Each community therefore develops its own expertise, professional competence is about knowing the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1984); the professionals within each community learn what is acceptable knowledge within that particular community and the professionals see themselves as having the “competence and reliability necessary to undertake the complex operation that is development” (Guy and Henneberry, 2002:290). In the case of the redevelopment of historic former asylums, the heritage professionals learn how to view buildings as heritage according to the criteria established by their profession and they subsequently use these factors to determine whether or not a building should be classed as “heritage”. Equally, property developers learn through experience what will be a successful development including the necessary market conditions and all the procedures and legal requirements that are part of their role in a development, as the planning professionals do from the planning side.

In doing so, these professional communities develop their particular areas of expertise. As Guy and Henneberry (2002:7) stated:

Individuals, as they act, reproduce knowledge, ensuring that the social system continues to constrain and enable further actions. But individuals’ decisions and actions change knowledge somewhat, altering the extant set of enabling and constraining conditions for the future. Consequently, if a sufficient number of individuals decide to change their interpretation of and response to social rules, they can transform society to a lesser degree [...] or greater degree.

The different groups therefore seek to control access to their areas of expertise, their knowledge and their rules and procedures, which potentially makes them suspicious of those not part of their community (Hertzog, 2012). Wenger (1998:139) argued that there was a downside to this control in that communities “can hoard knowledge, limit innovation and hold others hostage to their expertise”. He (1998:142) suggested that some communities act as “the knowledge police” and:

Feel such a strong sense of ownership of the domain that they believe anyone working in that domain should consult them, or even be forced to do so. [...] Imperialistic communities are not open to alternative views, outside experts or new methodologies because of their passionate belief that their perspective is

the right one. They need to be exposed to other perspectives in the context of real challenges that go beyond their domain and to problems that can be solved only by combining multiple approaches.

This assertion could be applied to any of the parties involved in heritage building reuse and redevelopment. The redevelopment or reuse of historic buildings often becomes contentious with each “side” being unable to consider the other’s perspective (Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished) as the different stakeholders involved can hold very oppositional views of each other because of their respective desires for the built environment (Larkham, 1992). According to Larkham (1992:155):

Participants in the public consultation process for cases in these historical areas are almost invariably in the category that Short *et al.* (1986:277) refers to as “stoppers” seeking to protect their physical and social environments. They are most commonly caricatured as “NIMBYs”. They are an elite, whose members have predominantly educated, middle-class occupations and preoccupations (Eversley, 1974). The myopia of such local groups may prevent or irretrievably delay the formulation of long range plans (Porteus, 1977: 366-7). Professional planning officers are caught uneasily in the middle ground between the public, potential developers whose main motivation is profit, and the planning committee, who are subject to many pressures not least party political (Goldsmith, 1983; Simmie, 1981).

The distinction made by Larkham (1992) above was between the public and the professionals; the public being seen as “Not In My Back Yards” or NIMBYs are more emotional than the professionals. Devine-Wright (2009) has argued that the concept of the “NIMBY” has been used as an explanation for the opposition to heritage redevelopment as NIMBYs are seen as holding protectionist attitudes and a resistance to change in their particular area. Devine-Wright (2009) suggested that local opposition is a form of protective-place action which arises when new developments disrupt pre-existing emotional attachment. Heritage protection could therefore be viewed as an emotional investment, emotion that is displayed by the non-professional stakeholders in the process.

The attitudes and views towards historic former asylums will therefore be seen differently by each of the stakeholders involved as outlined above. Using Wenger's (1998) idea of the asylums as a boundary object and Guy and Henneberry's (2002: 249) snapshot of real estate actors and their development goals, Table 2.1 outlines the potential orientation of each of the stakeholder groups towards former asylums:

Table 2.1: stakeholder's positions towards historic former asylums

Stakeholder	Way of seeing	Source of knowledge	Method of evaluation	Value extracted	Goal
Owner	Long term asset-property management responsibility	Market knowledge and gut instinct	Asset valuation	Reduce management responsibilities	Secure future of site through development
Developer	Multipliable asset and/ or usable asset	Market knowledge and gut instinct	Residual valuation	Enhance value of land	Renew urban environment and maximise utilisation value
Planning Authority	Amenity and local economic asset	Statutory policy and local political priorities	Policy objectives	Retain or enhance cultural and amenity value	Re-use of building
Heritage bodies	Heritage asset	Heritage policy	Heritage significance	Retain or enhance cultural value	Retention of historically significant building
Former Staff Members	Former workplace	Personal experience-memories	Professional or career experience, societal values	Sustain personal attachments	Return building to reuse, stop the decay
General public	Empty building	Personal experience	Societal values	Enhance local amenity value	Reuse of decaying building
New residents	Potential home	Personal experience/market data	Market value, aesthetic value	market value as property investment	Historic and valuable property to purchase

This table demonstrates the different positions each of the stakeholder groups hold in respect of historic former asylums. Funders were not included within Table 2.1 above because the focus of this thesis was the point of conversion of the three former historic asylum sites. At this point in the development process, funding would have been identified and obtained by the developers otherwise the development would not proceed. The table shows how each group views the sites and buildings, depending on their professional and personal experience. The developers and owners are concerned with value and costs and depend on market knowledge or instinct to assess the sites. The planning authorities and heritage bodies are more policy orientated and although concerned with value, this is directed more towards community, amenity or cultural value of the sites and preserving this. The final three stakeholder groups, the general public and the former staff members and new residents as distinct groups within the public, employ their personal experience than the other stakeholder groups. These are the groups that were seen as being more emotional and more likely to react to the redevelopments within the literature (for example Cadman and Topping, 1995; Devine-Wright, 2014; 2009; Hertzog; 2012; Larkham, 1992); more likely to exhibit place attachment and therefore react to the proposed developments in this research.

Place attachment and place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2014; 2009) will be discussed below however before this is addressed, it was important to explore how value is found by the different stakeholder groups as this was likely, as will be outlined, to be influenced by their experience and knowledge. It is to this discussion that this chapter now turns.

2.3 Value

For a thesis exploring the reuse of historic former asylum sites, the concept of value was both a vital one to consider but one that also had many facets to it. For property professionals, value is viewed in terms of money (Issac, 2002; RICS, 2014) whereas heritage professionals would argue that other types of values make up the significance of a particular heritage building (English Heritage, 2008). This section of the chapter will discuss different types of value, focussing particular on value as conceived by heritage professionals and property professionals as these are the two main classifications employed in the debate over heritage redevelopment. It will then

outline the difficulties of combining these types of value, something that has been considered in the literature (for example, Lichfield, 1988; Throsby, 2001; Mason, 2008; 2006; 2005), and which was therefore an important issue when working with the historic built environment. It will finally discuss Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* as a method of exploring different types of value attributed to objects over time and its adaptation for use as a theoretical framework within this thesis.

The taxonomies of value outlined in this study will be driven by the data as it is their conceptualisation of value that is of interest to this thesis. The justification for the types of value adopted by this thesis will be examined in further depth in Chapter 4. It is important to note that there are different conceptions of cultural and heritage value and to state that for this study, the types of value attributed to historic former asylums will be explored through the data provided by each of the stakeholders. The types of value found will therefore be informed by these perceptions. This was because this study was interested in establishing what types of value were found in historic former asylums and as Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) argued, it is largely accepted that value is socially constructed and ascribed, not intrinsic to the object (Harrison, 2013; 2012). This study was interested in how the different stakeholders perceived value in former asylums and therefore the values they ascribed must be outlined rather than imposing other people's conceptions of value on to what the stakeholders say.

It was important to consider value both in terms of economic value as used by property professionals and heritage value as used by heritage professionals and the difficulties with comparing the two have been widely discussed and will be outlined below. Land economists and those interested in property market economics argued that there are many definitions of value and that it is a difficult and complex concept (Guy and Henneberry, 2002; Issac, 2002). Issac (2002) suggested that for economists, value was linked to the concept of "utility" and includes "exchange value" or price, "investment value" or worth and "use value" in terms of the existing use of the building or land.

Commercial property is valued by those trained as valuers using the term "market value" which is defined as "the money obtainable from a person or persons willing and able to purchase an article when it is offered for sale by a willing seller" (Millington, 2000:3). Value from a property point of view is, as outlined above,

considered in monetary and economic terms. Economists talk of scarcity and value and Millington, (2000) argued that scarcity in something, in this case property, generally gives rise to higher values. The scarcer the building therefore, the more valuable it becomes from a monetary perspective. However, as shall be seen, it is not as straightforward that scarcer the building types are more valuable, particularly when dealing with historic buildings.

It has been argued (LSE, 2012) that houses in a conservation area are 23% more valuable than those outside a conservation area. This could therefore suggest that buildings with special characteristics such as being in a conservation area or being historic, are therefore more valuable than those that are not. However, whilst architectural quality or age can add value to a property (Issac, 2002; Millington, 2003; LSE, 2012), being historic or listed can also have the opposite effect. Issac (2002) for example argued that the potential for any redevelopment or change to a building will affect its value and listing is often seen as being a barrier to change and reuse (Deloitte, 2013). This is caused by the restrictions listing can impose on property development but also the higher cost of maintenance and repair of historic structures which are more expensive to repair and maintain than non-historic buildings (Deloitte, 2013). This additional cost associated with developing historic buildings particularly often results in a conservation deficit which is the gap between the cost of repairs and the final value, (Historic England website, n.d; Wrigley and Hughes, 1998). This conservation gap can render development financially unfeasible and therefore reduces the value (economically speaking) of the building which is likely to remain empty.

There is, therefore, disagreement or uncertainty surrounding whether historic buildings create or do not create more value (in monetary terms). Historic England (2013) have argued that listed buildings have been found to yield a higher investment return than other commercial property over time. This was supported by a study commissioned by the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) with Historic England (1993, cited in Kincaid, 2002) which claimed that redevelopment produces higher values as it demonstrated that the refurbishment of listed office buildings resulted in market values being similar to, or slightly higher than, those that were not listed. However, Kincaid (2002) cited Scanlon *et al.* (1994) who disagreed, concluding that the restrictions on redevelopment and reuse that listing places on a

building creates a degree of uncertainty within the property market which subsequently reduces value.

Scanlon *et al.* (1994) argued that whilst yields (return on investment) on listed historic buildings are comparable to non-listed buildings, there was a negative effect on the value of the building itself. They (1994:3) stated:

Listing, like any government intervention, changes the operation of the market. It is a generally accepted principle of property economics that the market value of a site (including any building on it) is determined by the present value of expected future net income from the building's current use, OR, the capital value of the cleared site, whichever is the higher. The value of the cleared site is determined by the income from the best alternative use, minus the cost of demolition and construction. Assuming that the site owner is a rational utility maximiser, he will therefore demolish the existing building and erect another as soon as the present value of the net rental stream from a new (more modern and usually larger) building, after costs, exceeds the present value of the net rental stream from the existing building.

In Scanlon *et al.*'s (1994) study, value was expressed in economic terms and demonstrates the impact of listing on the market value and development timing of a site. Similarly, Harvey and Jowsey (2004:304) argued that "if left to market forces, the demolition of a historic building would take place [...] where the present values of the current use and of the cleared site are equal". They went on to suggest that the difficulties in valuing historic buildings but also assessing their redevelopment in economic terms, lies in the challenges with assessing the value of what they term "external benefits such as the pleasure which the view of a historic building gives passers-by" (2004:305). This highlights the challenges with historic buildings; they cannot simply be conceived of or valued in purely economic terms. As the RICS (2014:5) stated, the difficulty for valuers who are charged with valuing a historic building comes from their "additional factors" which include their historic nature, architectural quality, statutory constraints and lack of uniformity. Equally, these properties, like any other, are subject to their value being influenced by "fashion" in a particular type of building (Issac, 2002; Millington, 2000) and the desire for historic buildings or types and ages of historic buildings can change. Before considering the

difficulties of combining these two types of value; the economic and the value created by these “additional factors” (RICS, 2014:5), this chapter will now briefly explore what these additional factors are.

Smith (2006) argued that heritage is seen as being innately valuable by the heritage industry and heritage experts. However, as both Smith herself and Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) in their book *Valuing Historic Environments* suggested, this is not straightforward as shall be explored. In contrast to the view of the heritage sector who see value as being intrinsic to heritage objects (Smith, 2006), Harrison (2013; 2012) has argued that in modern heritage practices, heritage is not seen as a universal category of value. Consequently, over time some buildings will become irrelevant and therefore should no longer be considered as heritage. Harrison (2013) contended however that once something is considered as heritage then its value is never questioned and the decision to regard it as heritage is not reversed, it continues to be valued, protected and maintained as such.

English Heritage (2008:19) stated that “heritage values represent a public interest in places, regardless of ownership” and that “experts should use their knowledge and skills to encourage and enable others to learn about value and care” (2008:20). This latter quote is of particular interest as it suggested that experts are responsible for determining the value of heritage (as happens with those determining property or economic value). Harrison (2013:586) has however argued that “shifts in the late modern period came about partially in response to an increased recognition that heritage values are ascribed rather than intrinsic”. The ascribing of heritage value to sites is the role of heritage experts who determine what is allowed to be heritage and what is not and who can discuss what is heritage (Smith, 2006).

The criteria that English Heritage (2008) use to determine heritage sites and objects use the idea of significance and stated that there are four values that combine to create the significance of a particular historic building. These are: evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal values. Evidential relates to the past activity of a place, historic to the way the past can be connected to the present, aesthetic is architecturally related and communal refers to the meaning of a place or its collective memory potential (English Heritage, 2008). Historic England perceive “value” as “an aspect of worth or importance” (2008:72). The use of “worth” here was interesting,

given its connection to economic value although economic value does not come into assessing the significance of a historic building for Historic England. Although Historic England used four values to define the significance of a historic building, there have been many taxonomies of cultural value which are shown in Figure 2.1 below.

Riegl (1902)	Feildon & Jokilehto (1993)	English Heritage (1997)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Commemorative • Use • Newness 	Cultural Values: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative artistic or technical • Rarity Contemporary socioeconomic values: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Functional • Educational • Social • Political 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural value • Aesthetic value • Recreational value • Resource value • Economic importance
Mason (2002:10)	Feildon (2003:6)	Throsby (2006:43)
Sociocultural values: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical • Cultural/ symbolic • Social • Spiritual/religious • Aesthetic Economic values: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use (market) value • Non-use (non-market values): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Existence ○ Option ○ bequest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional • Cultural • Use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic • Spiritual • Social • Historical • Symbolic • Authenticity

Figure 2.1: Examples of cultural value typologies (Worthing and Bond, 2008: 60)

Figure 2.1 shows that there are many conceptualisations of value associated with cultural or heritage objects and there is overlap with the four considered by Historic England to constitute the significance of a historic building. Mason's (2008) types of value are of particular interest to this study as he employs categories of value that include both cultural and economic value types when discussing heritage value as Figure 2.2 demonstrates:

<i>Sociocultural values</i>	<i>Economic values</i>
Historical	Use (market) value
Cultural/ Symbolic	Non-use (non-market) value
Social	Existence
Spiritual/ religious	Option
Aesthetic	Bequest

Figure 2.2 Provisional typology of heritage values (from Mason, 2008: 103)

Mason (2008), in examining the taxonomies of value attributable to heritage, divided the different types of value into two as shown in the above figure: sociocultural values and economic values. Combined with Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2 shows the different typologies of value that try to classify the different types of heritage and cultural value. These classifications of value however were critiqued by both Smith (2006) and Gibson and Pendlebury (2009). Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) argued that whilst there has been an acceptance that value is socially constructed and should be democratic, it is therefore not something intrinsic to the object (Harrison, 2013). Waterton *et al.* (2006) highlighted the dichotomy of democratisation and authority and expertise in applying these heritage classifications of value and Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) argued that this is a problem for heritage preservation which, by its nature, seeks to fix objects and Smith (2006:34) suggested that heritage is concerned with the “management and regulation of social value and cultural meanings”. Smith (2006) has critiqued this control and reification of elite values by the heritage industry and, when considering former asylums, as buildings with a challenging history, there is no social obligation to remember as in the case of factories or industrial buildings with a working-class history (Olsen and Petturdoir 2012). This section has discussed the different types of value attributed to historic buildings and this chapter will now turn to the difficulties in combining economic and cultural values.

2.4 Combining tangible and intangible values through redevelopment

As seen in the above two sections, “value is a complex concept” (Guy and Henneberry, 2002:3) and this is particularly true of value when conceived of in terms of the reuse of historic buildings including former asylum sites. This is because there are many different types or conceptions of value that could be evident when

considering the process of conversion from one use to another. Equally, “values are not fixed; they are in some respects situational, and change over time” (Mason, 2006: n.p) and are also complicated by the interaction between people. The application of economic value to historic buildings is controversial and is made complicated for the redevelopment of the historic built environment as Mason (2006: n.p.) stated “preservationists have traditionally seen aesthetic or historic values as most important. Economic values, when they are introduced into the discussion about a heritage site by a developer or owner or elected official, tend to trump others”. Consequently, developers, owners and officials who chose economic value over heritage value are seen as ignoring the heritage of a locality or putting economic gain first (Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished). The difficulty of combining what is often termed economic and cultural value has been much discussed in the literature (Lichfield, 1988; Mason, 2005; 2006; 2008 Throsby, 2001) and it is this discussion that will be reviewed here.

Mason (2008:306) argued that “economic values are expressed in price, whereas cultural values are classified as significant or not. Further, economic values derive from individualised benefits tradable in markets; cultural values are by definition held collectively as well as individually”. This quote encapsulates the tension inherent in the redevelopment of historic buildings: property values are held by individuals whereas heritage is perceived as being something for everyone and, is seen as being innately valuable (Smith, 2006). Historic England (English Heritage, 2008:72) define value as “aspect of worth or importance, here attached by people to quality of places” and yet the RICS (2014:4) suggest that “the valuation process for historic properties is no different from any other category of property”. In terms of investment or asset valuation therefore, historic properties can be valued in the same way as non-historic properties. However, the RICS does recognise and advise its valuers that “historic properties may present more challenges for the valuer because of their particular characteristics” (2014:4). Historic buildings are therefore different to non-historic in terms of their “particular characteristics”, whether these are physical or symbolic. The above discussion suggests that economic value and heritage values are separate and cannot be combined or connected. Lichfield (1988:169) agreed, suggesting:

What is being valued is an intangible quality, which society currently treasures and wishes to pass on to future generations, but which is attached to a man-made object, which is property, public or private, whose exchange value to the owner could be positive or negative. There will be no direct correlation between exchange and heritage values.

Lichfield (1988) posited that, because cultural values are intangible and therefore cannot be easily measured, they cannot be compared with economic values which can. There can therefore be no connection between them. However, Throsby (2001:33) disagreed, stating:

We continue to maintain the necessity of regarding economic and cultural value as distinct entities when defined for any cultural commodity, each one telling us something different of importance to an understanding of the commodity's worth. If this is accepted, it is useful to ask to what extent the two types of value may be related. For simplicity for the purposes of this discussion let us assume that cultural value, like economic value, can be reduced to a single independent statistic, perhaps identifiable with respect to particular cultural commodities as a consensus judgement which summarises the various elements of which cultural value is composed. If so, it is more than likely that there will be some relationship between this measure of a given commodity's cultural value and its economic value.

Throsby (2001) suggested that, while complicated, there is likely to be a relationship between cultural value and economic value and, as argued above, cultural aspects of property such as their age and aesthetic characteristics and qualities do affect economic and property value (LSE, 2012: RICS, 2014). Certainly these characteristics of historic properties appeared to be desired by those purchasing properties as Strutt and Parker's (2014-15) survey of Housing Trends stated that the most desired type of property is period property, i.e. historic property.

This section has shown that value is a complicated concept and many taxonomies of value exist, in terms of both cultural value and economic value. Equally, the question of whether value is intrinsic to an object or not has been explored with heritage experts seen as being the determiners of what can be considered heritage and what

heritage values constitute (Smith, 2006). The combining of cultural and economic values has also been shown as being complicated with those who view historic properties as being able to be treated like any other property (RICS, 2014) and those who argued that cultural and economic values cannot be compared because they are fundamentally different (Lichfield, 1988). However both Throsby (2001) and Thompson (1979) have argued that there is a connection between the two sets of values and that cultural value affects economic value. Given this connection, it was therefore important for this study to find a method or framework to explore these different types of value and it is to the framework adopted that this chapter now turns.

2.5 Adaptation of Rubbish Theory

Aim 2 of this thesis seeks to explore whether there was a connection between the types of values the stakeholders in this study perceived in respect of historic former asylums. It was therefore necessary to find a theory which enabled the investigation of how value was attributed to objects across time. Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory: The creation and destruction of value* sought to do just that; to explore how value is found or created and what factors affect this. Therefore this section of the chapter concludes with a discussion of *Rubbish Theory* and how it was adapted for use in this thesis.

This thesis used an adapted version of Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* framework as a method to explore the different types of value ascribed to former asylums by the different stakeholders. A discussion of the theory as originally formulated now follows, together with a discussion of the major critiques, more recent uses of the theory in heritage tourism research and finally the adapted version that this thesis employed. *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson, 1979) provides a framework which seeks to explain the change in value of objects over time. Thompson (1979) argued that there are three categories into which an object can fall:

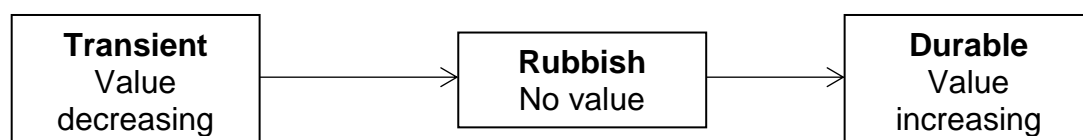


Figure 2.3: Change in value over time according to Rubbish Theory (Thompson, 1979: 7)

Thompson (1979:7) suggested that “objects are assigned to one of other of two overt categories”, these he termed “transient” and “durable”. Objects in the transient category decrease in value over time and have finite life-spans. Objects in the durable category increase in value over time and have (ideally) infinite life-spans”. How people act towards an object depends on which category to which the object belongs and how we view those objects (ibid). Just as our view of the object is socially constructed, so is how objects can change and become valued again. According to Thompson (1979:9) “a transient object gradually declining in value and in expected life-span may slide across into rubbish. [...] it has the chance of being discovered. It may be discovered by a creative *Times* reader and successfully transferred to durability”. The theory therefore provided a framework for exploring how values associated with former asylums have changed since they were in use as hospitals, through their period of closure and during their recent history, the focus of this thesis, as they were being redeveloped. It also enabled the exploration of how these changes or movements occur although this is an area where the theory has been subject to criticism.

Thompson (1979) argued that for an object to cross the boundaries between categories, it must somehow acquire value and gain an expected lifespan. It must also lose what Thompson called “its polluting properties. Either an item is invisible or visible, is timeless or has an expected lifespan, is polluting or pure, is an eyesore or a sight for sore eyes” (1979:25). A critique of the theory (Parson, 2008) was that Thompson proposed a clear binary, an either – or situation, there appears to be no in between for an object. The theory has attracted further criticism over how an object both attracts value but also moves between the categories of values. Parson (2008) argued that the main critique of the theory was just that, Thompson was not specific about how these movements between categories (as shown in Figure 2.4) occur. This was something that this thesis sought to investigate; what moves historic former asylums between each phase and to what extent is the emotional attachment or negative connotations of place a part of this movement. Thompson (1979) did state that certain movements between categories are not possible:

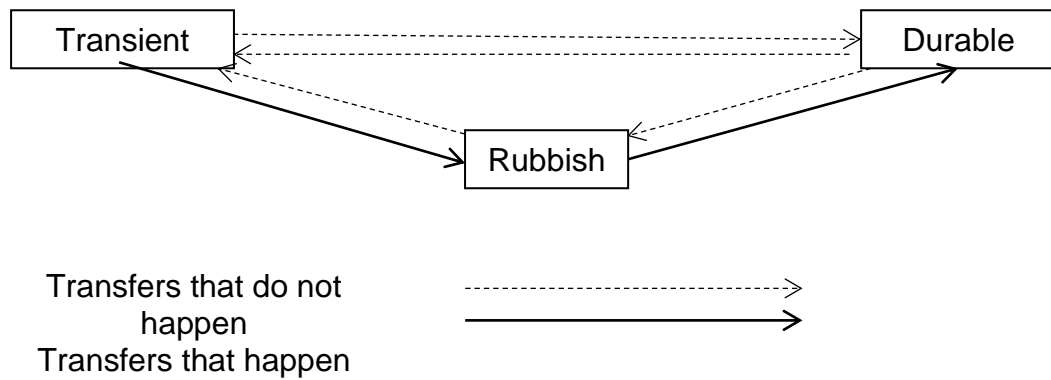


Figure 2.4: Movements between categories of value according to Rubbish Theory (Thompson, 1979:45)

According to Thompson's (1979) conception of object value, the only transfers that are possible are for an object to go from transient to rubbish and then to durable. He also argued, which was important for this study, that once an object has entered the durable category, "it is accompanied by an increasing aesthetic value" (1979:32) but that the intrinsic properties of an object do not mean that its value will last as its value duration is created by the social system. Both the direction of value transfer (Figure 2.4) and the latter quote posed challenges for this study and have been criticised in recent studies exploring Rubbish Theory. Edensor (2005:106-7) contended that:

Although useful in identifying the mobilities of value in things and the dynamic social processes through which the value of objects change, Thompson's rather universalising conception of rubbish appears to ignore other processes through which objects lose and become re-encharmed with value. The idea that transient objects must succumb to waste status is surely not an immutable law for the transient can be catapulted into durability through reassignment. Similarly the durable may become instantaneously value-less due to sudden transformations in politics, fashion or scholarly evaluation. Thompson also neglects the numerous contextual possibilities through which objects may be assigned value for nostalgic or affective reasons, through dissident cultural practice.

The model equally fails to show the entire lifecycle of an object, in particular the earlier stages of the cycle. It does not show how or when value starts to accrue before any change in value occurs at the transient stage. The ability and ways that

objects acquire value and move through the categories was of interest to this study as it sought to explore the types of value “found” in former asylum buildings and the process through which they go through from use to being empty to being reused again. It examined the process through which they “lose and become re-enchanted with value” (Edensor, 2005:107). An additional critique, offered by Lucas (2002:15) was that objects can have different values for different people at different times:

Thompson’s Rubbish Theory takes into account different people’s relative perceptions of what rubbish is, but at the same time preserving a definition which is universal. Thus while one person’s junk thrown on a skip is another person’s antique, it is precisely this difference which makes the object a border object, whose value is not fixed but negotiable by action. There are criticisms to be made of Thompson’s theory, not least the manner in which he polarises terms such as transient and durable, or value and valueless objects; more particularly the adoption of rubbish as a universal, zero signifier places a strain on the meaning of the word and its usefulness.

As both Parsons (2008) and Fisher and Smiley (2015) argued, the value of an object is dependent on how people see those objects and this can be different for different people. It was in reaction to this critique that Fisher and Smiley (2015), exploring heritage tourism and the value of heritage places, turned to in proposing their adaptation of *Rubbish Theory* which will now be outlined.

Fisher and Smiley (2015) proposed the model shown in Figure 2.5 to explore how heritage objects change in value across time. They also argued, as will be outlined below, that where Thompson (1979) posited that some transfers are impossible (Figure 2.4), this is in fact not the case and it is perfectly possible for an object to go from the durable to the rubbish category (Fisher and Smiley, 2015). Fisher and Smiley (2015) argued that there are both additional stages through which a historic former asylum passes and that other transfers between categories are therefore possible and this was something which this thesis agreed with and which was incorporated into the adaptation outlined below.

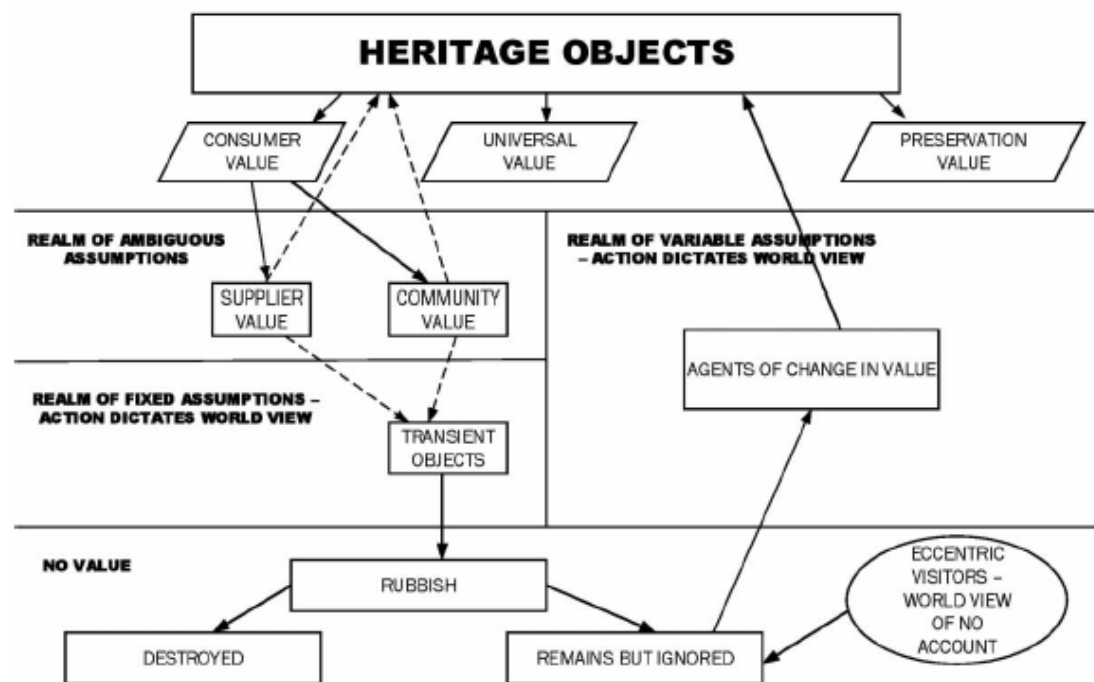


Figure 2.5: Adaptation of Rubbish Theory showing change in value of heritage objects over time Fisher and Smiley (2015:8).

Fisher and Smiley (2015) contended that whilst objects are in use they gain value through their operation as that use but once that use is obsolete, that object becomes immediately rubbish. For example, they stated that a building's value declines but the building itself remains because it is too costly to demolish, shown in the "no value" part of Figure 2.5. This can be argued for historic former asylums. They were built for a specific purpose as a hospital and once that use began, their value increased through that occupation. Upon closure their value declined and they became empty. In Fisher and Smiley's (2015) model, they then moved into the "no value" or "rubbish" category as their value reduced further but the cost of demolishing them is great. The object therefore goes from transient to rubbish. Once an object is in the "no value" category it is possible that "eccentric tourists" (Fisher and Smiley, 2015:8) visit these buildings but these tourists are not seen to have the power needed to dictate movement across boundaries (Thompson, 1979; Fisher and Smiley, 2015). This requires "agents of change" (Fisher and Smiley, 2015:8) who are seen as governments, local authorities, marketers etc. This was equally the case for former asylums. Whilst empty they might attract "eccentric tourists" (Fisher and Smiley, 2015), often in the form of urban explorers (for example, www.28Dayslater.co.uk; www.ukurbex.co.uk; www.whateversleft.co.uk) they largely go otherwise unnoticed

until something happens to make them visible again and which can result in reuse. This process was what this thesis sought to identify and investigate.

Fisher and Smiley (2015) maintained that once these sites and objects have been noticed by the “agents of change”, they then move into the durable category. Thompson (1979:7) argued that objects in the durable category have an “infinite lifespan” however this is contested by Fisher and Smiley (2015) owing to the fact that objects have different types of values associated with them, these values change over time and depend on the “agents of change” (2015:8) to sustain them. Fisher and Smiley’s (2015) adaptation focused on heritage objects as a whole, not simply buildings. Heritage buildings are subject to other influences over and above the usual property market in terms of cultural values (RICS, 2014) as well as the usual property market factors. Fisher and Smiley’s (2015) adaptation therefore did not allow for both the cultural and economic factors to be included, nor stakeholder’s perceptions of these.

Fisher and Smiley’s (2015) model (Figure 2.5) suggested that the following transfers are possible:

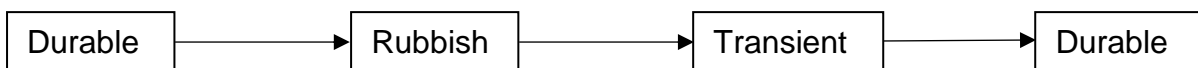


Figure 2.6: Transfer of objects through value categories over time (adapted from Fisher and Smiley, 2015).

Fisher and Smiley’s (2015) model refuted Thompson’s (1979) argument that the first transfer, from durable to rubbish, is not possible. They suggested this can happen immediately when an object is no longer used for its original use. However, this thesis proposes that there is in fact an additional transient stage as follows:

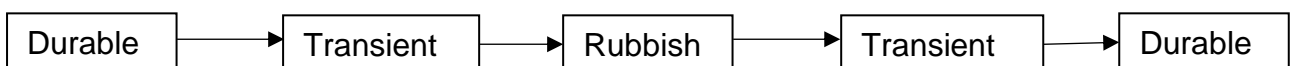


Figure 2.7: Adaptation of how objects move through value categories over time (author, 2015).

As Fisher and Smiley (2015) stated, different objects have different values at different times and the building value declines over time. This thesis is in agreement that the value of a building will decline in terms of its use and therefore overall value (cultural or economic). However, during the process of this decline the building still has residual value until it reaches the point where demolition is more cost effective (Harvey, 1987). It is for this reason that this thesis proposes that there should be an additional transient stage between durable (original use) and rubbish (empty/ no value) to account for this residual value as shown in Figure 2.7.

As outlined above, Rubbish Theory has been subject to criticism, most notably around its lack of explanation as to how objects move between the different categories. There are theories that explore aspects of this in relation to the themes explored in this thesis, for example obsolescence theory, property development models and temporary use theory. Each of these theories was considered as part of the literature review and analysis stage of this research however were not felt appropriate because they explore only one particular aspect (for example obsolescence) at a time and this thesis looked at how the different factors interacted with each other during the process of conversion. As seen from the above critiques of Rubbish Theory, it does not have any explanatory power, however it provided a framework for exploring the emerging themes and insights from the data itself which are discussed in Chapters 4-7. The insights from the empirical data from this study (see Chapter 3 for collection methods) were key to this study exploring the perceptions of those involved in the redevelopment process and therefore an overarching framework rather than a prescriptive one was necessary.

This section has explored the types of value and influences on value associated with historic properties and former asylum buildings. Building on section 2.4 which discussed different taxonomies of value, this section has outlined how changes in these types of value has been theorised in the literature and proposed a variation on this through the adaptation of Rubbish Theory. It has examined the issues within this theory in discussing the question of how these values change over time and the fact that objects can have different values for different people at different times in their lives. This section has finally suggested that value is dependent on people's perceptions and meanings attributed to those objects (Blumer, 1969; Fisher and Smiley, 2015; Parsons, 2008; Thompson, 1979). Given that value is dependent on

perceptions it is therefore now important to examine what perceptions those might be in respect of historic former asylums and the stakeholders involved. For that reason this thesis now turns to examine the literature on place attachment and place stigmas.

2.6 Place attachment

Place is a difficult concept to define with the word “place” conveying a sense of home, a location or a place within a social hierarchy (Hayden, 1995). This thesis did not seek to redefine the idea of place, rather to explore people’s emotional connection to a particular type of place in historic former asylums. Excellent accounts of place and sense of place have been provided by for examples Relph (1976), Tuan (1977), Cresswell (2004) and Massey (2005). Place is complex but also seen as meaningful by many different disciplines (Milligan, 1998). Meaningful places and connections to place have been explored through the concept of place attachment in the disciplines of geography and environmental psychology, each of which employ different methodologies for investigating the phenomena.

Given the complex nature of the concept of place attachment, several researchers have attempted to model the phenomenon to seek to understand the different parts of the concept that come together to form attachments to place. Two notable examples of this are the Tripartite Model by Scannell and Gifford (2010) (Figure 2.8) and Devine-Wright’s (2009) stages of psychological responses over time to changes in place (Figure 2.9). These two models provided a good starting point with which to explore the phenomena in the literature and to examine the issues and gaps in knowledge relating to this.

Scannell and Gifford (2010:2) proposed, through their Tripartite Model shown in Figure 2.8 that:

The first dimension is the actor, *who* is attached? To what extent is the attachment based on individually and collectively held meanings? The second dimension is the psychological processes: how are affect, cognition and behaviour manifested in the attachment? The third dimension is the object of

the attachment, including place characteristics: what is the attachment *to* and what is the nature of this place?

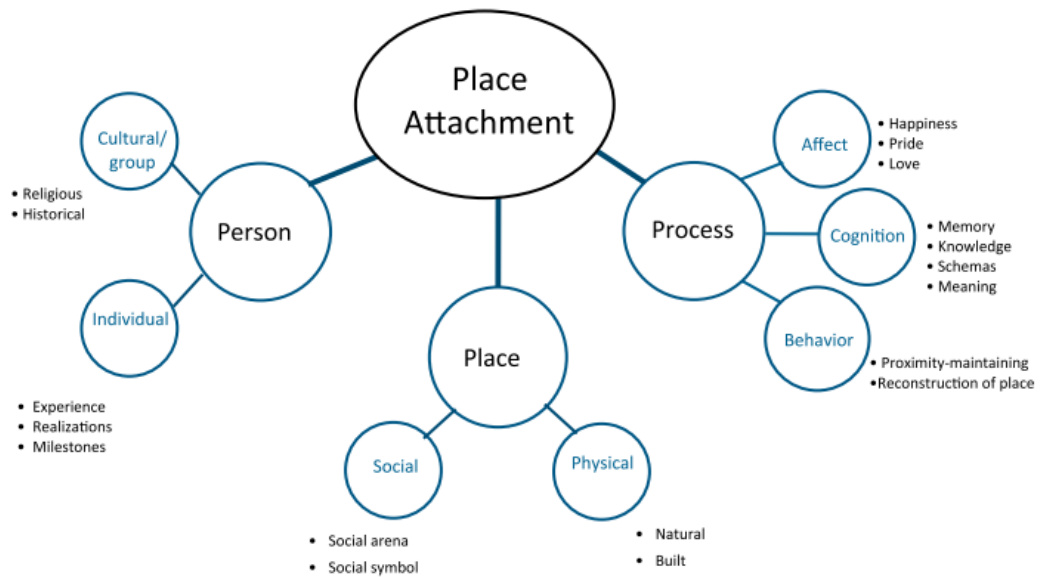


Figure 2.8: Tripartite Model of Place Attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010:2)

Through their model (Figure 2.8), Scannell and Gifford (2010) separated out the individual from the collective in terms of the “person” element of place attachment, suggesting this is two separate influences on the creation of place attachment. They proposed that historical or religious elements influence the collective level of people and place attachment, something supported by Low (1992 in Lewicka, 2008) who contended that “historical sites create a sense of continuity with the past, embody group traditions and facilitate place attachment”. Yet Low and Altman (1992) in their seminal work on place attachment also argued that there is another aspect of the group phenomenon; that place attachment links people together, through families, partners, children and other groups of people. People therefore make a connection to other people through place and this creates an attachment to that place, it is the association with other people as well as the place itself.

Shamai and Illatov (2005) posited that the location of a place is not in itself sufficient to generate a sense of place or place attachment, it requires a long experience of, and involvement in, a place. Shamaï and Illatov’s (2005) position is reinforced by Guilianì (2003) who contended that an important factor in creating attachment to place was the length of residence in a place which was tied to a sense of belonging

within the community, the age and socio-economic class of the person. These two studies argued that the longer someone has lived in a place, the more they feel they belong there and that the older and higher the social status of the person, the more likely they are to feel that they belong to the community and, consequently, to that place. Altman and Low (1992) suggested that at the level of the individual, place attachment goes deeper than this. They argued that the attachment to a particular place provides “a sense of daily and ongoing security and stimulation, with places and objects offering predictable facilities, opportunities to relax from roles, the chance to be creative and to control aspects of one’s life” (1992:10). Place and attachment to that place, creates stability for a person. Tying this in with the idea that length of residence generated greater attachment, this suggested that a person is likely to become more attached the long they have lived in a particular place and therefore that this attachment should keep growing the longer they continue to be there.

The creation of place attachment through time has been challenged by Manzo (2014) who argued that length of residence does not automatically create attachments to place. This role of time or duration in creating attachments to place was not taken account of in Scannell and Gifford’s (2010) model (Figure 2.8). They included the elements of the process of forming attachments (memories, the proximity to place and the emotions involved in attachments) but time was not considered. The person and the place are both taken into account in the model but, given the other studies outlined above, it was felt that the effect of time should be added to the model as part of the process of attachments forming.

The existing literature and research on place attachment suggested a further element in the creation of place attachment: the aesthetics of a place or building. Equally that people generally prefer historic to modern architecture (Nasar, 1998). If we follow the above literature that place attachment, at the level of the individual is personal. It is possible that people could be attached to both historic and non-historic properties through the experiences that are important to them in those places. One important area where there is a gap in the literature and one which this study sought to investigate, was the types of places that create place attachment as Hernández *et al.* (2014) have argued that what was missing from existing place attachment studies was an examination of what types of places created attachments and the characteristics these places had.

The model proposed by Scannell and Gifford (2010, Figure 2.8) provided a way of teasing out the individual elements that created or led to place attachment. However there were several criticisms that can be made of it in addition to those outlined above. Firstly, in separating out the elements of place attachment into the three sections: place, person and process, this implied that these could each be dealt with, or examined separately. Devine-Wright (2014) argued that in fact these elements are multidimensional and therefore by separating them they are interpreted as structurally separate phenomena. Given the complex nature of place attachment, these three elements are likely to intertwine. It is difficult to separate individual and collective attachment and the place itself is likely to influence the cognitive aspects of place attachment but this again is likely to be difficult to both measure and separate as a person may not be able to explain their reasons for being attached to a particular place.

A second weakness with the Figure 2.8 model, and one that was of importance for this study was that it did not attempt to explain the consequences or actions resulting from people's attachment to place, for example if that place was threatened, although this is not a stated aim of the model. To this end, Devine-Wright's (2009) model was helpful:

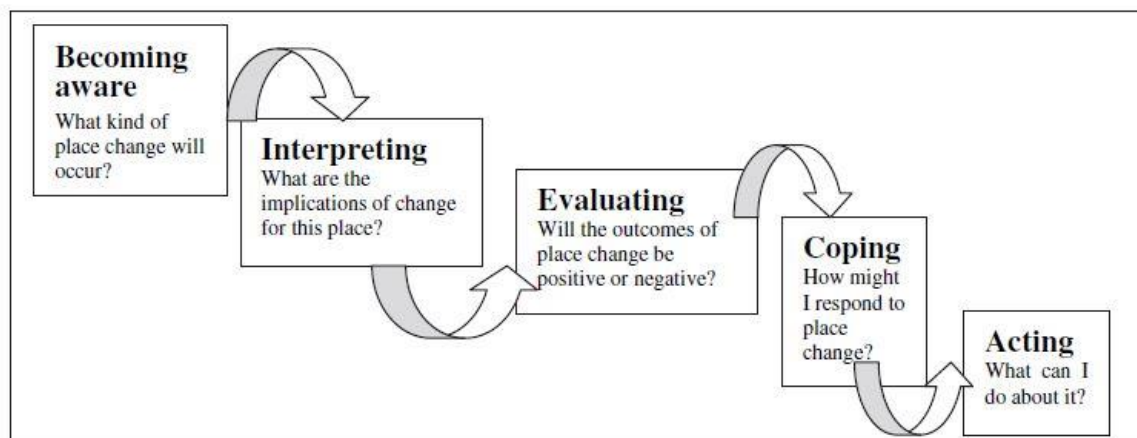


Figure 2.9: Devine-Wright's (2009:433) Stages of psychological response over time to place change.

Figure 2.9 reflects “a social constructivist perspective in which understanding how proposals for change to a place are rendered meaningful” (Devine-Wright, 2009). Thus this model suggested that those individuals who have the greatest attachment to a particular place were, consequently, and because of the strength of that

attachment, more likely to act or respond to changes to that place. Stedman (2002, cited in Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014) agreed with this and suggested that we fight for those places that are central to us when the symbolic meanings we associated with that place are threatened. He did clarify that this was only applicable in circumstances where people feel empowered to act; where people do not feel they have any control, they are less likely to act.

Place attachment was therefore seen as a catalyst for action, both for individuals (Devine-Wright, 2009) and for communities (Mihaylov and Perkins, 2014). And yet, place was meaningful to different people for different reasons (Gustafson, 2014). If people interpret places differently, they are therefore going to act in different ways, producing different actions or responses accordingly. Given that most place attachment literature focuses on the positive aspects of attachment (Manzo, 2014; 2005; 2003) this implied that most people who are positively attached to a place will likely act in the same way when that place is threatened: they will seek to protect that place. Yet, if different people feel differently about the same places, this strengthens Hernández *et al.*'s (2014) assertion that there needs to be further research on the types of places that generate attachment and any subsequently action to protect that place. There was also be a further conclusion that could be drawn. Place attachment is clearly a complex phenomenon as the literature acknowledges, and yet the models suggested for approaching it render it relatively simple. If people feel differently about places then consequently there must be different types of attachment or feeling towards places or buildings and the reasons for acting to protect a threatened place are not explored in the literature. Equally, people may seek to protect a place but not be attached to that place in the same way as someone who could be said to be "place attached" through length of residence for example. This is likely to have particular relevance for heritage redevelopment as it is feasible that people will act to protect or save a place even if they have never been there or do not live in the vicinity (Demos, 2004; Mason, 2008).

2.7 Place stigma

Having explored the concept of place attachment, this chapter will now examine the concept of stigma as related to place. As shall be discussed, there is considerably less literature relating to the concept of place stigma or stigmas and there are no

conceptual or theoretical frameworks as those that exist for attachments to place. As outlined in Chapter 1, former asylums invoke particular connotations associated with their previous use which need to be addressed as part of this study. Equally, as outlined in the previous section, place attachment literature tends to focus on the positive aspects of attachments, with little attention to the more negative, or what Manzo (2014) terms the “ambivalent” nature of place attachments. As Guilianani and Feldman (1993:272 cited in Manzo 2003:50) stated:

If we accept the prevalent definitions of place attachment that it is an affective bond to place, we need to consider whether or not to include a negative emotional relationship. To speak of negative attachment contrasts with the everyday meaning of the word. The places where Nazi lagers were located are certainly ‘places’ with a strong emotive value, in particular for Jewish people. Would they say that they are ‘attached’ to them?

Places are not always positive for everyone and this is particularly true for asylums with their “tainted reputation” (Moon *et al.* 2015). From the limited literature on place stigma that does exist, the main areas of focus were the stigma of housing estates (Hastings and Dean, 2003; Kirkness and Tijé-Dra, 2017; Wacquant, 2008, 2007; Wassenberg, 2004), the stigma of place reputation (Hayden, 2000), diverse place meanings including place ambivalence (Manzo 2014; 2005) and murder houses (Sneikers and Reijnders, 2011). Other types of stigma such as that surrounding derelict buildings will also be explored as the three asylum sites under consideration in this study were empty for a considerable period of time before their redevelopments started.

Prior to examining the literature that does exist, it was first important to consider the use and definition of “stigma” and to be clear on the definition that was used in this thesis. Oxford Dictionaries Online (no date) defined “stigma” as “a mark of disgrace associated with a particular circumstance, quality or person” and provides, interestingly for this study, as an example of its usage “the stigma of mental disorder”. In suggesting the stigma of mental disorder, it could be argued that former asylums, as places that were supposed to treat mental disorders and could be considered in the same light as “certain stigmata are not fixed to individuals nor to groups but to spaces” (Hayden, 2000:237) and “landscapes- just like people – can

retain a sense of guilt (Sneikers and Reijnders, 2011:30). The buildings contained or attracted the stigma attributed to the people who once lived inside them and, as Moon *et al.* (2015) argued, that this is the case with former asylum sites.

The definition of “stigma” is difficult and challenging (Gourley, 2015; Link and Phelan, 2001) with Gourley suggesting that it “can be thought of as a subjective distaste” (Gourley, 2015:2) and Rozin *et al.* (2010, cited in Gourley 2015) who argued that it was often a sense of disgust although they associate this with death or dead bodies. Link and Phelan (2001) contended that there was a huge variability in the definitions within the literature (2001) and posited that often writers do not explicitly define what they mean when they employ the term. They (2001:364) stated that the following definitions were used:

[They] seem to refer to something like the dictionary definition (“a mark of disgrace”) or to some related aspect like stereotyping or rejection (e.g. a social distance scale), when stigma is explicitly defined, many authors quote Goffman’s definition of stigma as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting” and that reduces the bearer “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1963:3).

Link and Phelan’s (2001) citing of Goffman’s use of “tainted” above provided an interesting link back to Moon *et al.*’s (2015) view of asylums as having “tainted reputations” and this suggested that asylums could be considered to be stigmatised places. This is further strengthened by Link and Phelan’s (2001) citing of a study by Link in 1987 where people were asked how they felt about former mental patients [sic] with the results showing that the label of “mental patient” “linked the described person to stereotyped beliefs about the dangerousness of people with mental illness” (Link and Phelan, 2001:369). Whilst this did not explicitly prove that former asylums are stigmatised places, it did suggest that mental illness is seen to be stigmatised by people and therefore this added weight to the idea that the stigma could be applied from the person to the buildings as outlined above as the buildings function as what Morton (2007) calls a “mnemonic container”; a place that stimulates memories of events that took place in a particular building.

Wacquant (2008; 2007), writing about territorial stigma, takes Goffman's (1963) definition and argues that Goffman misses out a vital element in his conceptualisation: the blemish of place. Wacquant (2007) stated that places are stigmatised or suffer from blemishes connected with existing stigmas such as poverty and ethnic origin and contended that this territorial stigma can lead to individuals being "discredited" or "disqualified" from certain areas of life (Kirkness and Tijé-Dra, 2017; Wacquant, 2008). Whilst Wacquant (2008, 2007) has added to the discussion and theory on the stigma of place, his work (Wacquant, 2008, 2007) and more recent studies (for example Crooks, 2017; Kirkness and Tijé-Dra, 2017), still focus largely on house estates and housing renewal areas, not places with historic stigmas.

The perceived transfer of the stigma of the "mad" or mentally ill connected with the original use of former asylum sites, to the buildings themselves (as argued by Moon *et al.* 2015 and Philo, 2004) results in the conclusion that former asylums sites were and are stigmatised places. It was however important to ask what the difference was between a stigmatised place and a place with a negative image to ascertain whether former asylum sites were indeed stigmatised places rather than simply ones with negative images. Wassenberg's (2004: 225) consideration of the stigma of large housing estates is useful as he argued:

An image, reputation or status of an area can be both positive and negative; as such these are relative notions. A stigma, on the contrary has only a negative connotation. It is associated with shame and disgrace, with the uncomfortable and unacceptable; all negative things. An area with a negative image has a stigma.

Although Wassenberg was talking about housing estates, this test could be applied to any part of the built environment. He contended that stigmatised areas were only negative, they had no positive images, in order to have a stigma or be considered as stigmatised there could be no positive element to a place. Franklin (2002:183) suggested that:

The segregation of the mentally ill from society, together with the ever increasing numbers of those incarcerated, reinforced the feelings of horror,

fear and revulsion accorded to the so-called mad. These negative perceptions became displaced by association onto the asylum as a built form.

The feelings of “horror, fear and revulsion” that Franklin (2002:183) outlined above could not be argued to have a positive image; these are purely negative feelings. Applying Wassenberg’s (2004) “test” of whether a place is stigmatised or simply has a negative image, enables former asylum sites to be considered as “stigmatised places”; there are no positive associations that are seemingly possible with these places. Hastings and Dean (2003:180-1) suggested that “stigmatised neighbourhoods tend to be physically separate from their urban contexts. This separation was part of the explanation for why they become stigmatised in the first place” which adds to further the view that former asylums, although different from housing estates, are stigmatised places. As outlined in Chapter 1, asylum sites were located on the outskirts of towns and centres of population (Korman and Glennerster, 1990), thereby occupying the “physically separate” locations that results in places becoming stigmatised as suggested by Hastings and Dean (2003).

From the above limited literature that explored both the definition of stigma and stigma as attached to places, it is important to define the concept of stigma that will be used in this thesis. The definitions of stigma outlined above were that of a mark of disgrace (Oxford Dictionary), a place that held a sense of guilt (Sneiliers and Reijnders, 2011), stereotyping or rejection (Link and Phelan, 2001) and a place that was tainted (Goffman, 1963; Moon *et al.* 2015) or something that has an attribute that was in some way discrediting (Goffman, 1968), a “blemish of place” (Wacquant, 2007). This thesis saw former asylum sites as tainted or blemished and agreed with Moon *et al.* (2015) and Mellett (1982) that the historic perceptions surrounding the mentally ill have passed to the buildings themselves. This stigma discredits the place and leaves it with a mark of its past history, something that people find uncomfortable and unnerving in general. Stigma, as this thesis uses the term, therefore relates to a mark of disgrace or guilt, something which is tainted or discredited in some way. As well as the stigma that relates to the specific history of former asylums and the resulting connotations, there are other things that may stigmatise or give a negative image to a place and it is to this that the chapter now turns.

2.8 Other types of stigma or negative image

As well as the stigma or negative images that can be associated with a place through their former history or spatial locations such as stigmatised housing estates (Hastings and Dean, 2003; Wacquant, 2008; Wassenberg, 2004) this thesis will now explore the literature relating to derelict buildings and decay. The three sites under consideration in this study were all empty for years before they were converted and therefore it was important to explore the literature and perceptions relating to decay and dereliction. The topic of decay and dereliction has been discussed widely in the literature relating to modern ruins (for example Edensor, 2005; High and Lewis, 2007; Mah, 2012), particularly industrial ruins. Within a recent publication (Henneberry, 2017) the role of transient or temporary uses within urban development was explored and Bennett (2017) sought to explore the impact of built environment law and policy on modern ruins (for example derelict factories). Modern ruins are not the same type of building as historic former asylums and have different histories and connotations, however, they have suffered from long periods of being empty following the decline in their original use which is similar to that of former asylums and therefore enable comparisons to be made.

Much of the literature on modern ruins, decay and ruination more generally, emphasises the unease that people feel in relation to empty buildings. For example, Petursdottir and Olsen (2012:6) suggested that “being modern *and* ruined, made modern ruins ambiguous and even anachronistic, and their hybrid or uncanny state made them hard to negotiate within established cultural categories of waste and heritage, failure and progress”. This quote highlighted the unease or “uncanny” status that modern empty buildings have in particular, they do not fit within heritage or cultural categories and make people uneasy or uncomfortable. Lynch (1972) argued that boarded up areas within a locality become symbols of evil whereas building or construction shows progress. However, he later contended that “permanence and growth form a dilemma, since permanence is stagnation and growth is instability” (Lynch, 1990:1), suggesting that people also find instability challenging. Lynch’s (1990:1) explanation for the unease at empty or decaying buildings was that this unease is connected to death and loss and that “we fear waste which is the signal of loss. Waste is an impurity to avoid or to wash off. Things should be clean and permanent, or better, should constantly increase in competence and power”. Empty

buildings remind people of failure or waste, of things that have not worked or which are no more. This idea of death or failure is final whereas Petursdottir and Olsen (2012) argued that an element of ruination that makes people uncomfortable was the process, as well as the end stage.

The ruins of the recent past [...] display themselves in the ongoing process of ruining – where ruination itself, the active process of withering and decay, becomes conspicuous and draws our attention. They are as if caught in a state of “unfinished disposal” (Hetherington, 2004) and it may well be that it is this transient state, their being in-between and not belonging, that makes the ruins of the recent past so disturbing (Pettursdottir and Olsen, 2012:7)

This uncomfortable or disturbing nature of modern ruins and derelict buildings did not necessarily equate to a stigma per se, however the process of ruination was troubling both in itself and for those managing derelict or decaying places. As Edensor (2005:7) argued “in a conventional reading of the urban landscape, dereliction and ruin is a sign of waste and for local politicians and entrepreneurs tends to provide stark evidence of an area’s lack, that simultaneously signifies a vanished prosperity and, by contrast, an uncertain future”. This failure or decay is also seen as being contagious and likely to spread if not kept contained and resolved as Broken Window theory discussed. In the 1970s, Broken Window theory postulated that “if a window in a building is broken *and is left unrepaired* [sic] all the rest of the windows will soon be broken” (Wilson and Kelling, 1982:2-3). This introduced the idea of contagion in that one broken window would lead to more and would subsequently lead to crime and dangerous neighbourhoods and was explored more recently by Bennett (2017:18) who argued that the ruin is seen as an “agentive force stalking the city”, an eyesore or portal for negative impacts within the local area such as “economic declines, falling house prices, squatters, drug dealers, vandals and so on” (Bennett, 2017:20).

Wilson and Kelling contended that “such an area is vulnerable to criminal invasion” (1982:3) and Broken Window theory posited that areas where decay and dereliction are left unchecked become crime ridden and unsafe; dereliction therefore becomes a problem that needs to be solved. This suggestion that derelict buildings are a problem to be solved has also been taken up in the UK with the planning authorities finding these areas and buildings problematic:

Derelict landscapes and ruined structures, commonly derided by much contemporary planning and urban design literature, institutional frameworks and reports testify to Britain's industrial past, while also highlighting the vicissitudes of contemporary capitalism (Hudson, 1993).

As well as this being seen as a problem at the level of government:

Sometimes, these landlords are 'absent' and frankly have no interest in or knowledge of local needs. They would rather leave a unit empty for years than consider discounting its rent. This has led to the high vacancy rates we see today, but also the dog-eared and down-at-heel buildings that blight the character of our high streets (Portas Review, 2011:33).

When important properties in the middle of high streets are empty it pulls down the attractiveness and desirability of the street. The problems associated with empty properties are considerable. They attract vandalism and increase insecurity and fear. And this all reduces the value of surrounding businesses and homes. So the decision to leave a property empty is not just a private matter for the landlord. It affects us all. Innovative solutions could add value to not just the individual properties but to the surrounding area. (Portas Review, 2011:34).

The above two quotes from the Portas Review (2011), clearly raised the issue of vacancy and the problems associated with empty properties, i.e. they are problematic as they cause crime. Modern ruins or derelict places also cause problems for heritage practitioners:

Largely left out of heritage charters and concern they are mainly considered as an environmental and aesthetic disturbance, representing a dismal and unwanted presence to be eradicated, or transformed, rather than something to be considered, cared, or accepted, in its current state of being (Petursdottir and Olsen, 2012:4).

Again, this emphasised the desire to eradicate these buildings, they make us uncomfortable, rather than, as with old ruins, them becoming something that is cared for. Modern ruins or derelict places are seen as uncomfortable, problematic, and undesirable. As Lynch (1990:111) stated:

Abandonment, dereliction and destruction are not the only breeders of waste ground. There are uses not welcome in any settled community but essential to the larger region. These include accommodation for people on the fringe of society in one way or another: halfway houses, mental hospitals or low income housing projects.

In this quote, Lynch equated dereliction with waste ground and waste ground with other uses of space that people do not want, including mental hospitals. Whilst Lynch does not use the word “stigma” directly, both mental hospitals as former asylums and housing estates were seen as being stigmatised sites. However, Mah (2012) argued that ruins have the potential to be turned into something else, rather than being valued in their ruined states. This idea that ruins have potential or that they are connected to development cycles was explored by Henneberry (2017) who argued that buildings or land go through different iterations (renovation, alteration, demolition etc) as they are adapted to meet the requirements of each generation of users.

Within this cycle however, ruins occur when cultural or societal factors create a gap or “hiatus” (Henneberry, 2017:1) between their functional obsolescence, decline and their redevelopment and reuse. This suggested that stigma, a cultural or social factor has a role to play in the transformation of historic former asylums sites but that these sites have the potential to become something new, the process which this thesis investigates. As Henneberry (2017) also argued, a contributing factor to this process is that of time and that “different actors and groups perceive, experience and use time – the distant and more recent past, the present and the future – in different ways in different contexts” (2017:251). As has been discussed in this chapter, different actors have different priorities and different expectations towards historic former asylums sites and this is likely to affect their views on their redevelopment. As Henneberry (2017:251) concluded, “these different temporalities contribute to tensions and conflicts within and between spaces” and it is these tensions and conflicts that this thesis sought to investigate.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed the existing literature that explores the reuse of former asylum sites, people's perceptions of them and how they form as well as the areas of place attachment and stigmas. It has also examined the literature on value and proposed an adapted version of Thompson's (1979) Rubbish Theory that will be used in Chapter 4 to explore the taxonomies of value in the data ascribed to historic former asylums by the stakeholder groups in this study. It has argued that this thesis contributes to several disciplines in exploring the reuse of historic former asylums. In terms of place attachment, this study investigated a place with negative connotations to see if attachments were formed and examined the reuse of a type of place which has been argued to be "tainted" or stigmatised. It sought to study the perceptions of the different stakeholder groups, what these were and how they affected the reuse of former asylum sites, something that has not previously been investigated. Finally, as per the aims and objectives outlined in Chapter 1, this thesis will determine the different taxonomies of value ascribed to historic former asylums by each of the stakeholder groups in the study and will look at how these affect and influence the reuse process. In order to achieve this and the other three aims, the methodology adopted for this study will now be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3. Research Design and methods

This chapter considers the methodological approaches taken within this research. It justifies the adoption of a mixed methods approach through addressing the associated paradigms and exploring the data collection methods employed. It outlines the methods adopted: semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, their operationalisation and the data analysis methods. Finally it explores issues of validity, reliability and triangulation and concludes with a reflection on the limitations of the methodological approaches adopted.

3.1 Approach taken

Property development, and heritage property development in particular involves many different actors and contextual forces (Fisher and Collins, 1999) while engagement with the built environment in its various forms necessitates an engagement with a wide range of paradigms and different interests (Dovey, 1999). A research design that enabled people's experiences, complex situations and contrasting viewpoints to be explored was needed and this is why a mixed methods approach was chosen. A mixed methods study employs both qualitative and quantitative data and given that these two approaches are often considered to be incompatible (Greene, 2007; Morgan, 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009) it is therefore important to firstly examine the two paradigms, to explore the issues and discussions around their combination and then address why this approach was considered appropriate for this project.

A qualitative approach is "based on non-numerical narratives [...] associated with the interpretivist paradigm" (McEvoy and Richards, 2006: 67) and is a methodology that is employed to examine and understand meanings that individuals have towards a particular situation or problem (Creswell, 2009). The data collected is usually in the form of "open-ended information" (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007:6) which is usually gathered with the use of interviews with participants. In contrast, a quantitative approach favours "standardised measures and statistical techniques" (McEvoy and Richards, 2006:67) and is commonly associated with the positivist paradigm. A quantitative approach is adopted to test theories and examine the relationships between variables within a problem (Creswell, 2009) and is analysed using statistical

procedures. It therefore employs “closed-ended information” (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007:6) which is obtained using measures or survey instruments. A mixed methods approach is therefore one in which both these types of data are combined in some form (Creswell, 2009). This however, as Creswell (2009) states, is more than simply combining the two approaches as it involves combining two approaches with two competing paradigms, and it is this question of mixing two paradigms with contrasting philosophical bases that has been the subject of great debate and contestation (Greene, 2008; Morgan, 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Blaike (1991, cited in McEvoy and Richards, 2006:66) argued that combining these two approaches is a methodological “minefield” because of their contrasting epistemological and ontological standpoints. Following Creswell (2009), and in order to highlight the differences between the respective philosophical standpoints, the main tenets of these approaches are as follows:

Table 3.1: Main tenets of Positivism and Constructivism (adapted from Creswell, 2009:7-8).

Positivism (or postpositivism)	Constructivism (and interpretivism)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causes determine outcomes and therefore positivists examine problems designed to identify these • Ideas are reduced to small sets of ideas to test • Measurement of an objective reality is key • Researchers begin with a theory and then collect data to test this theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals hold meanings about the world and their experience of it and the researcher looks for these wide-ranging meanings • The goal is to study the participants' views and experiences • Interaction between participants is also often studied to understand the historical and cultural backgrounds of the participants and situations • Research is shaped by the researcher's own background and this is recognised and acknowledged • Researchers aim to interpret people's meanings of the world around them; they generate a theory or interpretation from the data

Clearly, these two approaches have what would appear to be opposite “worldviews” (Creswell, 2009; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). In tracing the history of these debates, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) suggested that there are predominantly two types of researchers: those who believe it is not possible to mix qualitative and quantitative methods as their philosophical stances are incompatible by their very nature (as shown above), and those who believe it is perfectly possible to do so and in order to combine these methods, adopt a different philosophical position, that of pragmatism.

Pragmatism is often associated with mixed methods because of the importance of the research questions themselves, rather than the importance of the methods employed (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). Shannon-Baker (2015) argued that pragmatism is an outcome and practical solution orientated position and this enables the boundaries or differences between the two philosophical standpoints to be removed as it looks at “what is meaningful to both” (Biesta, 2010, cited in Shannon-Baker, 2015:7). Pragmatism, holds the following viewpoints:

- There are both single and multiple realities and researchers test hypotheses but look at multiple perspectives
- It focuses on practicality, i.e. collecting data by a “what works” method to answer the research question
- Researchers include both biased and unbiased viewpoints
- It combines methodologies
- Researchers use both formal and informal writing styles in presenting their research

(Crotty, 1998).

This use of “what works” and the focus on the practical is what links pragmatism to mixed methods. It enables a researcher to use whatever methods are required to address the research problem (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; 2007). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:13) also argued that it is practical because “individuals tend to solve problems using both numbers and words, combining inductive and deductive thinking” and therefore could be said to reflect how individuals make sense of their worlds as they themselves employ mixed methods approaches.

This combining of both approaches by using a mixed method approach, enables questions to be answered that using one approach would not answer adequately (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). It therefore combines the strengths of both approaches (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007) and the pragmatist standpoint enabling this to be achieved. It also allowed an inductive and deductive approach to the data and theory to be adopted as it uses “abduction”, which “moves back and forth between induction and deduction – first converting observations into theories and then assessing those theories through action” (Morgan, 2007:71). In breaking the boundaries between the two approaches (Shannon-Baker, 2015), mixed methods research also enables the use of multiple worldviews, something that was of importance to this research that examined a wide range of stakeholder’s opinions, experiences and views of the redevelopment of former historic asylum buildings.

Mixed methods research is suitable for problems where one data source may be insufficient (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) or where one paradigm may not adequately answer the research questions (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003); where a “what works” approach is beneficial (Crotty, 1998); and where both single and multiple, or divergent, world views and realities can be examined (Crotty, 1998; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) also argued that an additional strength is that, because both quantitative and qualitative data are collected, this enables stronger inferences to be made through the abductive approach (Morgan, 2007). Initially a qualitative approach was planned for this project as it would explore each of the stakeholders involved in the process of redevelopment through interviews. However, it subsequently adopted what Creswell (2009:14) termed a “sequential mixed methods procedure where the researcher seeks to elaborate on or expand on the findings of one method with another method”. The views of the general public were initially omitted from the study and the best way to obtain their opinions was decided to be through the use of questionnaires (see section 3.4 for more detail). Figure 3.1 shows the methods employed with the interviews addressed in section 3.3 and the questionnaires in section 3.4:

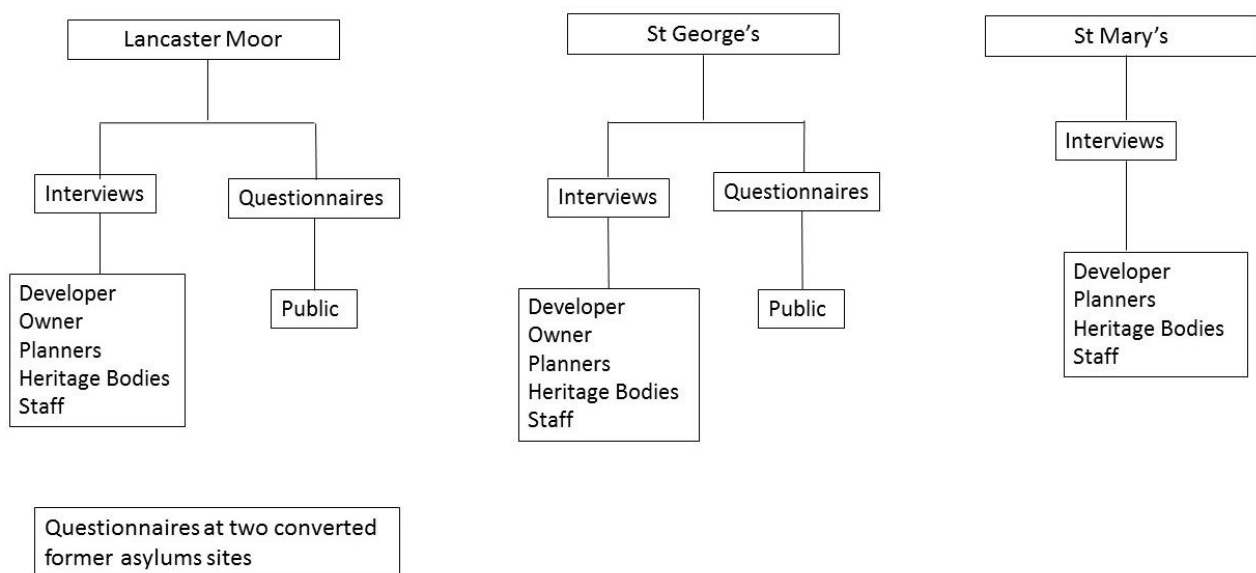


Figure 3.1: Methods employed in the study at each site of investigation

Adopting this approach enabled the research questions to be examined from different angles and different perspectives within each of the three sites. An analysis of the planning applications for the three sites and an analysis of the marketing materials for the developments was also considered as this would have enabled an exploration of both how the new sites were being presented by the developers as well as how they were treating (or not) their history. This analysis of planning documents and marketing brochures was commenced at the start of the data collection and analysis phase however the focus of this thesis was on the stakeholders' perceptions as this gave the study its originality and contribution to knowledge, and therefore the interview and questionnaire data took precedence over the documentary analysis. The limitations associated with not including these is discussed in further detail in Chapter 8. The data collected within this study was however sufficient to answer the research questions, aims and objectives and therefore it was not necessary to include these. It is an area that would be recommended for further research.

The choices and justifications for these data collection methods will now be outlined by addressing the choice of asylum sites within a mixed methods approach. It will then detail the research design of semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders of each research site and the survey questionnaires with the general public. The operationalisation of the interview schedule and the questionnaire format will also be included.

3.2 Site Selection

At the broadest level, this thesis examined the redevelopment of former asylum buildings and therefore it was vital to first obtain a list of asylum sites in the United Kingdom that gave an initial indication of the current situation of these sites. The most comprehensive list that could be identified came from The Time Chamber (2013), compiled by two photographers belonging to the Urban Exploration community. Their list was compiled using the original list in *Hospital And Asylum Architecture 1840-1914* by Dr Jeremy Taylor (1991) and then added upon where necessary. The list of asylums was alphabetical and provides the name, date of opening and closure, the county responsible for running the asylum, the architect and layout style and, crucially for this research, the current known state of the asylum buildings although this was somewhat out of date upon checking several sites. An extract of the list is shown in Figure 3.2:

All Saints, Winson Green, Birmingham	Warwickshire	Birmingham Borough Asylum	1850	2000	D R Hill	Corridor	Converted. Only admin stands with a prison occupying the site.
Banstead, Banstead	Middlesex	Third Middlesex County Asylum	1877	1986	FH Pownall	Dual Pavilion	Demolished. Two prisons now occupy the site.
Barnsley Hall, Birmingham	Worcestershire	Worcester County Asylum	1907	1996	GT Hine	Compact Arrow	Demolished. Admin & Chapel converted with housing built on the rest of the site
Barrow Hospital, Barrow Gurney	Gloucestershire	Bristol City Mental Hospital	1939	2008	Sir George Oatley	Colony	Derelict. Closed with a few buildings demolished, with the rest empty
Bedford Asylum, Bedford	Bedfordshire	Bedford Asylum	1812	1860	John Wing	Corridor	Demolished. Closed in 1860 due to inefficiencies of the treatment, now demolished with zero trace of the building
Bethlem Royal Hospital	London	The Priory of St Mary of Bethlehem; Our Lady of Bethlehem	1247	Still Open		Colony Plan	Open. The countries Oldest Asylum, currently open as a leading psychiatric hospital.
Bexley, Dartford	London	The Heath Asylum	1898	1998	GT Hine	Compact Arrow	Demolished. Only a few buildings remaining, such as the chapel
Broadmoor Hospital, Crowthorne	Berkshire	Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	1863	Still Open	Sir Joshua Jebb	Corridor	Open. Operating as a secure Mental Health Hospital with plans to replace with new facility in 2016.
Broadgate, Beverly	Yorkshire	East Riding Lunatic Asylum	1871	1989	CH Howell	Corridor	Demolished. Now a housing estate

Figure 3.2: Example from list of asylums (screenshot taken by author 23th April 2015)

This section now outlines the choices that were made to identify the final three sites by establishing a set of variables with which to align the sites to the aims and

objectives (Rowley, 2002). The decisions for each of the variables, together with why they were chosen are then addressed. In order to “maximise what we can learn” (Stake, 1995:4) the above list was used to create a database of asylum sites, to which a set of variables was applied. The variables were chosen as follows:

- Stage of development
- Geographical location
- Urban location
- Listed or not listed
- Size
- Ownership
- Date or age of asylum site (from first construction)

These variables were selected in order to operationalise the aims and objectives and the research purpose of the study. The first criteria was that the site had to be at the stage of, or approaching, redevelopment. The resulting list was also categorised into listed and non-listed sites. Although the stage of redevelopment was considered to be the most important variable, given that this thesis examined the reuse of former historic asylums, it was felt that it would be interesting to also explore sites that were both listed and not listed to see if there were any differences between these sites.

The second major criterion was geographical location. The research examined the reuse of historic asylums and the common reuse is that of residential thereby connecting the reuse to the state of the housing market. Given the high property prices and values that occur in the south of England (White, 2013), the sites located around London and in the South East were likely to have been converted already, given that space is at a premium and equally very profitable for the developers (resulting in an additional incentive to redevelop). This area of the property market was therefore seen to behave differently from the rest of the country because of these high prices and demand. Consequently it was felt that the sites investigated would either have to be all in the south, predominantly London and the surrounding areas in order to examine this particular market, or that the sites should be outside the London area.

It would have been possible to choose one site in the south east with others in the rest of England however when applying the other criteria there were no suitable sites in this area. The decision was therefore taken to remove the London based sites and sites in the counties of Essex and Surrey, which would be considered within the London commuter belt (White, 2013). Many of the asylums became like villages and employed most of the populations in the surrounding areas (Cornwell, 2009) and this, combined with the practical factors of locating people to speak to about these sites, resulted in the ruling out of city locations as these sites would have become simply incorporated into the urban sprawl of the city.

In addition to the London and Surrey sites being removed for the above reasons, the decision was also taken to remove the Scottish and Welsh sites. Scottish property law is significantly different to that in the rest of the United Kingdom and therefore again, it was felt that the sites should have the same legal standing to keep the initial variables the same and therefore permit the examination of the cases and to aid generalisation across the sites of investigation. Similarly, following a discussion with CADW (2013), the Welsh listing system is different to that in England and therefore again, it was felt that the cases should be of the same legal standing to enable generalisation across the three sites (for issues of validity and reliability see section 3.5).

This left the last two variables, age or date of the asylum and ownership. The remaining sites were not all from the same era but they were all public asylums and therefore would have been a large part of the community. With the remaining list, further investigations were conducted into the current state of the site and whether there were any proposals in the pipeline to enable the ruling out of those sites that were going to be demolished, such as Cherry Knowle in Sunderland which was demolished in March 2011 (BBC, 2015) but was showing as vacant on the original list of asylums. Within the remaining list of asylums on the database, it was equally not possible to find a single, common owner across the sites. Both Lancaster Moor and St George's had the same owner but they were likely to have different developers, something that was later confirmed following discussions with the owners themselves. This did however permit three different developers and their approaches to be examined, together with comparing these to the opinions of the owners of the sites therefore allowing for a variety of different views to be explored.

The three asylums were therefore chosen to be Lancaster Moor, St Mary's in Stannington and St George's in Morpeth (a brief history of which was discussed in Chapter 1).

3.3 Semi-structured Interviews

This section discusses the use of semi-structured interviews, together with the sampling and selection of participants, the formation of interview questions and the interview pilot.

Interviews are a structured conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee where the purpose is determined by the interviewer however they enable participants to convey their understanding of a particular situation using their own words (Kvale, 2007). They are an active process whereby the interviewer and interviewee produce knowledge together although because the interview is controlled by the interviewer, there is an asymmetric power association and the agenda and dialogue can be manipulated by the researcher (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Whilst there may appear to be many similarities between a conversation and an interview, Denscombe (1998) argued that interviews involve a set of assumptions and understandings about the particular situation of an interview that do not occur in a normal conversation. Whilst the interview process allowed for each participant's experiences of the asylum and the redevelopment process to be explored, it was acknowledged that the researcher, in adopting a semi-structured approach, determined the topics and the direction of the interview. In adopting a semi-structured approach, whilst there was an initial list of questions to address, shaped by the research aims and objectives, there was flexibility to cover topics outside these questions which enabled the interviewee to talk about their views of the situation more openly, thereby reducing the potentially one-sided power relationship outlined above and enabling the exploration of interesting topics that were not initially thought of.

The use of a semi-structured approach should be justifiable (Denscombe (1998) and enable each interview within each stakeholder group to be analysed in comparison with each other as they broadly addressed the same questions and issues. In adopting interviews as a method, their use is likely to focus on obtaining data that are:

- Based on emotions, experiences and feelings.
- Based on sensitive issues.
- Based on privileged information.

(Denscombe, 1998:110)

This study examined experiences of, and emotional responses to, a physical building and its redevelopment. The development of heritage buildings is often contentious (Kalman, 2014) and historic asylums have a challenging image that has been perceived to affect their redevelopment (Kucik, 2004; Moons *et al.* 2015) and therefore an interview situation enabled these issues to be addressed in a manner sensitive to the participant's situation. The different stakeholders were also likely to hold privileged insights about a particular part of the asylum or its redevelopment and this information was obtainable through the process of constructed knowledge that the interview produces (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). There were other advantages of using interviews for this research in that, from a practical point of view, large amounts of equipment were not needed, just a recorder to capture the interview. Interviews can also provide a good way to check validity (Denscombe, 1998) as the interviewer is able to clarify points with the participant within the interview itself.

Just as the interview can have a positive effect on the participant, so could they have a negative one and the interview can be seen as an invasion of privacy (Denscombe, 1998). Through the interviewer-interviewee power relationship, the interviewee may feel obliged to respond, attend and participate and feel judged on their responses (King and Horrocks, 2010). Depending on the interviewer's identity, the participant may also respond differently to questions (Denscombe, 1998). This was not something that was possible to change in this research but was borne in mind when analysing the interviews by being clear about the researcher's assumptions and position (outlined in Chapter 1) and decisions taken when representing information from participants.

A disadvantage of employing interviews centres on the reliability of the data collected (Denscombe, 1998). Whilst it is possible within the interview to clarify what the participant means, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not what the participant says is actually the truth. Hammersley (1995:53) argued there are two types of interest that we can have in accounts from interviews, "we may treat them as social

phenomena that we are seeking to understand and explain, or as indicators of cultural perspectives held by the people producing them". He suggested that the other approach is to use the accounts as "a source of information about the phenomena to which they refer" (ibid). The purpose of employing interviews here was to explore people's views, experiences and their engagement and interaction with a particular building and the process of its redevelopment and therefore favoured the latter approach.

3.3.1 Selection of interview participants

Within each of the three sites of investigation, interview participants from each of the stakeholder groups had to be identified and contacted. Denscombe (1998) argued that people are chosen because of the contribution they can make to the study. People were interviewed with a connection to each former asylum, from its days as a functioning hospital in the case of former staff, or its redevelopment phase as with professional stakeholders. This is what Silverman (2000:104) termed "purposive sampling" where participants are chosen because they illustrate a feature or process in which the researcher is interested. Within the three sites, the interviewees were chosen to illustrate the process of the change of use through redevelopment and how they were affected by this process. The interviewees were grouped into the following stakeholder groups: developer, owner (where available), former staff members, heritage bodies and planners. In order to identify people within these groups, several strategies were employed; the method used is outlined in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2: Methods employed to identify participants by site of investigation

	Lancaster Moor	St Mary's	St George's
Developer	Planning application	Planning application	Through owner
Owner	Owner's public asset register	Not possible to determine	Owner's public asset register
Heritage bodies	Local office of national and local societies	Local office of national and local societies	Local office of national and local societies
Planners	Local planning office contacted	Local planning office contacted	Local planning office contacted

Locating former asylum staff members was challenging. Local societies such as history and antiquarian societies were contacted to see if they had any knowledge of the buildings and whether they knew anyone who had worked in them. This had limited success, some societies knew someone who could help further and some did not. A second strategy was therefore required. Firstly, advertisements were placed in local libraries (Appendix E) to try to reach older members of staff or members of the community and secondly adverts were placed on social media platforms where the asylums had a local page that people contributed to. The latter strategy proved successful in reaching people who then often recommended someone else to speak to by creating a snowball sampling effect (Bryman, 2008). Table 3.3 shows the final numbers of interviews conducted.

Table 3.3: Interview numbers by sites of investigation and anonymisation coding used in the thesis.

Site	Stakeholder	Interview date	Code for use in thesis
Lancaster Moor	Developer	29 th September 2014	D1
	Owner	19 th September 2014	O1
	Heritage Body	29 th September 2014	HP1
	Planning consultant (private sector)	29 th September 2014	PC1
	Conservation Officer (public sector)	14 th January 2015	CO1
	4 former staff	5 th August 2014 1 st and 2 nd October 2014 (x5)	LMH1, LMH3, LMH4, LMH5
	Local resident who commented on planning application	1 st October 2014	LMH2
St George's	Developer	20 th May 2014	D2
	Owner	19 th September 2014	O2
	Heritage body	30 th July 2014	HP2
	Planner (public sector)	10 th March 2015	P2

	4 former staff	22 nd July 2014; 24 th July 2014 (x2); 16 th October 2014	SG1-4
St Mary's	Developer (of commercial element)	22 nd July 2014	D3
	Heritage body (local)	17 th September 2014	HP3
	Planner (public sector)	17 th June 2014	P3
	6 former staff	17 th June 2014; 29 th July 2014 (x3); 7 th August 2014 (x2)	SM1-6
Additional heritage body interview	Heritage Body	22 nd December 2014	HP4

In Table 3.3 above a distinction has been made between the planning consultant who worked in the private sector and for the planners who were employed by the local authorities. The developer for the residential element of the St Mary's conversion was contacted however they stated that they did not want to be included within the research. This is recognised as a limitation as it reduced the comparison of developer behaviour across the three sites. Another category of people who it was hoped would be a part of the research was that of patients, particularly long-stay patients, however this was not possible, the reasons for which will now be outlined.

The issue with including former patients was finding those who would be willing to participate. Due to the focus of the research, place attachment and the reuse of former asylums, the former patients that were most likely to have possibly formed any attachments were those long-stay patients, rather than those who used the services provided by the asylums on a more "ad hoc" or "by need" basis. Given the dates the asylums closed in the late 1990s, early 2000s, it was likely that there were not many of this group of long-stay patients who would still be alive. Identifying and contacting any type of former patients proved impossible. Due to the confidentiality of health services, these patients could not be identified through their treatment records. Mental health service user groups in the areas of the three sites were contacted but where they responded they stated they could not help. It is therefore recognised that this is a limitation with this research and is discussed further within the Limitations section of Chapter 8.

3.3.2 Designing the interview questions

As outlined above, the interview can be manipulated by the researcher who holds the more powerful position in the process Denscombe (1998) and Thompson (2000) contended that the less the participant's testament is shaped by the interviewer's questions the better, as this enables what they say, what they do not say and the words that they use to be analysed. Therefore, both the choice of interview questions and the way in which they are worded were important. Wengraf (2001:2) argued that there are two models for interview questions, the "hypothetic-inductivist" model which collects all relevant facts and then examines them to see what they suggest, and the "hypothetical-deductivist" model which argues that collecting all the facts is not possible necessitating theory as the start point in deciding what should be collected in order to test the research hypothesis. This research adopted the latter approach and took the research questions, aims and objectives as the starting point for determining the content of the interview questions.

The individual objectives of the research were taken as a starting point for the interview questions and a question designed that was suitable for each group of participants. Thus no aims and objectives were omitted and ensuring the goals of the research were investigated. Several factors were taken into account when designing the content and wording of each question. According to Legard *et al.* (2003) there are two main types of questions: content mapping questions which are designed to open up the research area and content mining questions which seek to explore the detail and meaning for the interviewee. A combination of these approaches was used, for example, the question to developers: "have you had any communication with local people regarding the redevelopment" (Appendix A) opened up the idea of the communication surrounding the redevelopment and the involvement of local people which was then followed up by the probes "why?" or "when?" which sought to delve further into the topic in question. These probes are widely used in content mining questions to amplify, explain, explore or clarify the question being discussed (Legard *et al.* 2003).

The most effective questions were stressed by Legard *et al.* (2003:155) to be "those that are short and clear, leaving the interviewee with no uncertainty about the information sought". Whilst property developers were likely to understand technical

terminology about property market forces, they were less likely to understand academic terminology regarding place attachment. This was true for each of the stakeholder groups and therefore each interview schedule (Appendix A) was worded in language that was able to be understood by each of the different stakeholder groups. Legard *et al.* (2003) argued that double questions should also be avoided as people forget the first part of the question or answer the easiest part. Where this occurred in the initial drafts of the interview questions, these questions were separated to form individual questions. At the outset, it was not clear whether it would be feasible to ask all the questions without taking up too much of the participant's time and therefore two pilot studies were conducted, the results of which are discussed below.

3.3.3 The pilot interviews

Given the concerns detailed above surrounding the length of the interview schedule, two pilot interviews were conducted, one with a planning officer and one with a former asylum staff member. The pilot interviews were conducted with the first former member of staff from St Mary's and the planning officer for St Mary's the dates of which are shown in Table 3.3. The majority of the questions across both interviews were the same with minor differences reflecting the nature of the stakeholders; they both, therefore had roughly the same number of questions. Both pilot interviewees demonstrated that it was possible to both answer all the questions and explore other areas that arose. It was also possible to go more deeply into questions where the interviewee provided particularly interesting responses. Both interviews were also conducted in approximately an hour.

One issue that did arise however, centred around the question in the former staff member pilot interview: "how would you feel if the building was demolished then reconstructed?". The origin of this question came from one of the asylum sites where the buildings were being considered for demolition and reconstruction by the developer. Discussing this issue with the planner posed no problem as it related to the building they were looking at and they raised the issue themselves with no prompting from the researcher. With the former staff member however, this was clearly using information that at the time of the interviews was not in the public domain. Whilst it would have been interesting to ascertain how the former staff

members felt about the possibility of the asylums being demolished, in the case of St Mary's this was a possibility but one which was likely and therefore this could have been seen as using privileged information so the question was omitted in all interviews.

3.4 Questionnaires

The second method of data collection used was questionnaires to examine whether the public had a desire to protect these former asylums as historic buildings. Two sets of questionnaires were applied, the main questionnaire was carried out with the general public in Morpeth and Lancaster. The sample size for these questionnaires was 160 (80 in each location). It was felt that this was an adequate number in each location as it was challenging to get people to answer the questionnaires but 160 in total would give an adequate sample with which to assess the local populations views. The second questionnaire was to new residents of completed historic former asylum conversions. The sample size for this was only seven due to the difficult nature of finding contact details for people which will be discussed in more detail below. The main questionnaires will be addressed first with the questionnaire to new residents being detailed in Section 3.4.3.

The main surveys were carried out in public using a convenience sample; members of the public who passed the researcher and were asked if they wanted to participate. The results were then analysed using traditional statistical measures through both Excel and SPSS computer packages, discussed further in section 3.5.2. Questionnaires are usually employed to understand the characteristics of cases and causes of phenomena (de Vaus, 2002) and to understand the behaviour of a larger population through the use of a sample of that population (Babbie, 1990). From the interviews detailed above, the stakeholder views were able to be examined but it was felt that the views of the public were missing from this. Therefore a method was needed to examine the public's views of the redevelopment of former historic asylums. As Babbie (1990) outlined, questionnaires provide a method for ascertaining the behaviour of a large group of people and for this reason, it was felt more appropriate than interviewing members of the public within the locality of each of the three asylum sites as finding people to interview and conducting these was likely to be logistically difficult. By employing the survey method, 160 questionnaires

were conducted in Lancaster and Morpeth (80, in each location) enabling the question of whether the public are interested in protecting asylums to be asked. A copy of the questionnaire used is given in Appendix B and the method of data collection is outlined below.

Questionnaires do have their disadvantages, predominantly that they do not allow for the exploration of how people come to adopt their particular views (May, 2001) and how they interpret the world around them (Bryman, 2008). This meant that it was only therefore possible to ascertain what people thought about the reuse of former asylums, not why they had come to that opinion and this was recognised as a limitation of the method. Equally Bryman (2008) has argued that the survey method reduces everything to variables which in turn gives a very static view of social life and therefore does not enable the exploration of change in opinions for example, a particular snapshot in time is only able to be captured through the use of questionnaires. Floyd and Fowler (2002) also contended that, as with any other method used to capture data, the survey method cannot be error free and that the procedures that are used will affect whether the data gathered reflects what they were intended to demonstrate. It was therefore important to consider the issues of both sampling and operationalisation of the questionnaires carefully.

3.4.1 Sampling

The population under study was the general public, so all adults from the ages of 16 upwards living within the locality of the three sites. Whilst initially it was hoped that questionnaires could be carried out in all three localities, it became clear that for St Mary's this was impossible because of its location three miles from a very small village. It was felt that there was not an adequately sized population available to survey in close proximity that would have knowledge of the former asylum site and equally, carrying out the questionnaires would be impractical as there was no central area within the village that people were likely to pass through regularly. Therefore the populations of Morpeth and Lancaster only were selected. These practical issues reflect a particular limitation of the survey method when considering the sample population to be surveyed as all sampling decisions are likely to be influenced by both cost and practical restraints such as time and resource limitations (Bryman, 2008; Bryman and Cramer, 2011).

Babbie (1990:70) stated that “survey samples must represent the population from which they are drawn if they are to provide useful estimates of the characteristics of that population” and equally “a sample must contain essentially the same variation that exists in the population” (ibid). Therefore, the sample of people completing the survey should have reflected the populations of both Morpeth and Lancaster. The most accurate population sample is seen as one that gives every person within that population an equal probability of being included (Oppenheim, 1992) and therefore reflects the variation that is present in the sample being used (Babbie, 1990). Whilst this would have given the most accurate representative sample for both Morpeth and Lancaster, due to practical issues of being able to firstly obtain an accurate list of the whole population of both towns and subsequently successfully contacting the people chosen by a random probability measure, a convenience sampling method had to be used. Although Oppenheim (1992) argued that “degree of accuracy (in a sample) is more important than its size” again for practical reasons the convenience sampling method was the most suitable. The questionnaires were therefore carried out in a public space within each town and people were asked to fill in the questionnaire when they passed the researcher.

This method of obtaining participants for the questionnaires clearly had the disadvantages outlined above in terms of sampling the population, but a further issue became apparent during the data collection process. Stopping people in public to answer the questionnaire was problematic as many people did not want to answer it or even refused to acknowledge the researcher at all. Equally, the questionnaires were carried out during office hours, midweek and as Floyd and Fowler (2002:43) state, “if a data collection is carried out between 9am and 5pm on Monday through Friday, the people who will be available to be interviewed will be distinctive”. This data collection period limits the people that were available to answer the questions, something which is noted as a limitation to the data. However, the majority of people who were willing to answer the questionnaire after being told what it covered, were over the age of 45; the younger members of the population, when asked, were less interested in answering questions about historic buildings which is in itself an interesting measure of engagement with the historic built environment of the two localities, although it is not possible to be totally certain about this. These problems highlighted issues in the operationalisation of the questionnaires.

3.4.2 Operationalisation

As outlined above, the questionnaires with the public were being carried out by one researcher and due to cost restraints, these were carried out in person, as face-to-face questionnaires. There were both advantages and disadvantages to this method, some of which have already been identified above. Aldridge and Levine (2001) stated that the advantages to the face-to-face method are that complex and open questions can be asked as well as ranked or rated questions and that there can be a level of rapport developed between the interviewer and interviewee. However, this rapport can also lead to interviewer bias and effects, similar to those of interviews where the interviewer's gender or age may elicit a certain response (ibid). Equally, an element of social desirability is possible (ibid) where people answer questions to look good in both their own eyes and that of the interviewer (de Vaus, 2002). In terms of interviewer bias and effects, there was little that can be done to remove this because of the restraints of the study and the problem of social desirability was equally present in interviews (as discussed above) where it was not possible to determine whether the participant was telling the truth. These issues relate to the reliability and validity of the method which is outlined further in section 3.7.2 below.

As well as the issues considered above, the method that is used to conduct the data collection also determines the types of questions that can be asked (de Vaus, 2002). The questionnaire's research aim was to examine the public's response to the redevelopment of historic former asylums, particularly looking at whether there was any desire to protect these types of buildings. De Vaus (2002:50) stated that "where possible it is best to use well-established indicators" and that these established measures should be used where they exist although modifications may need to be made to them (ibid). Two existing questionnaires were taken as the starting point for the operationalisation of this research question: Devine-Wright's (2011) survey examining NIMBYism and CURDs (2011) report for Historic England, *Assessing the importance and value of historic buildings to young people*.

Questions 1, 2 and 5-7 on the final iteration of the questionnaire to the public (Appendix B) were adapted from the CURDs (2011) questionnaire to provide questions to introduce the topic and gain a sense of people's general connection to place. As it was important to plan the order of the questions (Seale, 2004), the first

questions examined how people felt about place and their locality and introduced the topic of heritage protection more generally rather than asking questions that they may not have thought about from the outset. Question 1 was amended from the CURDS (2011) measure to remove the questions that were not relevant to this study and to add in the final sub-question of whether buildings were an important part of the town where people live. This was to provide a link between a general sense of place and the buildings of the town which the survey was interested in. The demographic questions were placed at the end so the respondent's interest was not lost from the start. Question 3 and 4 asked whether there were any buildings that respondents would miss if they were no longer there and how they might respond to a threat to these buildings. This was to gain an insight into whether people would react to particular buildings in any way and how that might test both place attachment levels and the reaction of people to places if they were threatened.

Questions 8 to 12 deal with the main research question itself and the respondent's opinions on the asylum in question. These were perhaps the most challenging questions to construct because, as May (2001) argued, different wording for opinion questions can produce different answers. This was challenging in itself but was made more so because, following a review of the questionnaire by the University ethics committee, it was deemed that the word "asylum" had to be removed because of the potential to cause significant harm to members of the general public who were not aware that such a building existed in their community. These questions were therefore modified to remove the word "asylum" and used the hospitals' names as they were last known, so St George's Hospital or Lancaster Moor Hospital. All traces of the word "asylum" were also removed from the introduction to the questionnaire itself. The respondents were asked if they knew of the hospital, and if they confirmed they did, they were then asked to state what its history had been, so they were not at any point asked if they knew it was an asylum. Initially this was a possible limitation, however it had a perhaps surprising benefit in that it was interesting to see how people described it.

Questions 8, 10 and 12 all offered "yes/no" responses with no "don't know" option given and this is often seen as a possible issue as leading questions should be avoided within questionnaire design (May, 2001). There was also the problem of the respondent not having the required knowledge with which to answer the question (de

Vaus 2002). A “don’t know” option can also force people to give an answer that they might not otherwise have done thereby creating false or unreliable responses (Bryman, 2008; de Vaus, 2002). However, in this case the questionnaire sought people’s opinions on exactly these issues and therefore this was felt not to be a great problem although a “don’t know” option was added for question 12 during data collection as some respondents said that they were unsure whether the history of the asylum should be remembered. They then gave a reason as to why this was, which was important data for this research as asylums to assess the level of feeling towards former historic asylums and their perceived reputations.

During the data collection stage, question 9 asked whether people could explain the history of the asylum, highlighted interesting differences between the responses of people from Lancaster and people from Morpeth. The first set of questionnaires was administered in Lancaster (14th and 15th January 2015) where the majority of people knew Lancaster Moor Hospital and were able and willing to relate its past history. In Morpeth (administered 24th February 2015) however, people seemed less clear about St George’s Hospital’s past initially with some people being quite reluctant to state what it had been without some probing. A potential reason for this could be related to the geographies of the site, whilst both sites are not visible from the town centre, Lancaster Moor is very visible from the M6 motorway and from the roads surrounding. The road to St George’s only goes to St George’s and the hospital is not visible at all in the surrounding area, only the top of the water tower can be seen from the north side of Morpeth.

The responses from the questionnaires in the study, where quoted in the following chapters are presented with signifiers. For the public questionnaires, Morpeth questionnaires begin with “M” followed by a number which dictates the order in which they were carried out, so M3 would be the third Morpeth questionnaire completed. Lancaster questionnaires follow the same pattern. For the questionnaires for the new residents, again these are presented using a code that denotes again the order in which they were completed and the site they came from, “SP” being Standen Park, the earlier converted section of Lancaster Moor and “OS” being “other site” to represent the other converted sites that were surveyed.

3.4.3 *New resident questionnaires*

As outlined above, seven questionnaires were emailed to residents of recently converted historic former asylum sites. The rationale for this was that during the data collection phase of the study it was felt that it would be useful to find out what new residents thought about the buildings they were buying and living in in order to assess the views of people connected to the converted sites. A questionnaire was drafted (Appendix C) and several converted sites were identified. These were taken from the original list of asylums that was used to find the three research sites as two out of the three research sites were still at too early a stage for any new residents to be contacted. Lancaster Moor Hospital had had its original buildings converted and was now known as Standen Park and therefore questionnaires were sent to some residents here. Additional converted sites were found that had been sufficiently converted for there to be a large number of residents currently living there.

A further factor in the choice of sites was the method of finding participants. As well as being sites that were sufficiently converted to enable a reasonable number of residents, the sites were also identified as having residents' associations or similar organisations. The questionnaire was to be administered through an online survey tool, as finding people's postal addresses would have been both time consuming and expensive. Sites with residents' associations were therefore chosen as email addresses were not possible to find (and would have raised additional ethical issues) and therefore gatekeepers were needed to help find participants. The questionnaires were emailed to the residents' associations and they were asked whether they would be willing to pass the questionnaire's web address onto their residents. Only a small number of people responded. However, as these questionnaires were a very small part of the research, were not the main focus on the aims and objectives and sought to test the opinions of new residents, they were therefore adequate for this purpose. It is an area that would warrant further research and is therefore something that could be examined in more detail in future research projects.

The questionnaires for new residents were analysed using statistical analysis, as were the questionnaires with the general public and it is to the analysis of the data collected in this research that this chapter now turns.

3.5 Data Analysis

The analysis strategy adopted by this study combined thematic analysis with grounded theory for the qualitative data. For the quantitative data, statistical analysis was conducted using the software packages Excel and SPSS. The data from both methods was then compared using the themes identified through the qualitative analysis. This section outlines the approaches taken for each, followed by a discussion of the triangulation process in the following section.

3.5.1 Qualitative analysis: interview data

In approaching the analysis of the interview data it was important to remember that the “interviewer has a monopoly of interpretation” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:33) and that in interpreting the data there are no set rules or single way of analysing data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Simons, 2009). The analysis employed a combination of grounded theory and thematic analysis. Grounded theory seeks to identify themes that arise from the data (Charmaz, 2006) and offers a set of “flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories “grounded” in the data themselves (ibid: 2). Thematic analysis equally is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:78). Grounded theory and thematic analysis are compatible methods of analysing data with Charmaz (2006) arguing that grounded theory can complement other methods of analysis and thematic analysis being flexible and compatible with different methods and paradigms (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

One of the key tenets of grounded theory is that the themes or codes arise from the data, not from previously conceived theories or ideas (Charmaz, 2006) as the problem for grounded theorists is how these pre-existing theories interact with the research being carried out (Ezzy, 2002). This was problematic for this research as it examined a specific phenomenon and therefore sought to address specific research questions, aims and objectives. A method was therefore required that allowed for both inductive and deductive analysis to explore the research problems and which would be open to themes and issues arising from the data. Thematic analysis was therefore used as it allowed both experiences and meanings to be analysed in

conjunction with events and their effects (Braun and Clarke, 2006) through the employment of inductive and deductive code generation.

Thematic analysis and grounded theory share the same first coding process, that of open (Ezzy, 2002) or “first cycle” (Saldana, 2013) coding. Coding is the retrieval process or the process that enables that categorising or sorting of data into themes and patterns (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996) or a “way of seeing” (Boyatzis, 1998). The process adopted in this research followed Boyatzis’ (1998) approach to thematic analysis by identifying recurring themes within the interview data that were both deductive in that they were identified through prior research and the research aims and objectives of the study and inductively, they were established through themes recurring in the data itself. Whilst remaining true to the original interview schedule, in later interviews these inductive themes arising from the data were then explored where possible thereby adopting a more grounded theory approach which uses identified themes to generate further data collection (Ezzy, 2002).

Each interview transcript was firstly listened to and transcribed verbatim as required by thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Initial thoughts, themes and interesting points were highlighted, as were any themes relating to the aims and objectives of the research. After this initial reading and listening, all the interviews were put into the nVivo software programme and the highlighted themes were used as the initial codes with which to categorise the data. Once each of the interviews had been transcribed and initially coded, these themes were then brought together according to each stakeholder group to enable the comparison across actors. The codes themselves were also arranged into themes and subthemes within the codes identified as this enables the data to be turned into themes and concepts (Saldana, 2013).

Once the themes had been grouped by stakeholder group it was then possible to identify overarching themes arising from the data and compare them across each of the stakeholder groups and sites. This analysis by theme allowed for repeated patterns of meaning to be identified within the texts (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and equally the identification of themes where there was disagreement amongst the stakeholders. The final step was to employ a central idea from grounded theory; that of memo writing as this is the important step between the data collection and writing

stages (Charmaz, 2006). It enabled the collation and analysis of themes, prompting the analysis of the data and codes both from the start of the process and continuing throughout the analysis stage. This also enabled interrelating themes and categories to be identified, the process which Saldana (2013) argued leads to the development of theory. The reliability and validity of these methods is discussed in section 3.6 below.

3.5.2 Quantitative analysis: questionnaire data

The questionnaires explored whether the public were interested in protecting historic former asylums and used a data set collected by the researcher totalling 160 cases. This was a relatively small sample size and therefore issues of population variation and sampling error were likely to be present, requiring a cautious approach to generalisation to the population as a whole. Prior to the statistical analysis, the data had to be manipulated to remove the qualitative aspects (where reasons were given for questions) (de Vaus, 2002) and the numerical data put into Excel and SPSS statistical software. Some of the questionnaires had missing responses where people had not responded which also needed to be dealt with so they could be identified in the statistical tests and analyses (de Vaus, 2002). Three codes were provided to denote missing responses: 77 for “refused”, 88 for “don’t know” and 99 for responses that were just missing.

Given the small sample size, it became clear that, particularly for the responses adopting Likert scales (for example question 1), the number of counts or responses were too small to generate valid statistical analyses. The decision was therefore taken to merge some of the categories to avoid the production of misleading statistics and in the hope of highlighting patterns that might not otherwise have been visible (de Vaus, 2002). The approach adopted followed what de Vaus (2002:164) termed the “substantive” approach. This is where categories are collapsed that have something in common. There were limited responses in the “strongly disagree/ disagree” categories and therefore to attempt to get to a frequency count of five, conventionally the lowest a count can be in order to run tests of statistical significance (De Vaus, 1996), these categories were merged because it is difficult to accurately measure what would take one person from the “agree” response to “strongly agree”. Equally as de Vaus (2002:192) stated, “though people have the

same scale scores it does not mean that they have answered the particular question identically” it was felt that if respondents expressed an “agree” in any form, this was a positive response and all positive responses could be merged together.

Having examined the choices taken in the data manipulation stages, the types of analyses conducted with the data will now be explored. As the nature of the question responses differed, different types of analyses were conducted for the different types of questions. Questions such as question 2 “are there any buildings that you think are distinctive or special?” were analysed using descriptive statistics, which summarised the patterns of responses within each of the sample (de Vaus, 2002) to enable the responses from each location to be compared. Descriptive or univariate analysis was adopted for the initial analysis of all questions to describe the distribution of variables (ibid) across each question and across each site. Table 4.3 shows the bivariate analyses carried out for the following question combinations:

Table 3.4: Bivariate analysis by questionnaire question number

	Dependent variable	Independent variable
Q1 by Q15	Importance of town	Length in house
	Sense of belonging in town	Length in house
	Pride in town	Length in house
	Sense of community	Length in house
	Interest in history	Length in house
	Caring about town’s appearance	Length in house
	Importance of buildings	Length in house
Q8 by Q15	Knowledge of hospital	Length in house
Q9 by Q15	Knowledge of hospital history	Length in house
Q12 by Q15	History should be remembered	Length in house
Q12 by Q16	History should be remembered	Membership of a heritage group

As each of the variables were classed as “categorical” and not numerical, their frequencies were used as they are not measured continually (Field, 2005) to conduct the chi-squared and Cramer’s V tests of statistical significance. The chi-squared test is used to assess the relationship between variables compares observed frequencies with the frequencies you would expect to get by chance (ibid). If a relationship was

identified between the two variables, the Cramer's V test was then used to ascertain the strength of this relationship and whether the independent variable made a substantial difference to the dependent variables (de Vaus, 2002).

Due to the nature of the responses to the questionnaires, which were quite qualitative because of the questions and responses sought, it was difficult to run tests of significance on the data using the statistical software SPSS. These were carried out but with only 160 public questionnaires and seven new resident questionnaires it was difficult to be certain of any statistical significance. This however did not render the data invalid. Descriptive statistics were run from the data using Excel and this analysis is presented in the following chapters. The aim of the questionnaires was to ascertain the public and new residents' opinions which, by its nature was very qualitative and therefore both the data and analysis were still valid to answer the aims and objectives.

3.6 Triangulation of data, reliability and validity

This section outlines issues in the use of mixed methods together with the benefits of the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods. It also addresses issues of validity and reliability across the data collection methods employed.

3.6.1 *Triangulation*

"Triangulation refers to the intentional use of multiple methods with offsetting or counteracting biases, in investigations of the same phenomenon to strengthen the validity of inquiry results" (Greene, 2007:42). Triangulation of data occurred in two ways in this research: across each of the sites and across the qualitative and quantitative data. Miles and Huberman (1994:173) offered the following reasons for conducting cross-case analysis: enhancing generalisability, deepening understanding or explanation, to strengthen a theory and to examine the similarities and differences across cases. Similarly, they, following Rossman and Wilson, (1984; 1991, cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994) argued there are three reasons for linking qualitative and quantitative data: confirmation or corroboration of both sets of data, elaboration to provide richer detail and to finding new lines of thinking or providing fresh insight into a phenomenon.

Primarily, this research sought to triangulate to provide the richer detail outlined above, using the questionnaires with the general public to add to the data from the interviews. In doing so, it adopted what Creswell (2009:213) termed the “concurrent triangulation approach” which collects both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously and then compared both sets of data together (ibid), thereby benefiting from the above advantages. Firstly, the sites could be compared and similarities and differences identified. Where similar findings were apparent, theories could be formed and examined. Whilst each historic property is different, depending on its various physical and locational factors, this enabled the identification of broad generalisations about the process of heritage redevelopment for historic asylums. Equally, by comparing and analysing the qualitative data from the stakeholder interviews, together with the quantitative data from the questionnaires with the general public, similar themes arising from the data could be compared enabling greater confidence in the findings (Webb *et al.* 1966 cited in Bryman, 1988:131).

Bryman (1988) further identified a benefit of employing a mixed method strategy, as combining qualitative and quantitative data enables any gaps in knowledge to be filled that might not be able to be filled in another way. Obtaining data from the public through interviews would have been problematic, given the difficulty in identifying possible participants and therefore the use of questionnaires identified the views of a previously absent stakeholder to be explored, therefore expanding the “understanding of the research problem” (Creswell, 2009:203). In using the two different approaches to examine the same research problem (Creswell, 2009), this also aids claims for the increased validity of the study because if both methods produced the same findings the research could be considered more valid (ibid). It is to the questions of validity and reliability within this research that this section now turns.

3.6.2 Validity and reliability

Johnson and Turner (2003) argued that the term *validity* refers to the conducting research that is of a high standard. They, following Johnson and Cristensen (2002:207 cited in Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003:299) suggested that in order to be considered “valid”, research must be “plausible, credible, trustworthy and therefore

defensible". Maxwell (2012) however, went further than this, arguing that whilst researchers are concerned with providing a valid description of the event under investigation, they are also interested in what these events mean for the people involved. Maxwell (2012:137) contended that the challenge was to explain "how, if our understandings are inevitably our own fallible constructions rather than "objective" perceptions or interpretations of actual phenomena, one can possibly have any basis for making validity judgements that go beyond procedures and attempt to engage with these real phenomenon". Hammersley (1995: 50-51), attempted to offer a suggestion as to how this can be possible:

Definition of "knowledge" as beliefs whose validity is known with certainty is misconceived. On this definition there can be no knowledge since we can never be absolutely sure about the validity of any claims... In my view we should instead define knowledge as beliefs about whose validity we can be reasonably confident... Assessments of claims must be based on judgements about plausibility and credibility, on the compatibility of the claim or on the evidence for it, with the assumptions about the world that we currently take to go beyond reasonable doubt; and/ or the likelihood of error, given the conditions in which the claim was made.

Hammersley (1995) implied that we cannot be sure about the validity of any claim, we can only judge those claims on their credibility. Given this research explored people's perceptions of former historic asylums and their redevelopment, it was, by its very nature, going to encounter different opinions. Assessing their credibility is somewhat more complicated. In seeking to improve the validity and reduce the potential bias within the research, all opinions were offered as detailing the experience of each individual stakeholder. Banfield (2004) asserted, there is the question of what is taken as valid and the researcher themselves influences this process, something with which Denzin (2009) agreed, adding that quantitative research is equally subject to manipulation by the researcher, no research is objective. This research did not seek a single "truth" as the objective world can only be experienced through people's perceptions of it (Hammersley, 1995; Maxwell, 2012). Therefore Hunter and Brewer's (2003) definition of validity was useful as it asked whether the research measures what it purported to measure. Whilst it was not possible to completely ascertain whether or not each interviewee was speaking the

truth, this research examined people's opinions and idiographic experiences, something that is always subjective and therefore subject to issues of validity.

The question of validity applied equally to the quantitative element of this research as the methods used to classify quantitative data also shape what is found (de Vaus, 2002). With the use of the survey method, "a valid measure is one which measures what it is intended to measure. In fact, it is not the measure that is valid or invalid but the use to which the measure is put" (de Vaus, 2002:54). De Vaus goes on to argue that there are two types of validity: content which examines how the variables measure the concept and construct validity which compares the instrument with theoretical expectations (ibid). The questionnaire set out to examine the public's desire (or not) to protect former historic asylums. The extent to which it was successful in terms of its content suffered because of the ethical concerns over the question wording. By requiring the removal of the word "asylum" from the questionnaires, this limited the extent to which the research question could be adequately explored and is acknowledged as being both a limitation in terms of the findings and an issue in terms of the validity of the measurement instrument.

In terms of the theoretical expectations, this was equally problematic as there was little research in this area with which the findings could be compared. It may have been useful however to compare the findings for the relevant questions to the measures they were adapted from (CURDS, 2011; Devine-Wright, 2011) to ascertain if there were any similarities. These questions focused on people's sense of place rather than the reuse of former asylums and therefore whilst interesting, would again, not necessarily contribute to determining the validity of the measurement instrument for determining whether people are interested in protecting former historic asylums. Reliability within a research study, refers to whether the measurements used can be repeated and produce the same data (Babbie, 1990; Hunter and Brewer, 2003). A key issue here, in both the interviews and the questionnaires, was the influence of the researcher as different interviewers are likely to get different answers from respondents because of personal characteristics (Babbie, 1990). The researcher's interpretive lens will also affect the coding and interpretation of the data during the data analysis stage (Saldana, 2013). In a study with a single researcher this was always going to present a limitation of the study as particularly the quantitative data was an area that would benefit from further development and therefore could be

subject to the “re-test method” (Babbie, 1990:132) where the questionnaires could be re-run or added to.

In terms of the interview data, reliability can be seen as the reliability of the interviewer to collect data across all participants consistently (Keats, 2000). One method of achieving this is to keep to the same questions across all interviews rather than varying the questions (ibid). With the use of semi-structured interviews as adopted, there was a general level of consistency with these questions although it was acknowledged that where interesting topics arose, these were explored with the participants. An additional challenge, connected with the issue of reliability was that of memory recall. The interviews with former staff members relied on memory and this is an additional constraint on reliability as personal accounts are often seen as being “too subjective” (Ritchie, 2003:27) or inaccurate (ibid:32). Ritchie (2003) did however go on to suggest that oral histories are no more or less reliable than any other data source (ibid).

In a similar vein to testing the validity or reliability of a study, Silverman (2006) argued for the credibility of qualitative research and outlines ten criteria to aid the evaluation of what this constitutes. This included whether the methods are appropriate, whether there are clear reasons given for the uses of cases, data collection and analysis, whether the themes and analysis are clear and connected to the body it seeks to address. Although focusing on qualitative research Silverman (ibid) stated these criteria could equally be applicable to quantitative research and echoed de Vaus’ (2002) assertion that it is important that results are not distorted either through inappropriate analysis, fabrication or misrepresentation. Again, re-iterating the above, the opinions of the stakeholders within this study are therefore presented as stated to the researcher to provide their individual views and experiences.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Both the qualitative and quantitative methods employed in this research involved interacting with people and therefore it was important to consider ethical issues from the outset of the project (Oliver, 2010). In accordance with Newcastle University’s ethical procedures, all interviewees were provided with an information sheet, detailing the project and their involvement in it, together with a consent form prior to

the interview (Appendix C). The participants for the questionnaires were also given, prior to the commencement of the survey, the project details and informed they would remain anonymous. There is always a question of whether participants are actually capable of giving their full consent as, even with the details of the research provided to them, they may still not be fully aware of what the interview will entail (Oliver, 2010; Silverman, 2006). It was therefore acknowledged that it was only possible to inform the participants to the best of the researcher's ability. All interviewee participants were also rendered anonymous and confidential, insofar as this was possible to protect their identities, reputations and careers (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Murphy and Dingwall, 2007) and this was done at the transcription stage to prevent identification. Each questionnaire was equally assigned a number or identifier and it was this identifier that was used throughout the data analysis and interpretation stages.

In terms of the operationalisation of the questionnaires, the research subject became problematic with the use of the word "asylum". The interviews were conducted with individuals who were connected to the redevelopment process of the former asylum sites, thereby knowing the history of the site either through having worked there, or through the redevelopment process. They were therefore aware of their potentially challenging reputation. The use of the questionnaires with the public were however more problematic. Additional ethical approval was sought for these and the University ethics committee felt that the use of the word "asylum" could cause significant harm to members of the general public who were not aware that such a building existed in their community. The resolution of this has been outlined above, together with the limitations that this created.

3.8 Limitations of methodology

This research explored and analysed people's perception of, and reactions to the redevelopment and reuse of historic former asylums. The methodological approaches employed were both effective and appropriate. The primary data collection methods were 27 semi structured interviews with both professional stakeholders involved in the redevelopment of the three former asylum sites and former staff members combined with 160 questionnaires conducted with members of the public, as well as a limited number (seven) of questionnaires with new residents

of completed asylum conversions. The purposive sampling methods used for the interviews with professional stakeholders were entirely appropriate as these professionals represented their respective professions within the redevelopment process and within each of the three sites. The choice of sites enabled the selection of professionals to be identified through the planning application process where all the major parties involved in the redevelopment are named. Equally for the former asylum staff members, there was no one single body that represented them and therefore methods had to be found to reach them, of which social media proved to be the most effective. It also enabled those who wished to take part to participate and those who did not were not required to respond to the researcher.

The interview findings were supported by and expanded upon through the questionnaires administered to the public, using a convenience sampling method. The questionnaire data was intended to add to the interview data by sampling a group of people who were difficult to interview. Using a convenience sampling method is recognised as having significant limitations, with the preference being a random or probability sampling method in order to be able to generalise to the wider population. However, the questionnaire data was intended to add to the interview data, not to be generalised back to the population as a whole. Additionally conducting a random sample would have required resources that were not available to the researcher. Therefore, the limitations with using a convenience sample are accepted but the method was still deemed to be effective and appropriate for the requirements of the research.

For the analysis of the questionnaire data, traditional statistical tests were conducted, alongside graphical representation of the more qualitative data contained in the responses, which was combined with the qualitative coding themes. This was entirely appropriate as it enabled numerical analysis and statistical confidence testing but also the comparison with the qualitative themes generated by using grounded theory and thematic analysis. In terms of these approaches to the qualitative data, whilst the research started out with an initial hypothesis that it sought to test, it was also developing theory from the arising data and thereby combined two analytical approaches. Grounded theory allowed for themes to be generated from the data, enabling ideas and theory to emerge that had not been identified at the start and the

adoption of a thematic analysis methods allowed for the testing of the hypothesis and thematic analysis around the research questions, which grounded theory did not.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has outlined the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of the research. It has sought to discuss the position of the researcher and the methods employed: interviews and questionnaires. It has described the advantages and limitations of these issues as well as summarising the operationalisation of both the interviews through the interview schedule and the questionnaires, through the questionnaire design and implementation.

The development of both the interviews, through the schedule and the pilot and the questionnaires through the survey design have been described, together with the methods of analysis adopted for both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the research. Issues of triangulation across data types and sites has been discussed, together with questions of validity and reliability, particularly addressing the issue of combining qualitative and quantitative data. It has also addressed the limitations of the methodological approaches adopted. The chapters that follow discuss and critique the findings of the research gained through the data collection process.

Chapter 4. Value

This chapter will explore the concept of value in relation to historic former asylums; the taxonomies of value identified inductively through the data by the groups of stakeholders; the change in these values since the closure of the sites and their proposed conversions and whether there was any relationship between the different types of value. In doing so it will use the data from both the interviews and questionnaires to investigate aim 2 in examining the different taxonomies identified and their effects on the reuse process. It will examine these values across the three sites using the adaption of Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* as outlined in Chapter 2. First the chapter will discuss the types of value identified through the data, as ascribed by the stakeholders to the sites; secondly it will discuss these values and, finally, it will discuss any connection between the types of values. The consideration of each value type will be discussed through each of the different stakeholder groups involved in the process to ascertain how they "found" each value type within the three sites under investigation and in historic former asylums as a building type.

As outlined in Chapter 2, there are many different classifications of value (for example Riegl, 1903; English Heritage, 2008; Mason, 2008; 2006; 2005; RICS, 2014). The data was analysed using an inductive- deductive approach (Chapter 3) to the data exploring the concept of value through the descriptions, words and phrases used by the stakeholders. These descriptions, words and phrases were examined in comparison with the taxonomies of value explored in Chapter 2. Mason's (2008) typology in Figure 4.1 provided a useful starting point for the categorisation of values as identified in this study as they corresponded to some of the values outlined by the stakeholders in the interview data.

<i>Sociocultural values</i>	<i>Economic values</i>
Historical	Use (market) value
Cultural/ Symbolic	Non-use (non-market) value
Social	Existence
Spiritual/ religious	Option
Aesthetic	Bequest

Figure 4.1: Provisional typology of heritage values (from Mason, 2008:130)

Using the data and the Mason's (2008) typology above, four values were identified for discussion in this chapter. These were age, aesthetic, historic and economic value. As can be seen in Figure 4.1, these do not all map identically on to Mason's (2008) typology. The option and existence (the value in the building existing, Mason, 2008) types of value were not identified in the data in this study and where bequest value (the value for future generations, Mason, 2008) was identified, it was limited and therefore has been included and discussed in one of the other values where appropriate. The heading of "economic" value was used as opposed to "use" value from Mason's (2008) typology as the stakeholders also discussed costs, as will be detailed below, and whilst this could be connected to market, exchange or use value, it was felt that the overall term "economic" should be used to discuss any aspect of monetary, exchange, use and economic value attributed to historic former asylums. The distinction between these types of economic value was not clearly expressed within the data, general themes emerged that related to the economic aspects of historic former asylums and therefore it was not felt necessary, as this thesis investigates several value types, to distinguish between them. Where a distinction between different types of economic value was made within the data, this will be identified.

Spiritual or religious value was not identified in the data as the sites were former asylums and this type of value was not ascribed to the sites by the stakeholders. Mason (2008:104) argued that cultural or symbolic value "refers to those shared meanings associated with heritage". Former asylum sites, because of their history and isolation were not identified from within the data as having shared value (in terms of the wider community), they were not buildings or sites that all of the population could identify with as access was restricted to those who worked in them and to patients and their families. What was identified by the stakeholders (and will be explored below) was the historic or social value associated with them. For Mason (2008), social value included place attachments to heritage and this was dealt with separately in this thesis (Chapter 5). Historic and aesthetic values were ascribed by the different stakeholders to the sites as identified through the data and will be discussed in this chapter. This thesis however adopted one further value, that of age value. Mason (2008) argued that age is part of the historical value of a site however, this thesis uses historical value to refer to the history, including the social aspects and separates the age or how old the building into a distinct value classification. As

will be outlined below, the importance of the building being considered “old” was different to its actual history being valued and this appeared through the data.

In structuring this chapter there were several approaches that could have been taken as the chapter explores values over time as ascribed by different stakeholder groups. The discussion could have used the phases of the lifespan as advocated by the adapted *Rubbish Theory* proposed by this thesis or by separating the chapter into each of the stakeholder groups. However, in doing so, it would have resulted in repetition of the types of values across either the recent phases or the stakeholder groups. In choosing to structure the chapter through each of the four values identified in the data, this prevented repetition but still enabled the investigation of each type of value ascribed by the different stakeholder group. It was important to discuss the types of value ascribed by the stakeholders to former asylums as Blumer (1969) argued that people act towards other people and objects because of the meanings they hold for these objects. As meaning has been linked to taste and value (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014) and “the fate of a materialised object is unavoidably linked to the processes of valuation” (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014:32), exploring how the stakeholders viewed former asylums and consequently the values they ascribed to them would be likely to affect the process of reuse and redevelopment. How the values ascribed to former asylum sites affected their reuse and redevelopment will be discussed in Chapter 7, this chapter will now examine the different taxonomies of value, starting with aesthetic value.

4.1 Aesthetic value

This section discusses how aesthetic value has been identified from within the stakeholder’s perceptions in the data and then will address how aesthetic value has influenced the reuse and redevelopment of the three former historic asylum sites under consideration.

All of the stakeholders interviewed or surveyed highlighted the aesthetical value of the three asylum sites under consideration. The following staff members mentioned the buildings’ aesthetic or architectural qualities, describing the buildings as follows:

Loads of character (SM1).

Beautiful big buildings (SM2 and SM3).

Marvel of Victorian architecture (LMH1).

Lovely Victorian façade (LMH3).

The style and architecture of the building was clearly highlighted as a positive thing. Some aspects of the buildings were however seen as being not so aesthetically pleasing as LMH5 stated:

Well the entrance to the hospital, the manager's office was quite plush of course, she took me down these stone steps into the longest, darkest most miserable corridor you've ever seen, me carrying the bike. She showed me how to park my bike then took me up to the ward. So that was my first impression: this long, dark, miserable corridor which seemed never ending (LMH5).

As LMH5 discussed above, the public aspects of the building, that visitors would have seen, were described as "plush" however the other side, the functional side, was very different. There were therefore different aspects or sides of the buildings, depending on who you were and what you were allowed to see. These different sides of Lancaster Moor Hospital were also highlighted by another former staff member, LMH1 when they talked about how they perceived the physical aspects of the building:

I was aware of the hospital from a very early age erm... this big, er you know stone building with lots of little alleyways, there was always lots of little alleyways, very sort of tall stairways, the buildings were probably 3 or 4 levels so lots of tall stairways, erm.. which I always thought used to remind me of Colditz because the Colditz programme used to be on at the time and they always used to come down the turrets and so it always used to remind me a bit of Colditz with these stairways going up and up and up with these big stone buildings and these courtyards and things like that. So it was always a very.... Exciting place (LMH1).

LMH1 above referred to their childhood memories of the hospital as they had family members who worked there and so spent time there before becoming a member of staff themselves. The quote highlighted an interesting comparison between Colditz, a prisoner of war camp portrayed on television, and the asylum; they were viewed as being similar because of their architecture. A potentially negative place was seen as exciting and adventurous by the former staff member as a child. This demonstrated therefore how the aesthetics and architecture of the same site was viewed differently by different members of the Lancaster Moor staff, at different periods in their lives and were the result of different experiences.

The professional stakeholders also discussed the former asylums in terms of their architecture and aesthetics. The developers in particular described the sites and buildings in very positive aesthetic terms. Discussing Lancaster Moor, the developer called it a “cathedral on the hill” and “stately home like” (D1). Similarly, the developer for the St George’s site argued that there was “architectural history worth preserving” in the buildings and that the site’s qualities and value stemmed from its “quality setting, fantastic grounds and parkland setting” (D2). However, whilst the external elements of the building were seen as being beautiful, the inside was viewed in complete contrast:

There’s nothing inside [...] of any value (D3).

Much of significance had already been removed (D1).

Whilst the external building was described in terms of their beauty, the internal buildings were viewed as having nothing significant architecturally nor were they seen as being aesthetically pleasing (D1; D3). This echoed LMH5 above who described the differences between the sides of the asylum. All three of the developers interviewed focused on the aesthetic qualities they saw the three sites offering specifically in terms of their external qualities. D2 described their site as being one of “quality and prestige”. The use of the word “prestige” by this developer was interesting as it suggested that heritage or historic buildings give a sense of status or cachet, their aesthetic qualities added to their overall value through this. The comparisons with “cathedrals” and “stately homes” (D1) corresponded with a

reappraising of these sites (Franklin, 2002; Weiner, 2004) as sites of beauty where people would want to live and removed any possible trace of past connotations associated with their previous use. For the developers, they were seeking to create sites where people wanted to live and therefore it can be argued that seeing the buildings in a positive light through their aesthetic value, enabled them to achieve this.

Using the aesthetic qualities of the sites to create places where people wanted to live was demonstrated by the developer of the St George's site who, despite the original plans for the site which included the demolition of all existing buildings, they deliberately chose to keep some of the buildings, where feasible (D2). It was the historic element they felt appealed to prospective purchasers as D2 argued that people know they are developing something different to a purpose built house. For this developer, the retention of some of the historic buildings on site added something more valuable than a cleared site would (D2). This in turn added more monetary value to the new properties, and this connection between value types will be explored further in the following sections.

The aesthetic qualities of the sites were also highlighted by both owners:

Beautiful site, fantastic building, amazing. [...] Like little villages. [...] Must have been a great place to live. [...] It doesn't look like an asylum (O2).

It doesn't look like an asylum (O1).

The quotes suggested that the aesthetic qualities of the sites overrode any potential negativity to the point of obscuring it completely in the view of the owners. The aesthetics and architecture could be valued and appreciated independently of the former history of the sites, enabling the reappraisal of these buildings as heritage as Franklin (2002) and Weiner (2004) have previously argued. Moon *et al.* (2015) also contended that there is often only a limited engagement with the past use by the professionals (particularly the developers) involved in their reuse process. This can be seen in the above quotes by the owners as their focus on the physical qualities of the site removed the need to engage with any notion of a difficult past use and could be said to be ignoring or seeking to sanitise the past. However it could equally be

suggested that the owner and developer's roles, by their nature, concentrate on the present and the future of the site in terms of maintenance and redevelopment, rather than looking to the past history of a site. That focus would be the role of heritage bodies whose professional role is one of protecting the physical aspects of the past.

The architectural elements of the sites were highlighted by all the heritage professionals however there were contrasting views across the four heritage professionals interviewed as to whether or not these were positive qualities:

It's akin to a country house in terms of its grandeur, architectural style and statement and I think that will outweigh any negativity (HP2).

And yet the same professional stated:

You're almost building in that negative... the architects built in that negative, somewhat frightening reflection of mental health (HP2).

This perception of negative architecture or aesthetics was equally discussed by two of the other heritage professionals:

It's.... is very bleak and it's a very imposing building. I think that was part of the original architectural intent really (HP1).

It may be that their aesthetic is to do with their kind of presence in a town scape or in a village that... that's... they have a particular kind of looming, sort of presence (HP4).

For the latter two heritage professionals, the perception of the aesthetics and the history of former asylums was complicated. They viewed historic buildings according to the sector's criteria as represented by Historic England's *Conservation Principles* (2008): "We work on a... a significance basis [...] kind of set out in *Conservation Principles*. A heritage asset has various values and the fabric tells you about those values" (HP2). One of those values set out in *Conservation Principles* (2008) is that of aesthetic value but it is only one part of the overall significance. The professional role of the heritage bodies resulted in the heritage professionals seeing the building

in a different manner to the developers or owners who have to maintain and convert these buildings rather than preserve them.

The aesthetic value of the buildings was equally highlighted by the planning professionals although they also focused on the setting of the sites more generally and the institutional nature of the buildings. For the Lancaster Moor planning professionals, the buildings were seen as beautiful or aesthetically pleasing:

Wow. [...] The building is incredible (PC1).

Lovely external detail, gothic design (CO1).

The design and details of the buildings were highlighted by the above interviewees. CO1 went further, stating “it’s almost ecclesiastical with its tower. But what a tower, you know. Still pretty impressive. And it gives a focus.” Again, Lancaster Moor was seen as being church like, a completely different, more positive type of use to its previous history. In contrast, the planner for the St George’s site felt the building was very institutional in appearance (P2) and for them, the site overall was more essential:

How important are some of the buildings to the overall setting and impression of the site? [...] The wards and main building provide a focal point of the scheme with a long green corridor (P2).

Whilst the buildings were viewed as important, so were the potential future qualities of the site. When asked whether they considered the history of the site in any way, the St George’s site planner responded:

It was more the aesthetics and yes, we were always mindful of what it was and what its previous uses were but that didn’t really have any bearing on the design of the scheme that came forward, it was more about the visual setting of the buildings (P2).

For this planning professional, the value created by the building and site’s aesthetics did not come purely from the existing buildings. Although the quality of the existing

buildings was seen as being valuable, equally the site as a whole and the future qualities of the scheme was emphasised. The existing buildings and the new scheme combined to provide the overall aesthetic value of the new development which would make the site “one of the most exciting in the North East” (P2), would be “quite unique in terms of its character” (P2) and have the “potential to become one of the most attractive locations to live in the North East” (P2). The aesthetic value of both the buildings and the sites were therefore important in both the reappraisal of the sites as heritage buildings and as places that people would want to live.

The architecture of these sites enabled the different stakeholders to “find” aesthetic value in the sites. For the developers and owners they were sites of beauty and architectural merit that gave them something that a cleared site would not have. The planning professionals, in the main, viewed the buildings as beautiful although they were also balancing this with the other needs of the site in terms of planning policy. The heritage professionals viewed the aesthetic value of these buildings as one part of their overall significance; another element of which was their history which was not always seen as being positive. As outlined in Chapter 1, the architecture of these asylums was very important at the time they were constructed (Cameron and Markus, 2002; Markus, 1993; Scull, 2006) but that as their reputations as asylums declined, the literature suggested that this affected the view of the buildings as well (for example Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.*, 2015). As the appreciation or “obsession” (Cowell, 2008) with heritage has risen, including the appreciation of Victorian architecture, people’s perception of the aesthetic value of the building has increased and as Franklin (2002) and Weiner (2004) argued, these qualities have allowed the buildings to be reappraised with the focus on their architectural qualities.

The aesthetic value perceived by the different stakeholders was also linked to both age and historical value. From the data gathered by this study, age and historical value were however not seen as being the same thing as shall now be explored.

4.2 Historical and Age values

The general public emphasised the qualities of “age” and “history” as being the reasons why they felt certain buildings were special in their location. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show the top five reasons given by the public in Morpeth and Lancaster as to why

they felt the buildings they had identified were special. They were not given a list of reasons to choose from, the reasons given were what they stated themselves. This data is also discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 when this thesis explores people's attachments to historic former asylums but here it demonstrates the types of value that the public ascribed to historic buildings more widely than historic former asylums.

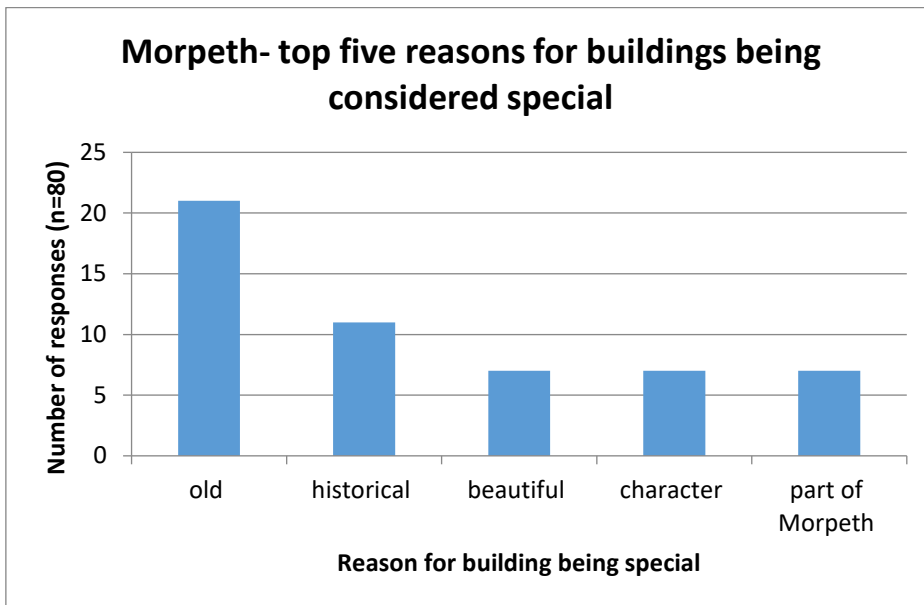


Figure 4.2: Top five reasons buildings were considered special in Morpeth

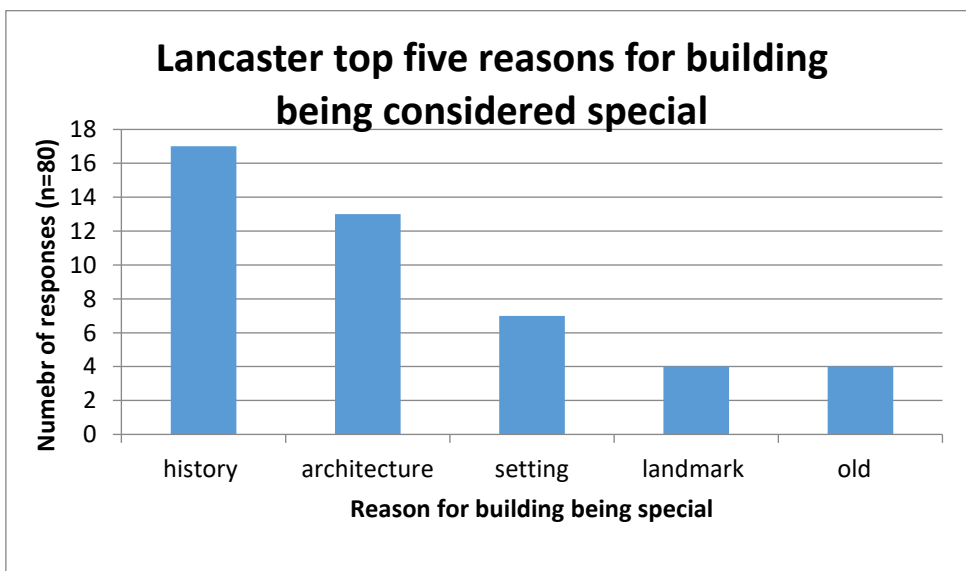


Figure 4.3: Top five reasons buildings were considered special in Lancaster

Historic and older buildings were considered more special and more valuable than newer ones with the history and age of a building being a key aspect as to whether a building was liked or disliked. Throughout the questionnaires, the words “old” and

“historic” appeared to be used interchangeably by the public however this thesis makes a distinction between the two types of value and closer examination of the data supported this distinction. Historical value was taken as relating specifically to their past use and age value referred to how old the buildings were. This distinction between the two values, that arose through the data, will be explored below. Historical value will be discussed first, followed by age value and any connections that emerged through the data will be drawn out.

4.2.1 Historical value

The previous section highlighted that the aesthetic value found in historic former asylums by the different groups of stakeholders contributed to their reappraisal as sites of architectural merit, rather than sites of stigma (Franklin, 2002). The former staff members across all three sites felt that these former asylums were part of social history and therefore something that should be remembered. One person even stated:

It's part of our town, we should be proud of it (LMH4).

With the reputation that asylums had (Moons *et al.* 2015), pride was an unusual emotion to express. The staff members were not asked directly if they were proud of their respective sites, LMH4 made the comment above independently and this served to demonstrate the strength of feeling towards these places held by the former staff members. The desire to remember the history of the sites was not limited to the former staff members. From the public questionnaires 23% of those surveyed in Morpeth and 25% of the public surveyed in Lancaster also felt that these sites were part of social history and should be remembered, even though they were also seen as having potentially difficult or challenging histories by some respondents:

Should remember the way patients were treated (L42).

Not an easy history but we should remember (L47).

A community is its history (M32).

Should be kept, historically but it depends on the memories (M33).

From the questionnaires with the public, 79% of those surveyed in Lancaster and 68% in Morpeth felt these places were an important part of the history of the place, even if this might be difficult for some people. There were however a couple of people who felt very differently. One person in Morpeth described the building as “evil” although they provided no explanation to this and another stated it “wasn’t a nice place”. Similarly in Lancaster one person stated that they thought “it should be knocked down” due to its difficult reputation. As Schofield (2009:97) stated “people are increasingly aware (and made aware) of their heritage, and encouraged to participate in it; to research it, understand it and be supportive of a desire to preserve it” and this would certainly seem to be the case here. This “desire to preserve” (Schofield, 2009:97) and protect was echoed by one of the former staff members:

We’ve lost quite a lot [referring to historic buildings] (SG1).

The suggestion by SG1 above that historic buildings were disappearing implied they were becoming scarcer and are therefore seen to be more valuable. This scarcity and the resulting desire to preserve rare historic buildings gives rise to another value that will be considered in this chapter: economic (or monetary) value. As Millington argued (2000:3) “scarcity gives rise to value, and, generally speaking, when scarcity increases so will value increase”. This scarcity was linked to the age and the history of the building, and, combined with aesthetical value might also have contributed to their reappraisal:

Maybe for some people there is that sort of... a positive... frisson that gives where they’re staying some sort of time depth. They may not necessarily be that bothered about the... the people who were there, they might be more interested in say who the architect was (HP4).

As with a focus on the aesthetics of the buildings, their historic nature provided another way of viewing and valuing the buildings as demonstrated through the “time depth” in the above quote. As Moses (2015:135) argued “temporal or social-cultural distance of context communities from the traumatic histories of a site allows for greater creativity in the interpretation and commemoration of those histories”. Time

weakened the strength of the perceptions of the past history or past connotations of former asylums and the buildings then became valued for their age, rather than their specific history as asylums and so it is to age value that this thesis now turns.

4.2.2 Age value

Age value, as described at the beginning of the previous section, was taken in this thesis to refer to how old a building was and the importance of that to the different stakeholders. The general public considered buildings that were old as being important or significant for them which tied in with Nasar's (1998) research that suggested the public preferred historic or old buildings to modern ones. This also echoed what Eidelmann *et al.*'s (2010:993) work that suggested that "the longer that something is thought to exist, the better it is evaluated" although Eidelmann *et al.*'s (2010) work is general rather than specifically related to historic buildings. Therefore the longer a building has been in existence, in general, the higher it is likely to be valued; which the questionnaire data from this study corroborates. This was equally the view taken by one of the heritage professionals:

The older something gets, the more people are likely to value it and like it (HP2).

Given their age, the heritage professional all felt that former asylums should belong to what was considered "heritage" and that heritage should not be selective in just protecting historic buildings that are considered beautiful (HP3). Time played a role with one professional stating "it's a time issue, an issue of what's dissonant and what's mainstream" (HP4). The suggestion here then is that the passage of time allowed former asylums to be considered heritage, perhaps with a lessening of their "dissonant" nature. Time was seen as being the reason for the lessening of negative images (HP3) but equally television was seen as playing a role in this (HP4). Television situated them as part of history rather than the present and therefore enabled them to be considered "heritage" by both the heritage bodies but also the public. Objects in the distant past are seen to be safe (Lynch, 1972) and therefore time heals what was once difficult or uncomfortable and this could be seen from the above assertions by the heritage professionals.

As outlined in section 4.1, the developers focused largely on the aesthetics and architectural qualities of the buildings stating for example they had “an architectural history worth preserving” (D2). Equally the planning professionals focused more on the aesthetic than the historic:

It was more the aesthetics and yes, we were always mindful of what it was and what its previous uses were but that didn't really have any bearing on the design of the scheme that came forward, it was more about the visual setting of the buildings. [...] Still keeping some of the history but not the whole lot because I think that would actually prejudice the success of the scheme (D2).

It's not necessarily historical value but more... anything that is basically an identity value. If you can identify that from the region it is from [sic]. (P3)

The planners could therefore be said to be more aesthetically and age focused than historically (in terms of past use). Both the planning professionals and the developers were, by their professional nature, focused on the future of the site and therefore were more likely to be concerned with what would work for that site now and through its future redevelopment. In their professional roles they had to consider the scheme as a whole and what was important for its future and continued (re)use. They had to make things work for the site in its state at the time of their involvement, in this case Lancaster Moor:

Couldn't keep it, pickle it in aspic. Some things had to go, like the toilet blocks and things like that. The concrete brick extensions for the lifts shafts (CO1).

Whilst initially this above quote could be said to be pragmatic in tone, as it suggested that in order for historic buildings to be redeveloped and reused, you cannot keep every aspect of that building. It was however the modern extensions to the original building that were allowed to be removed. It would therefore appear to be age value, i.e. that the building was old, that was more important here than the historical value, or former history of the site, in the opinion of this conservation officer.

From the data in this study, age and historical value were taken to be both separate but connected and intertwined values. The age of a building was seen by the

members of the public to be one of the key factors in deciding whether they felt a building was special to them or not; thereby giving a building “age value”. Historical value was more complicated however. It included the history of the site and its past use. The history of the sites was seen as challenging but important and the building was seen as being old. The two types of value were connected but a building could be valued for being “old” rather than its specific history; it could be valued as one but not necessarily the other. A building therefore could be viewed as having historical, in terms of its age) value because it had a history rather than being valued for what that history was.

In terms of the cultural values and historic former asylum sites, aesthetic and age value appeared from the data to be more commonly ascribed by the stakeholders than historical value. The most important buildings for the public were old and beautiful ones and the professional stakeholders also focused on these values, arguing that the elements of the buildings to be removed were the newer, less architecturally significant sections. The former staff members were the group that were most focused on historical value, or gave more equal merit to it as they felt that the history was part of wider social history and ought to be remembered. There was one final value that was ascribed to historic former asylums by the stakeholders; that of economic value and it is to this final value that this chapter now turns.

4.3 Economic value

Economic value, in this thesis corresponded with Mason’s (2008) use of market value in that it refers to exchange, worth and utility values. Exchange and worth value will be considered here under the term “economic” value and utility value is addressed in terms of the period during which the buildings were empty and therefore non-functioning or not utilised in Chapter 5. This research explored the redevelopment of three specific sites rather than the redevelopment of historic buildings generally as the benefit and challenges of doing so has been considered elsewhere (Mason, 2005; 1999; RICS, 2014; Throsby, 2007; 2001). Again, as with the above sections, the consideration of economic value will be discussed through each of the different stakeholder groups involved in the process to ascertain how they “find” economic value in each of the three sites under investigation and in historic former asylums as a building type.

As outlined above and in Chapter 2, historic buildings, including former asylum buildings, operate in the property market alongside all other types of property and therefore are subject to the same processes. English Heritage (2013) argued that in order to secure the future of historic buildings, a *viable* use should be found for them, not just a use. For this to be possible, economic value must therefore be identified within these former asylum sites in order to make it an attractive proposition for developers to invest and redevelop. Ball's (2002:177) study of property developers and their motivations towards developing suggested that "developers have been found to have a positive attitude towards refurbishment and reuse when conditions allow it; in other words, when they perceive that the market potential for refurbished premises will make them cost effective". Economic value was of key concern to the developers of the three sites as ensuring the redevelopment was financially viable was one of the main drivers of property development (Henneberry and Rowley, 2002; Reed and Sims, 2014) and the high costs associated with developing historic buildings often means development is uneconomic (Henneberry and Parris, 2013). As PC1 stated, "part of the nervousness of developers is the unknowns". These "unknowns" or risks are largely market driven (Reed and Sims, 2014; Wilkinson and Reed, 2008) and therefore finding economic value was of key concern to this particular group of stakeholders as their developments must bring them a profit.

In the three sites under consideration, the ability to generate a profit from the scheme was achieved in several ways. All three sites under consideration included new build residential properties. This new build element was required to make the sites commercially viable (P3, PC1) as without them, the redevelopments would not have taken place as it would not have been financially feasible and therefore the developers would not have proceeded (Henneberry and Parris, 2013; Reed and Sims, 2015; Wilkinson and Reed, 2008). This served to highlight both the cost of redeveloping historic buildings but also a conflict inherent in that redevelopment: the value of heritage versus economic value and the need to find a viable use for a building in order for it to continue to exist (HP3).

The second, and related, concern which was highlighted by many of the stakeholders was the demand for the properties. Wilkinson and Reed (2008:247) argued that "site-specific and strategic analysis are used by developers and investors to help assess

the viability of individual projects”. Market research is an important part of the development process as it analyses the market in which the property will compete (ibid) and to establish the level of demand for the proposed development. Research is usually conducted by the developers into the scale, layout, design and requirements of the prospective purchasers in order to ensure their development will sell or be let (Issac, 2002). In the case of the three sites under consideration here, there was plenty of demand for the redevelopment according to the following stakeholders:

People are buying the flats, they're popular (CO1).

There's a market for it, they can't keep up with the demand (PC1).

People want to buy the new houses (D2).

The professionals above suggested that there was more demand and interest in the converted asylum properties than the developers could keep up with although it is difficult to substantiate these claims without additional data. Given this demand, there was a market for converted heritage properties and therefore economic value in redeveloping these sites. This may not however be straightforward. The ability to render the developments financially feasible may have come simply through the demand for the converted properties or it might have been supplemented by the additional new build elements on site which counteract the costs of redeveloping the historic elements (“Enabling Development”, English Heritage, 2008). In the case of former historic asylums, the conservation deficit (see Chapter 2), could be managed through this addition of new build properties that make it financial feasible to redevelop the historic building.

The demand for the properties drove the economic value for these converted sites and historic buildings have also been shown in this chapter to be valued for their aesthetic and historic qualities. There could therefore be suggested to be a link between economic value and the other, intangible qualities evident in historic buildings, something that Thompson (1979:27) argued was possible as he suggested that at some point within the Rubbish Theory cycle, “aesthetic judgements will become sufficiently centric for a market to emerge”. As HP4 suggested, “maybe for

some people there is that sort of... a positive... frisson that gives where they're staying some sort of time depth". The aesthetic or age value of these buildings drove the demand for the properties in the redevelopment. As a result of their aesthetic nature, a market emerged creating economic value for the developers who perceived a financial viability in developing and subsequently the perception by purchasers that the properties were worth buying.

The appreciation and valorisation of historic (in general terms) and old buildings, created a high demand for a scarce product which subsequently pushed up the price of them (Millington, 2000). This in turn resulted in certain developers perceiving that they could make money from historic buildings and thus they recognised economic value in historic buildings. This was particularly demonstrated in the cases of the Lancaster Moor and St George's developments:

They wanted to keep a lot of the features. Things like the leaded light windows. They definitely wanted to keep those. A lot of people buying the units think they're wonderful (CO1).

I think that the big bonus for us is that the main entrance hall and the immediate wings off that, which were bits that we really really wanted to keep, are still in a decent enough condition that we can retain those (D2).

The developers, as seen in the above quotes, chose to retain historic elements of the buildings as they added an extra quality to their redevelopments. In the case of Lancaster Moor, the building is listed and therefore the developer was restricted in what they could remove from the building, however for the St George's site, this was not the case. The building was not listed and therefore here the developer is deliberately choosing to retain buildings when there was no legal requirement for them to do so. The reason for this retention of the buildings was linked to the "quality settings" (D2) and the fact that for them:

It's about communities rather than housing. It sounds slightly clichéd but for us that's what drives value, we deliver a premium product. And you get that premium price for your product if you're delivering more than just the houses (D2).

For this developer, the age element added something extra to the development; it created something that people were willing to pay more for and therefore the developer chose to retain these buildings to generate additional economic value. For them therefore, old buildings produced additional monetary value meaning that whilst the cost to retain these buildings might be more, the return on that was greater therefore creating more economic value. As the supply of one type of property decreases, here historic buildings, their market value increases (Millington, 2000) and therefore this could suggest that historic buildings produce economic value because of their scarcity and the subsequent demand this creates.

For all of the professional stakeholders, but particularly the developers, economics was a key factor in the reuse and redevelopment of the three former asylum sites as has been demonstrated. In terms of the former staff members and the members of the public, few mentioned either. Only two members of the public, (one from Morpeth and one from Lancaster) made any comment on the economic aspect of redevelopment. When asked the question “what do you think of the redevelopment?” they responded:

Ok. Political, valuable property (M30).

Good they haven't knocked it down, very expensive though (L47).

Firstly the buildings were seen as “valuable” in monetary terms although it is unclear to whom this would be nor whether this was in terms of redeveloping the sites or purchasing the new properties. The cost of the redevelopment was however acknowledged with the suggestion that this would be a challenge to the buildings' reuse. This cost of redevelopment was also remarked upon by a former staff member:

I think the foundations were ok but it needed a bit of maintenance to keep it up to standard. Probably though, the money to put St Mary's right could build a purpose built facility somewhere else (SM2).

Whilst SM2 was referring to keeping St Mary's in use as a functioning psychiatric hospital here, the financial costs needed to do this, or to convert the building for a new use, were recognised as being considerable.

All of the professional stakeholders raised the costs associated with the reuse and redevelopment process for these former historic asylums with one heritage professional stating that they are "big and expensive" (HP4). The owners also highlighted the cost of managing a vacant site and any liabilities resulting from that (O1) As noted in English Heritage's (2011:16) *Vacant Historic Buildings* publication, "historic features in empty buildings are likely to face risks such as damage or theft during building and maintenance works, unauthorised access, and changes in environmental conditions". There were therefore considerable costs associated with simply keeping the buildings in their existing states. The condition of the buildings also had an effect on the costs of redevelopment:

We've got to look at the condition of it as well. It hasn't been well kept by the [owner's name]. There's a lot of water been ingressed [sic], it's been under a lot of broken glazing that hasn't been repaired, we do know there's been a lot of vandalism inside, there's been a lot of, well all of the pipework under the floors is asbestos lagged, there's been a lot of people in [side] (D2).

As the above quote demonstrates, in addition to the usual costs of redevelopment and building, there were also the costs associated with the condition of the building, both in terms of maintenance but also redevelopment, and rectifying any problems that arose. This was highlighted by one of the planning professionals:

What it's going to cost to sort this building out?! I went round it when there was dry rot, water coming in, it was leaking (CO1).

In taking on an old building, the extra costs associated with getting the building to a condition where it could then be converted were considerable as the above quote revealed. Additionally, there were further costs when converting and redeveloping an old, historic building: those costs associated with its conservation.

This was the most sensitive area so these they had to spend more money on. Slate roofs to be as sympathetic as possible. Now that did add a massive cost implication to it. The roofs that are across the whole site, they had to ... the council wanted more and more slate, natural slate because the distance, you've got the roofing material, it's very difficult to do because that does really add to the cost of the development so it does affect everybody (PC1).

The cost of materials for the refurbishment and reuse of the buildings and the impact on the construction of the new build was seen by PC1 above as being more than for non-heritage redevelopments. Older buildings cost more to refurbish and redevelop (Bullen, 2007; Larkham, 1992) and whilst they are often argued to contribute to sustainability through the reuse of the energy already used in constructing the building (CO1; English Heritage, 2013; Kincaid, 2002), there is debate over this issue as the maintenance costs of the buildings mean old buildings cannot meet current sustainability standards (Bullen, 2007). These costs of conservation, in addition to the usual costs of redevelopment, had further effects on the development itself:

With this scheme, it was accepted at the outline stage that because this needed so much money, the [building] needed so much money to get it up to scratch that they couldn't afford to fulfil those obligations so as a result there is no affordable housing here at all because some of locals asked where is the affordable housing? Well there isn't any. The money that was going to go to affordable housing is going towards that building (PC1).

The above quote embodied the challenges associated with the reuse and redevelopment of historic buildings both specifically here with the three former asylums but also more generally across all types of historic buildings. The cost of conserving and repairing the building meant that other desirable social elements of redevelopment, here affordable housing, were not possible due to financial constraints. The cost of conservation and redevelopment were so great that other options, such as affordable housing were not possible although desired by the public, there were compromises that had to be made in order to ensure the reuse of three former asylum sites.

The sections above have identified the different types of values ascribed by each of the stakeholder groups in historic former asylums through the three sites under consideration here. As outlined at the start of this chapter however, the data also suggested changes to these values as well as connections between the different types of values and it is to this discussion that this chapter now turns.

4.4 Changes in value and connections between types of value

An adapted version of *Rubbish Theory* was provided in Chapter 2 and it is useful to briefly return to it here as Thompson (1979:26) argued that “for an item to cross these boundaries [between categories] it must begin to acquire value and it must emerge from obscurity”. Providing the example of Chippendale chairs, he posited that “at some point along these sequence of individual creative leaps the aesthetic judgement will become sufficiently centric for a market to emerge” (1979:27). This thesis argues that this is precisely what happens to historic former asylums through the different values but that these various values have different trajectories through the lifespan of these buildings. Following the adaptation of *Rubbish Theory* as outlined in Chapter 2 and employing the insights from the data arising from the different stakeholder groups discussed in this chapter, it can be demonstrated that the five stages present in the lifecycle of former historic asylums were: original use- transient – rubbish- transient- durable. Different conceptions of value were present at different stages within that lifecycle and particularly at their current stage moving from transient to durable as outlined in this research.

Through the data analysis and the categorisation of the different values ascribed by the different stakeholder groups, it became possible to show the change in these values in the latter part of the sites’ histories as well as identifying what each of these types of values were. HP2 argued in their interview that “the older something is the more people are likely to value it and like it” which combined with Thompson’s assertions in *Rubbish Theory* suggested that as buildings become older they become part of the *durable* category where their perceived value increased. Equally from the public questionnaire responses outlined in this and the following chapters the age of the building was a key factor in people liking or disliking a building. Using Thompson’s (1979) assertion that as an object becomes older its perceived value increases suggested a link between whether something is liked which subsequently

becomes valued, in order for a building to be valued, it therefore has to be liked. From the limited number of questionnaires to residents it was clear that age and the history of the building was also an important factor in determining the purchase of a flat or house within a converted asylum site as can be seen in the following quotes:

The house has a very regal feel, almost a stately home ambience. The nearest I am going to get to being a Royal! (SP4).

As a historian, the past, the building, the people matter to me. When I walk around the estate I can visualise both the staff and the patients in the places where they worked and lived (SP2).

I love my home, I like the high ceilings and large rooms, we came here from a historic house in the Lakes and were looking for good sized rooms with some character (SP3).

If you buy into a historic building you get the quiriness and uniqueness of the development. This cannot be created in new developments (OS3).

It would therefore appear, as Franklin (2002) argued that these sites and buildings have been reappraised as “old buildings” rather than stigmatised places (Moons *et al.* 2015). This reappraisal into something old rather than something remembered for their history has been taken into the process of their redevelopment by the professional stakeholders:

It was more the aesthetics and yes, we were always mindful of what it was and what its previous uses were but that didn't really have any bearing on the design of the scheme that came forward, it was more about the visual setting of the buildings (P2).

Anything that has I mean really, not necessarily historical value, but more anything that is um basically an identity value (P3).

These quotes suggested that the historical value of the sites is less important than other aspects such as the aesthetics and visual appearance when considering a

redevelopment or approaching a heritage building. This raises questions about whether the preservation of historic buildings is therefore being done on aesthetic rather than historic (past use) grounds. For the conservation officer interviewed in this study the concept of significance was key in examining the historic sites (CO1) but there was also a considerable focus on the features of the building:

We look at the significance very carefully. And there were various options.

Obviously how much of it could we keep. Realistically.

We tried to keep as many features as we could.

So a lot of features that were considered to be of interest or significance, have been retained (CO1, quotes taken from various points in the interview).

Significance, as referred to in the final quote from CO1, was considered to be a set of “interlocking values that build up to create the significance of the building as a whole [...] That helps us to be informed about what parts of the building are essential to retain and where change can actually be accommodated” (HP1). From the above quotes by CO1 however, whilst significance was emphasised, this appeared to be in terms of features of the building that should be preserved or kept in some way, rather than the set of “interlocking values” (HP1) that take into account evidential, communal, historical *and* aesthetic (English Heritage, 2008, emphasis by author).

The first three of these values that are considered by Historic England to make up heritage significance but are likely to be more difficult to preserve within a building redevelopment as they are intangible unless evident through something structural in the building. This was possibly why HP1 stated that interpretation is often suggested on site to enable the historical value to be identified and presented to the public. Given that aesthetic value could therefore be seen to be the easiest of the four Historic England values to be perceived through the built structure, it was therefore perhaps inevitable that the preservation of buildings becomes about the aesthetical value of historic buildings rather than the other three values. This focus then appeared to be transferred into the process (as demonstrated by the planning professionals’ quotes above) and consequently becomes one of the values (together

with age) that is most easily identified with historic buildings and which enters into the public consciousness.

As the combination of four types of value identified by Historic England, significance is the result of a process by which heritage buildings are deemed worth of preservation and therefore a process of valorisation. This is the process by which heritage bodies create or attach value to specific historic buildings. As explored in the earlier part of this chapter, the three asylums sites under investigation in this study were perceived as being predominantly attractive buildings by the various stakeholders interviewed. The reappraisal of former asylums as attractive sites, as previously stated, ties in with the existing literature on the fate of former historic asylums (Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004). The time that has passed in their lifespan has enabled them to be considered in a different light, as something aesthetically pleasing rather than for their history and has become something valuable for this quality. As one of the heritage professionals stated:

With the current vogue for conversions and living in historic houses and a lot of these asylums I can imagine, if they're like the hospitals of the 19th century, will be akin to a country house in terms of its grandeur, it's architectural style and statement, and I think that will outweigh any negativity (HP2).

The evidence suggested that the aesthetic and age value of asylums outweighed any of the stigma that might have been associated with them (which will be explored in detail in the following chapter), the positive values such as the aesthetic qualities of the site became more prominent with both the purchasers and the professionals involved in converting the sites.

Redevelopment is a rebranding and giving a place a new history and that's what people are buying in to (HP4).

When you're in a nice new apartment, and you've got housing around you, it's a totally different atmosphere (D2).

The development process itself further added to the value of the sites in changing their image and furthering their consideration as beautiful old buildings that people

want to buy. It was this demand to buy historic properties, and therefore to see them as having economic value, that was also important in the redevelopment of historic former asylum sites. If they were only perceived as having heritage value, whether that be historic or aesthetic value, then it would be likely that they would have remained empty, be left to decay, be knocked down or would have to be converted into visitor attractions; there would be no value (economically speaking) in converting them. Whilst this clearly is the case often with heritage buildings as they are a public good (Mason, 2005: HP3) in that the market cannot or will not pay for them, this would not appear to be the case with asylums as many have been or are being converted. At some point in their empty or derelict state, developers have perceived and continue to perceive them as having potential economic value.

In trying to establish how and when developers “find” this potential economic value within a historic site, one of the developers in this study was asked how they thought this happened. Their response (which they requested be anonymous) suggested that this was a difficult thing to pinpoint but that they were probably picking up the public’s views of modern buildings, particular modern housing estates and the perceived lack of quality within them. This has been suggested within academic literature exploring high rise estates when during the 1960s and 1970s, images of English villages of Victorian or Georgian properties were contrasted with the “bad” images of tower blocks (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). This developer also stated that historical buildings were more likely to have a “presence” although they felt it was difficult to say why this might be. It is likely, from this, that the link between economics and heritage is not something that developers think about consciously. Instead they respond to the market and what people appear to desire in buildings as they are ultimately interested in making a profit from their developments.

Nasar’s (1998) study of people’s attitudes to the built environment argued that generally the public dislike modern buildings and prefer historic buildings or those seen as having some character. This, combined with the perceived scarcity of old historic buildings (SG1) results in a scarcity value (Thompson, 1979) for historic properties. This scarcity value, plus the demand for historic properties, creates a limited supply of historic properties for people to buy and therefore results in a price increase. In turn this generated additional demand and resulted in developers being able to see an economic benefit in redeveloping historic buildings. This explains why

two of the developers (D3, D2) within this study deliberately chose to keep elements of the historic buildings they were converting despite there being no legal requirement to do so through any listing of the site. As D2 stated:

You see pretty decent Victorian architecture, it does exude a little bit of quality and a bit of a prestige. So now we're very very excited by the site (D2).

The architecture and aesthetics of the site created the "quality" and "prestige" stated in the above quote. This prestige and quality came from the architecture and the fact that the building was an old one. Consequently, people were willing to pay more for the quality and prestige and to tolerate the associated unusual structural elements of the building:

I think there's also ... an appreciation from buyers that if they're buying a conversion in any property, that room sizes will be different, it might not work... it might not be exactly square, a little bit quirky but they also appreciate they get the benefit of larger floor to ceiling heights, bigger windows so it is a bit of a... It is in itself a bit of a niche product a conversion property because people who buy that understand what they're buying (D2).

This quote suggested that people chose to purchase historic properties because of their features, it was the appreciation of these features that resulted in the demand for historic properties or conversions and therefore which leads developers to convert such properties. This preference for historic buildings and demand for the conversion of them implied that there was a certain "heritage cachet" that comes with them and it is this "cachet" that drives both economic value and heritage value, as was argued by the developer of St George's.

Whilst the developer for the St George's site deliberately chose to retain some of the historic buildings because of the cachet it added, the case of the St Mary's site provided an interesting contrast as the main hospital building was initially going to be converted but the developer subsequently applied for permission to demolish and rebuild it due to the physical constraints of the building (Northumberland County Council, 2014) This demolition was something that the planner (SMP) had feared would happen and the council had hoped that the building would be retained

however given the building was not listed, they could do little to prevent this. It was interesting to compare the St Mary's and St George's sites as neither of these had listed buildings and yet the approaches taken by the two residential developers was significantly different. The St George's developer deliberately chose to keep buildings as it brought the scheme heritage value or cachet whereas the St Mary's residential developer demolished and rebuilt the building as it was too difficult to convert (Northumberland County Council, 2014). The St George's developer felt that people buying the flats were buying them because of their uniqueness (D2) and therefore would tolerate unusual ceiling heights or "quirks".

In valuing historic buildings, and the promotion of that valorisation through heritage by heritage bodies, whether that be for aesthetic or historic reasons people therefore find value in these buildings and they then want to own a historic house or conversion. This desire to own an historic building subsequently drives the demand for more conversions and historic properties thus increasing their perceived value both culturally and economically. It could be argued that the continued valorisation of heritage buildings therefore creates the continued demand and subsequent economic value although clearly there are buildings that are not converted or reused. As Cairns and Jacobs (2014:32) argued, "the fate of a materialised object is unavoidably linked to the processes of valuation, be they economic, social or cultural" and in the case of historic former asylums, the processes of valuation or valorisation are linked.

4.5 Summary

It has been shown in the previous sections that the different stakeholder groups ascribed different types of value to former historic asylum sites; the same buildings can hold or have different types of value for each of the different actors within the redevelopment process. In considering the aesthetic, historical and age values attributed to the three historic former asylums sites, time played an important role in how value was ascribed to the sites. The values changed over time as the sites go from being sites of stigma to sites of aesthetic beauty. Time enabled them to be reappraised and viewed in a different light (Franklin, 2002, Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004). Time softened their images, reduced the impact of the past history and uses and enabled their reimagining through their architectural qualities and

subsequently through their reuse. As time allowed their reappraisal as beautiful old buildings, their aesthetic and age value then led to the final value considered in this chapter: economic value. Both the developers and the planning professionals expressed the view that the aesthetic and age qualities overrode any lingering negative connotations across the sites and consequently attracted people to purchase the newly converted properties, something which was supported by the questionnaires with new residents and will be explored in the following chapter.

This study therefore argued that there is a link between aesthetic and age values and economic value, with the former two values driving or influencing the latter. Whether there is a link between historical value (as defined in this study) and economic value is more difficult to conclude. The history of these three former asylum sites, which the former staff and the majority of the public argued should be remembered, provided the challenge in redeveloping these sites in terms of the connotations of their former use. This former use, with the potential stigma that will be explored in depth in the following chapter, was unlikely to create positive value as the aesthetic or age value does. It was however more difficult to ascertain whether it detracted from any of the values explored in this chapter. Certainly none of the residents surveyed highlighted that the previous use was an issue in any way and as HP3 stated a developer was hardly likely to mention the previous use in their redevelopment. However two of the developers (D3; D2) incorporated certain elements into the redevelopment and both stated that hiding the history was not likely to work. Given the focus of the professional stakeholders and the people purchasing the properties on the aesthetics and historical (in terms of age) nature of these three sites, it was therefore likely that any residual negativity was outweighed by the physical qualities of the buildings (HP2).

Having explored the values associated with the three historic former asylum sites, this thesis now turns its attention to the attachments felt by the various stakeholders but also the stigmas involved in the reuse of historic former asylum sites.

Chapter 5. Place Attachment and Place Stigma

This chapter investigates the role of place attachment and place stigma, in the redevelopment of historic former asylums. In doing so, it addresses aims 1 and 3 which investigate the emotional aspects of the redevelopment of historic former asylums. To do this, it takes the concepts of place attachment and place stigma as explored in Chapter 2, and examines each separately before assessing the impact of each on the redevelopment and on each other. As outlined in Chapter 2, most place attachment literature examines predominantly positive attachments to places (Manzo, 2014), there are fewer studies that explore the negative or ambiguous aspects of place attachments or place stigma. People's attachment to historic former asylums will be outlined first, together with the effects of these attachments on the redevelopment of the three research sites. The chapter will then explore different types of stigma and their effects on the redevelopments. Finally, it will look at both place attachment and place stigma in the context of former historic asylums together to assess the interaction between the two.

5.1 Positive place attachment

As discussed in Chapter 2, existing place attachment literature argues that the longer you lived somewhere and the older you were (Guiliani, 2003; Shamaï and Illatov, 2005), the more likely you were to be attached to that place and therefore engage in action to protect it if it was threatened in some way (Devine-Wright, 2009). Equally, the age of the building or place was also likely to be an important factor in creating attachments and result in place protective action (ibid). Through the analysis of the interviews with former members of staff, it became clear that they felt strong, positive attachments to the former asylum sites. The interviews with the other stakeholder groups and the questionnaire data also revealed that some of the professional stakeholders felt forms of attachment to the sites, as did the new residents and members of the public as this section will now explore.

5.1.1 Staff attachments

All of the former staff, across all three research sites spoke of their time working in the three former asylum sites fondly. They were asked to recount their memories of

their first day, how they felt about the buildings and whether this impression changed during their time there. Eleven out of 16 of the former staff expressed some form of anxiety when they first started. As one former staff member recounted:

I remember it seeming... huge. And lots of corridors. And me thinking I'll never find my way round here. You went through a process. You went in the sewing room to get your uniform and this kind of thing. I felt as though I was being shuttled from place to place. Erm.... But I don't think I ever thought, ooh I don't know what I'm doing here. It just seemed big and erm I was unsure of my ability to cope with all of this massive building and... and at the time, when you saw people, a little bit of anxiety about who are they? And that kind of thing. So a lot of anxiety. I think anxiety more than excitement for a first day (SM4).

This sense of anxiety or apprehension was felt across all the sites in the study but is particularly demonstrated by the following quote referring to Lancaster Moor Hospital:

I remember it absolutely vividly. I got off the bus, on that side where the red building is, on that side. And I stepped off that bus and was terrified. And I saw the red brick, the red building which I was familiar with but not so familiar with because actually it's detached from the town. But I remember I stepped off the bus and thought "oh my God" (LMH4).

A sense of apprehension was perhaps understandable on the first day of any job but what appears to have added to it was the building itself, through its size, scale and physical layout:

Well the entrance to the hospital, the manager's office was quite plush of course, she took me down these stone steps into the longest, darkest most miserable corridor you've ever seen, me carrying the bike. She showed me how to park my bike then took me up to the ward. So that was my first impression: this long, dark, miserable corridor which seemed never ending. I thought "where on earth are we going? What have I got myself in for?!" (LMH5).

Although the above quote suggests that the building's physical size and presence added to the initial apprehension, this was not always the case:

It felt... it felt like home, it was, I mean, if you try and articulate it, it was a big psychiatric hospital, it should have felt quite scary, to a young woman but it didn't it felt very, very comfortable (SM3).

For the former staff member in the above quote, their first impressions were purely positive. They stated that they had been sent to school in a convent and wondered whether this had something to do with feeling so at home, the familiarity of an institution felt safe to them. The staff members were asked if they remembered their first day there and how they felt about it in order to explore their feelings in relation to the buildings and whether these feelings changed at all. For those staff members (in the above quotes) who felt apprehensive on their first day, this apprehension soon faded:

The ward was so clean and neat and tidy and I don't know, somehow homely and from that moment on I was hooked, I loved it (LMH5).

It changed totally... and eventually became the best job I had, you know (SG1).

Once I got settled in and knew everybody and knew a lot of the patients and I mean by the time I'd qualified, they were non-existent those sort of feelings. I have a lot of fond memories of them, of that hospital you know, I had a lot of good times there when I was younger (SM1).

The change in feelings for the sites, apparent in the above quotes was evident across the eleven former staff members who expressed their initial apprehension. Very shortly after starting at their respective sites, this anxiety disappeared. Some of the initial fearfulness was attributed to first day in a new job nerves (SM5) but some was in respect of the asylum itself and the people within it as people were concerned about their new role, the patients and the building itself (SG3; SG1; SM1; SM4). The change in feelings resulted from both becoming more confident in their role (SM4) and from the sense of community within the asylum sites (LMH4).

All of the staff interviewed across the three sites spent the majority of their working lives in these places and progressed from junior to senior members of staff. They therefore spent considerable lengths of time working on the sites, with length of time being argued as a key component in forming attachments to place (Altman and Low, 1992; Lewicka, 2008). Their job roles within former asylums therefore gave them opportunities for both personal and career development and this was highlighted as an important factor in how they felt about these institutions:

The training, it gave me confidence, the people actually liked me, I started to do really well, people said I was really good at stuff and I had these new friends that came from other places in the country and they actually thought I was ok so it had that impact. [...] my self-esteem started to come up [...]. And it just started a whole upward ladder movement for me and it hasn't stopped since actually (LMH4).

It's memories, I know I've got friends who lived in the staff houses as well, so there's that, it's.... I suppose for me it was my whole career, that's where my nursing started (SM3).

These former asylum sites provided opportunities for the staff to progress their career and this in turn affected how they felt about the sites. The second quote above also hinted at a further important element of the sites and another reason for the staff members' fond memories: the element of community. Many staff lived onsite in the nurses' accommodation or family houses and this helped to create a sense of community:

It was great. The atmosphere was really good because it was its own community. Because the...[sic] if you worked there, there was a lot of people lived there. There was nurses home, where the sort of single nurses lived, that was enormous, that was over three floors. [...] there was also hospital accommodation, married accommodation which is still there now, nice semi-detached houses. And there was also flats for you know people sharing or married people so there was masses of accommodation on there. So a lot of people lived there so it was its own community, it had its own church, it had its

own social club which had its own sort of committee and some of the farmers from the outside community you know sort of joined in as well (SM1).

Definitely. A massive community. It was unreal. You had a small village. You had hairdressers, you had a club, a social club, outings, everybody knew everybody by their first name, including the patients. It was a fantastic atmosphere. Great sense of community (SG1).

When it was alive, people were alive with it, and so then it went into decline and I actually think a great sadness fell over the town because there were so many people employed there (LMH4).

As the first two quotes demonstrated these asylum sites contained everything that a village would contain. The sense of community this created was highlighted as a positive thing, creating a “camaraderie” (SM4) and a “sense of belonging” (SM4). In some cases this sense of belonging and attachment was so strong that former staff members were unable to leave: “I had bad interviews for good jobs because I couldn’t move away from here” (SM5). However, the village like image of these former asylum sites was not always positive:

But when you work in mental health, it’s not something that you can... and of course with regard to confidentiality, you can’t discuss things out of work. I mean you can often say things without naming things, oh this strange event happened, blah blah blah but I suppose in that respect it was very insular and if you worked at the Moor, you weren’t a breed apart but you certainly weren’t... a builder or a... different. Very different (LMH3).

Several of the staff interviewed, in agreement with the above quote, stated that the sites were insular and, in hindsight they felt this was a bad thing (SM4). Their location created both positive attachments in that staff worked closely together, formed friendships with both other staff and patients (SM2, SG2) and they felt a sense of belonging from this. However, their locations and the work they did equally isolate them and the patients (SM4). Isolation or separation of places was suggested as a trigger for place stigma (Hastings and Dean, 2003) and this will therefore be explored further in the second part of the chapter. It should also be recognised here that

belonging was identified in the above quotes and this is an element of place attachment (Guilliani, 2003) and equally a concept in its own right that could be explored however the focus of this thesis is attachment rather than belonging.

Whilst most of the staff stated they were attached to their sites, one former staff member contradicted this view and when asked if they felt attached to the buildings, responded:

No. I only feel attachment to... it was a place I worked and lived and it was a happy time in my life but the happy time was with my family and with the people that I worked with. Not the building. [...] I'm the same about any building. I know this is my home, but buildings are buildings and it's only people that matter so I haven't got any emotional er... involvement in the bricks and mortar (SM4).

This may suggest that people project the attachment they feel for people and the memories created in these buildings and places onto the buildings themselves. However, it could also be argued that it would be difficult to distinguish between the two. Their strength of feeling for the sites can be demonstrated through the above quotes and also the fact that many kept "souvenirs" of their time there; from maps and signs to the keys they used. Wallendorf and Arnould (1988:531) argued that "we use objects as markers to denote our characters for others; we also use objects as markers to remind ourselves of who we are. In this sense we derive our self-concept from objects". The former staff spent large parts of their lives living and working in these former asylum sites, one of the prerequisites for an attachment to place former (Guilliani, 2003; Shamai and Illatov, 2005) and consequently, as demonstrated by their "souvenirs" their identities were closely tied to these places. These souvenirs displayed connections to both the people and the building, resulting in strong attachment to these sites. Following existing place attachment literature (Devine-Wright, 2009), this strength of attachment should have resulted in the former staff members being likely to take some sort of action in respect of changes to these three sites. Whether this was the case will be addressed in section 5.3 below. The former staff members however were not the only interviewees to express an attachment to these sites, and it is this that will now be considered.

5.2 Other stakeholder attachments

In the previous section, the predominantly positive attachments held by the former asylum staff were outlined. From analysis of both the interview data with the professional stakeholders and the questionnaires with the general public, other types of attachment became evident and it is to these other types of attachment that this chapter now turns. It will investigate the types of professional attachment evident through the analysis, followed by types of attachment displayed by members of the public.

5.2.1 Attachments by professional stakeholders

Whilst it has been suggested that a blurring of the boundaries between personal and professional identity is more common and encouraged within the workplace (Dumas and Sanchez-Burks, 2015), it has also be argued that “professionals are often defined by what they do” (Pratt *et al.* 2006:236). Several of the professional stakeholders (P3; D1) echoed the view of the developer who said, in respect of historic building redevelopment “that’s what I’ve done with my colleagues for the last 25 years, that’s what I do. If I can’t do that quite well then I can’t do anything” (D3). Historic building redevelopment was what they “did” in their professional capacity. However more emotional responses to the sites they were dealing with where also expressed:

I think that anybody who worked there for a long time, and there would be people who’ve spent careers there and who have an affection to the place, I would hope they would not be disappointed by what I’ve done (D3).

Whilst the above quote did not explicitly state that the developer felt an attachment the site they were working on, it did demonstrate that a sense of responsibility was felt by one of the developers towards the site they were developing and a sense that they wanted their work to be positively received by the former inhabitants of these sites. This was reflected also by a planning officer:

This is going to be what I’ll be remembered for as a planner (P3).

For this planner, it was the site that was going to mark them out as such, the site for which they would be remembered and this led again to a sense of responsibility or recognition; this building was going to be one that will be the greatest influence on their professional reputation. This was reinforced further,

I'm in a position now where we can probably do something about this (P3).

Whether this position related to their professional level or outside factors such as the economic or political climate being more conducive to redevelopment was unclear from this quote however they clearly felt a sense of responsibility like the developer above for that site. Both the planner and developer quoted could be said to have felt a responsibility towards the respective sites and their role in the redevelopment of them. Although not explicitly expressing attachment, they were not simply treating the sites as "just" a site. One planner did explicitly express a sense of attachment in respect of the site they were working on:

But then over time, especially when you've worked so closely on a scheme, for two years, you actually start to warm to the place a little bit you know and certainly the last couple of times I've been up there, you start creating this affinity to the buildings and actually, in a strange way it will be quite sad when they do start the demolition because, you know, you want to see progress but you do start to attach yourself to the site (P2).

The planner in question here stated clearly that they felt an "affinity" and an "attachment" to the site they had been working on for two years. This raised the question of how long was needed before an attachment occurs. This was a difficult question to answer or measure and is not well addressed within the literature. It was also unclear whether they had thought about this issue prior to being asked about it or whether it was something that has been prompted from the interviewer's questions. What was interesting was a professional clearly stating an attachment to a building that they worked on in a professional, not personal capacity. This would therefore suggest that there is not simply attachment to a place when you live there for a period of time as the place attachment literature (for example see Altman and Low, 1992; Devine-Wright, 2009; Lewicka, 2008) have argued. Clearly there are other forms or types of attachment that are established through other mechanisms

such as professional engagement with places. The data from the interviews revealed the presence of both personal attachment, through the former staff members' experiences of living and working in former historic asylums, and professional attachments that formed for some of the professional stakeholders working with the redevelopment of these sites. There was however, a further set of attachments that was evident through the questionnaires undertaken with members of the public which will now be explored.

5.2.2 Attachments by members of the public

The public were asked how they felt about where they lived, their favourite buildings, reasons for this choice and whether they would take any action to protect these buildings if threatened before asking specific questions about the former asylum sites being looked at in this research. The analysis of the general questions will first be explored, followed by any attachments to the former historic asylum sites. Table 5.1 below details how the people sampled in Morpeth and Lancaster felt about their town and the community in which they lived:

Table 5.1: Questionnaire respondents' opinions of their town (Morpeth and Lancaster)

	Morpeth (n=80)					
	Disagree	%	Neither agree or disagree	%	Agree	%
The town in which I live is important to me	2	3	0	0	78	98
I feel that I belong in my town	2	3	3	4	75	94
I am proud of where I live	1	1	6	8	73	91
I feel part of a community where I live	6	8	11	14	63	79
I am interested in the history of my town	0	0	8	10	70	88
I care about what my town looks like	0	0	0	0	79	99
Buildings are an important part of how I feel about my town	0	0	2	3	77	96

	Lancaster (n=80)					
	Disagree	%	Neither agree or disagree	%	Agree	%
The town in which I live is important to me	3	4	3	4	74	93
I feel that I belong in my town	12	15	3	4	62	78
I am proud of where I live	15	19	13	16	51	64
I feel part of a community where I live	12	15	9	11	58	73
I am interested in the history of my town	5	6	4	5	71	89
I care about what my town looks like	0	0	2	3	78	98
Buildings are an important part of how I feel about my town	0	0	1	1	79	99

In both Lancaster and Morpeth the majority of people felt the town was important, they were interested in the town's history; cared what the town looked like and that buildings were an important part of that. Interestingly 78% of people in Lancaster, compared to 94% of people in Morpeth felt they belonged in their town and 64% were proud of Lancaster compared to 91% in Morpeth. Some of the reasons given for this centred on the fact that people felt the council did not do enough with Lancaster's history or that they did not like the new developments in the town. In both cases nearly 100% of people felt that buildings were an important part of how they felt about their town. They were then asked to state which buildings they thought were special or distinctive in their place and why. The responses shown in Figure 5.1 above were provided by the public, no predetermined list of options was given to them.

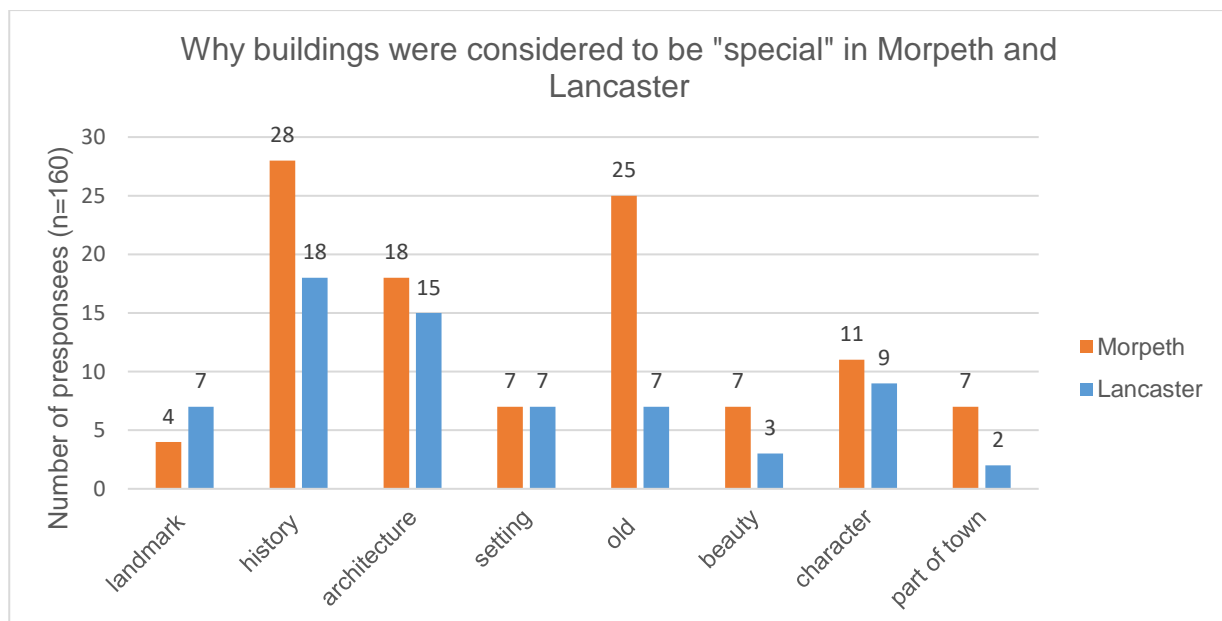


Figure 5.1: Reasons buildings were considered special (questionnaire responses, 2014, numbers above columns = number of responses).

Figure 5.1 shows the top categories given as a response in both locations. For Morpeth residents, the age and history of the building were the main reasons buildings were considered special whereas for Lancaster residents it was the history and the architecture. Buildings that were seen as old, architecturally beautiful and historic were therefore seen as being the most important for both towns (as discussed in Chapter 4). This was interesting for this study as the former asylum sites

were old, historic and can be seen to be architecturally significant. These data suggested that the public were most attached to old buildings, which fits within the place attachment literature that argues the age of the building is important in creating attachment for people (Low, 1992 cited in Lewicka, 2008). This attachment to old buildings was however in general terms, not specifically in terms of the former asylum sites. With regard to the asylum sites, when asked, do you know the history of Lancaster Moor Hospital and St George’s Hospital, the following was the result:

Table 5.2 Respondents’ knowledge of the history of the two sites (questionnaire responses, 2014)

	Lancaster (n= 80)		Morpeth (n=80)	
		%		%
Yes	72	90	72	90
No	7	9	6	8
No response	1	1	2	3

Where a positive “yes” was given, they were then asked “do you know what the history was?”. This produced the following responses:

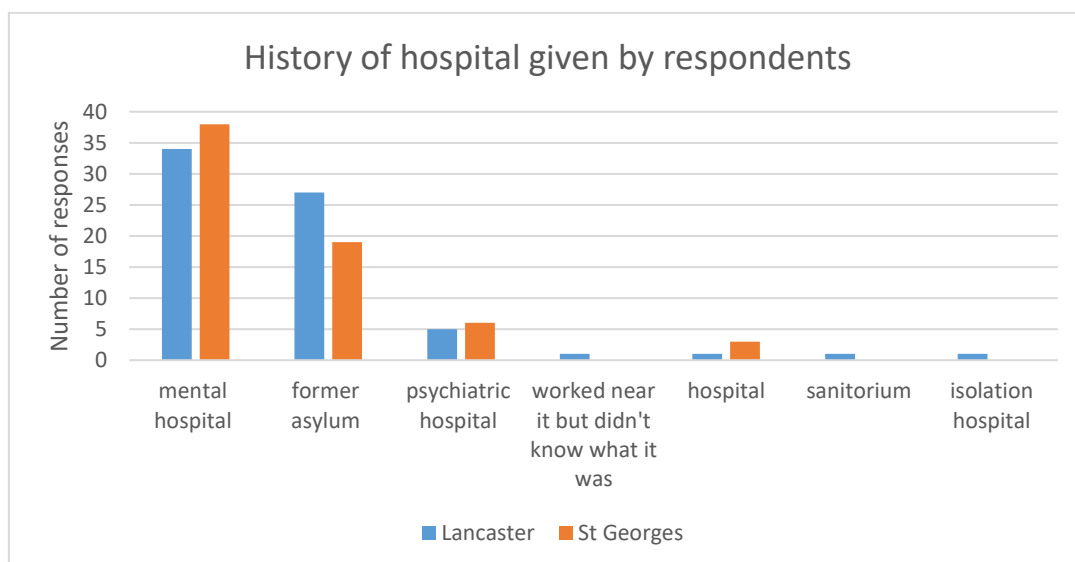


Figure 5.2: History of asylums as given by respondents (questionnaires responses, 2014).

From the questionnaire data, 94% of the responses for Lancaster and 96% for Morpeth knew the history of the two sites. These buildings are therefore still well known within the local communities despite the fact that their closures were over 15 years ago. Consequently, in assessing whether any attachment to these buildings was felt by the public, it can be seen from the above data that any attachment would be in full knowledge of the building's history or previous use in both Morpeth and Lancaster.

The public were asked whether they felt the history of these two sites should be remembered and the recurring reasons given are shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4. In reading the data in the figures presented it should be noted that the responses were given by the public, they were not provided with a list of reasons to choose from, thereby strengthening the feelings they felt in respect of these buildings. This did however make it more difficult to compare and analyse the responses although similar responses were recorded in both locations independently of each other and therefore add to strengthen the results as these were not prompted in any way.

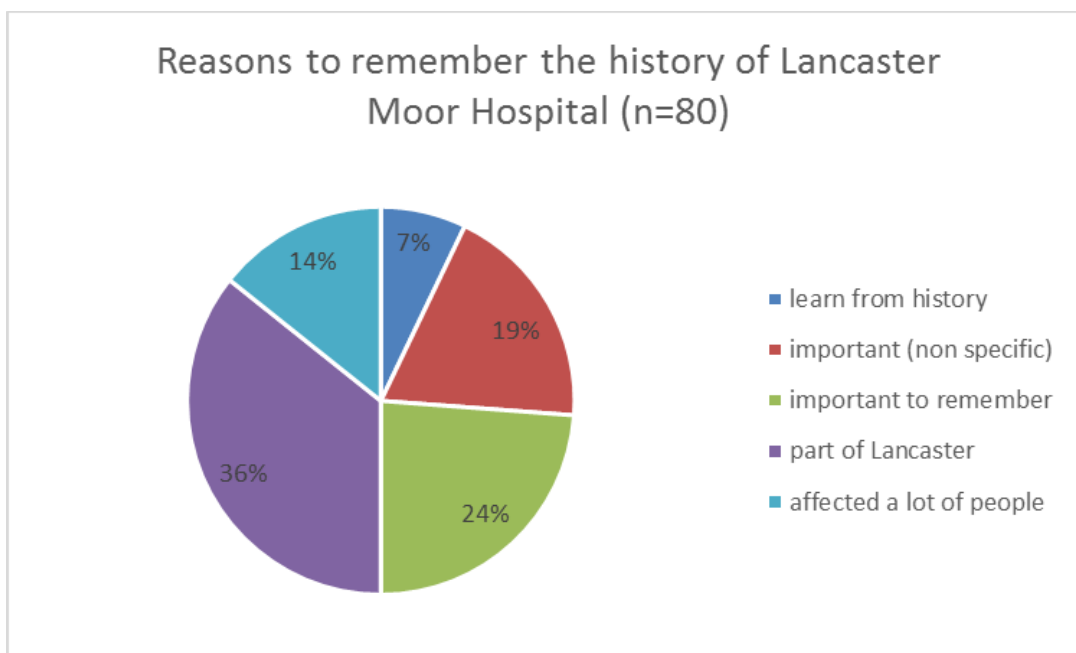


Figure 5.3: Reasons to remember the history of Lancaster Moor (questionnaire responses, 2014).

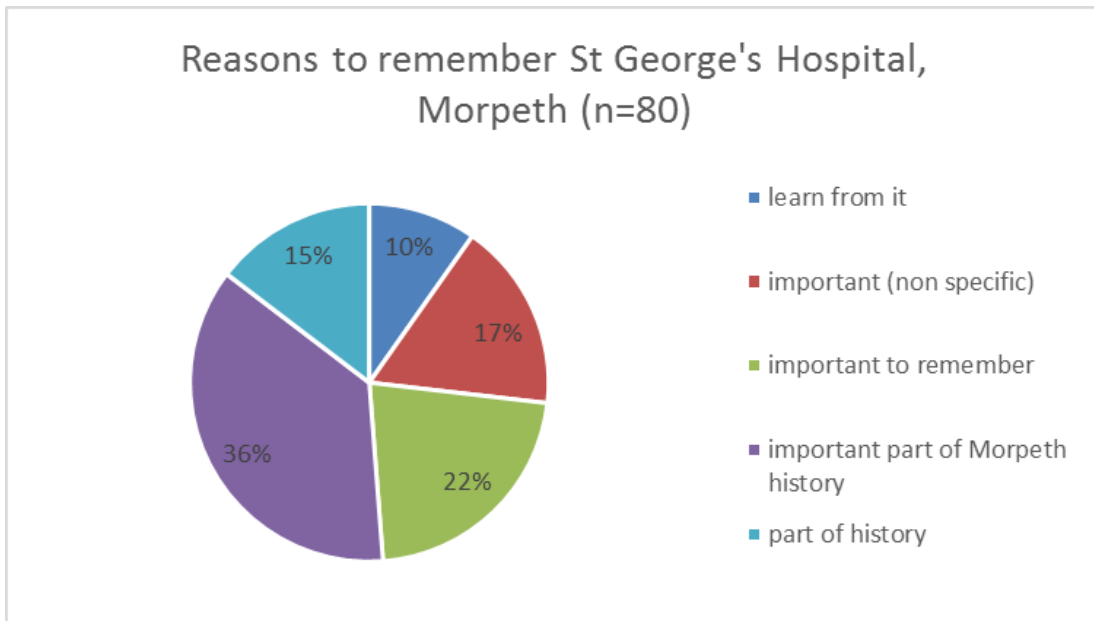


Figure 5.4: Reasons to remember St George's (questionnaire responses, 2014).

It should be noted that there were those who felt that the buildings had particularly difficult histories and these responses will be outlined in the next section on stigma. Whilst the above figures demonstrated the positive responses to the sites, for three respondents (M16, M17, L12), there was also personal connection to the hospitals with either themselves or family members having worked there.

The public in both locations felt that it was important to remember the histories of these hospitals although Morpeth respondents went further than those in Lancaster, suggesting that the history was part of the area specifically as it provided a continuity or link from the past to the present resulting in people feeling like they belonged in that place although it was difficult to specify why that might be the case. A Morpeth respondent stated, "it's social history, you need to know where your roots are" (M44). This was interesting for two reasons, firstly that it agreed with the prevailing place attachment literature in terms of the age of the buildings and a connection to place, but equally that 94% of Morpeth residents felt they "belonged" in their town, compared to 78% of Lancaster respondents (Table 5.1). Morpeth residents could therefore be said to be more attached to their town than Lancaster residents although it is appreciated that to be more definitive about this further questionnaires or interviews would be needed with a larger sample of each population.

It should also be noted that there were 132 (75 Morpeth, 62, Lancaster) members of the public that felt they belonged and described themselves as being attached to Morpeth or Lancaster despite some of the respondents having only lived there a short time, approximately less than two years. This appeared to contradict the existing place attachment literature that suggested attachment forms over time as people live in a particular place (Guilliani, 2003; Shamai and Illatov, 2005.) In both locations, people felt attached after only a short duration and this, together with the attachments felt by the professionals which will be outlined in section 5.3 below, intimated that the concept of attachment to place is more complicated than the existing literature would suggest; something that Manzo (2014; 2005; 2003) has drawn attention to and this is therefore something that needs further investigation.

Having examined the attachment to the three former asylums sites through both the interview and survey data present above, it was therefore important to ask if, and if so to what extent, the different types of attachments outlined above had any effect on the redevelopment of these sites. It is to this question this chapter now turns.

5.3 Place attachment and the redevelopments

As outlined in Chapter 2, Devine-Wright (2014; 2009) argued that the more attached someone is to a place, the more likely they are to act when that place is threatened or changed in some way. Given the strength of attachment from the former staff to the three sites, as explored in the first section of this chapter, this should have suggested that some action or reaction to the redevelopment of the three sites of investigation would therefore have been likely. This, however, was largely not the case in any of the three sites under consideration as shall now be considered.

From the data gathered in this study there was no action, either collective or individual that sought to protect or save any of the three sites. This was contrary to what existing place attachment literature suggested in terms of strength of attachment resulting in action to protect place (Devine-Wright, 2014). The data from the former staff members (those exhibiting the strongest attachment to the three sites) suggested in fact that the buildings' time as a psychiatric hospital was seen as being over as the following quotes demonstrate:

Something had to happen, it couldn't stay as a derelict site forever (SM5).

I think it's nice that it's going to be used (SM1).

But it is a lovely building and there are nice features inside that you could make something of if you had the money to do it up (SG3).

I'm happy that it was used (LMH5).

I mean I think it should be used, I think it's... I think there's a dichotomy, I think it clearly is... it belongs to the past in terms of its old use, it belongs to the past and it needs to be brought into the future [...] I think it needs to be redeveloped, I think there needs to be sympathy in how it's redeveloped so it needs to be brought into the modern world, it needs to be updated (LMH1).

The above quotes were representative of the feelings from the former staff that their time of being an active hospital was over but that they felt something constructive should be done with the buildings. All of them spoke about its reuse in a positive way, although some staff were less positive about the specifics of the site redevelopments, for example the types of houses that were being built:

Now the bottom half, where some of the outer buildings were, Owen House and Harvey House which was the alcoholics, I think it was [name of a developer] who developed that and that's just a housing estate (LMH5).

It's not my cup of tea but in a way you know I'm pleased that it's not just standing there (SM1).

Whilst they may not have liked the types of developments that were being put onsite, there was no objection to the reuse of the site. The issue of the demolition of the site was raised by several interviewees and was seen as more problematic than reuse:

It would be a shame to see it knocked down (SG3).

I think that if they wanted to knock it down, if they said we're going to flatten the building as I can understand as I'm wondering how they are going to redevelop it, but I think that would have quite an emotional tug on a whole range of people (LMH1).

Knocking the building down was seen by the above two former staff members as something different to the reuse of the buildings; they felt that this would have been different emotionally. The quotes also suggested that had this occurred, there would have been more concern or opposition although whether any action would have taken place was unclear. The interviewee from the final quote above did give a possible reason within their interview as to why these emotional bonds might have weakened:

I think that it's perhaps needed that time of being, not quite derelict but unused and sort of separated off. And now it can start, those bonds have weakened and I think they would have been more, not concern, I don't know people would have expressed concern, but the emotions attached to that development would have been greater (LMH1).

The suggestion that the time between the closure of the hospital and the redevelopment has resulted in emotions becoming weaker, perhaps because of its derelict state prior to development (which will be discussed below) and therefore reuse was preferable to total demolition. It was however possible that there was another reason for this, although the interview questions did not ask this directly. Lynch (1972:132) contended that "people who must cope with the shock of a major historical transition feel the disconnection of present from past or future". It could be argued in the case of former historic asylums, that the closure of these institutions was a major shock and caused much anxiety, particularly for those who worked there for a considerable time (Ardagh- Walter *et al.* 1997). The trauma of their closure therefore could have been another reason why the emotional attachments had weakened but it was not possible to definitively conclude this from the data collected in this study.

In contrast to the former staff above who felt that the weakened emotional bonds allowed for a reuse to be considered, there were two former staff members (out of a total of 16) who were the exception to these views:

It should be retained because like I said earlier we haven't retained a lot of buildings and this would be a lovely feature. I know you have [name removed for anonymity] museum but this would be a different kettle of fish altogether. You could bring artefacts from all over the country and have a museum (SG1).

I don't think it should ever have closed as I still think it had a job to do. And there are people who are in the community that would be better off in a place similar to that (SM2).

The first quote was more preservationist (for a definition, see Chapter 1) in tone as it suggested we are somehow "losing" lots of old buildings, the implication of which was that we should be protecting them. The way of doing this was seen to be as a visitor attraction however it should be noted that two of the heritage professionals (HP3, HP4) stated that heritage organisations would be unlikely to take an asylum on as a museum due to their size and the associated cost.

As well as there being no protests or action regarding the redevelopment from former staff there was equally no similar protest or action from the public. Unlike other heritage redevelopments (Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished; Kalman, 2014) there were no such protests or groups formed in any of the three sites. At Lancaster Moor Hospital, there was a group who were interested in the development of which interviewee LMH2 formed a part but their interest was one of sustainability (in terms of using green technologies in the redevelopment); they were not against the redevelopment of the site as such:

By that time it had got to the point [the planning application stage] that it was clear that developing was going to go ahead and so all we had to do by that time was to try and make sure that the optimum of the buildings was used and was available (LMH2).

This group, represented here through LMH2 were not opposed to the reuse of the former historic asylum, rather that the “optimum” use in terms of green technologies was achieved. There were equally no organised protests or action from members of the public in any of the three site locations and many of the public’s comments echo the following when asked how they felt about the redevelopment:

Happy it’s being used (M26).

Better something happen (M38).

Ok about the building being reused believe things should be recycled (M50).

Pleased it’s being used (L2).

Glad it’s being redeveloped but not sure about use (L42).

About time, better it was used than not (L51).

A proportion of the public surveyed across both Morpeth and Lancaster (30 out of 80 stated responses in each location) stated that it was better that the building was reused rather than demolished. There was general agreement that the building should be reused although as the quotes demonstrated, with some unease at what type of use was a suitable one.

From the data outlined above from the former staff and the general public, the attachments that they had to either the former asylum sites specifically or to the place and sites as historic buildings more generally, did not have any effect on the redevelopment of the three sites. There were no protests, no actions to “save” or preserve (as opposed to conserve) the buildings and the majority of both staff and members of the public felt that it was better to reuse the building than for it to be demolished. This, for a historical building, was unusual as heritage redevelopment or change to a historic structure is often contentious (Emerick, 2016; Kalman, 2014) with interest from many different groups of actors.

The attachments felt by former staff members and members of the general public did not have an effect on the redevelopment of the sites in terms of them acting to change the redevelopment in any way however the attachments of both the staff and local community did influence the professionals as evidenced by the following quote with one of the developers:

When you hear the stories about how it used to operate, it really did operate as its own community, it had its own currency, its own brewery, its own laundry, everything was very self-sufficient and to be honest that was one of the things that sort of... we did take on board when we were planning, particularly the sort of community uses and the retail uses. It was trying to reflect that at one point it was a self-sustaining community. And could we bring that back? Could we bring in... at one point it was the chapel, can we make a nice little micro-brewery? Could we get an operator in? So again you always have these things at the back of your mind as to what it used to be and how it used to operate and can we replicate that to some degree? (D2).

Following consultations with the local community during the planning process, this developer, who was surprised at the level of feeling for the site, stated: "it's one of those things where you think a mental asylum, people won't want to be associated with that but actually people have got quite a fondness to it! Bizarrely enough" (D2). The developer made changes to the proposed development as a direct result of the consultation with the local community and their memories and feelings of the site. This change in the plans for the site, following the consultations was confirmed by the local planning officer:

And the scheme did change quite significantly in terms of how it was initially master planned to ultimately the master plan that formed the planning application. So you know they took on board the views of the Town Council, the public, the consultees in the process, and adapted the scheme, worked with us to make sure that they were delivering what the council wanted them to deliver (P2).

This example goes against one view of property developers as not heeding, or being at the mercy of other stakeholder's views of the process (Wainwright, 2014;

MacLaran, 2003; Wilkinson and Reed, 2008). It demonstrated, in this case, the developer listening to the local residents and officials and being influenced by the past history or past uses of a site, although it should always be remembered that any stakeholder in the process will seek to influence the plans according to their own wishes and requirements (Guy, 2002). Equally at St Mary's, where the developer felt a responsibility towards the site and what they were doing there (D3), they requested photos and stories to be incorporated into the reuse of the building:

a group of people from the NHS who worked there, who now I think work in Gateshead produced a whole raft of plaques that had been in the building when the building closed and they'd kept them, these are heavy steel things and we'll find somewhere to use them inside you know. If people can produce old photographs, particularly early ones, I'd want them hanging on the walls. [...], it's part of what the place is all about and it would be kinda stupid to just ignore it you know (D3).

Here the past use or history of the building was being incorporated into its present and future use by the developer of the building, not being ignored, covered up or selectively remembered. However while the former history of these three sites was addressed by all the stakeholders interviewed and surveyed as part of this study, particularly in terms of whether any stigma was perceived by each stakeholder, and it is to the topic of stigma that this chapter now turns.

5.4 Place Stigma

As outlined in Chapter 2, there was considerably less literature on place stigma than on place attachment and the literature that does exist addressed specific types of places such as housing estates (for example Hastings and Dean, 2003), place reputation (Hayden, 2000) and place ambivalence (Manzo, 2014; 2005). The recent publication *Afterlives of the Psychiatric Asylum*, discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, argued that their "tainted reputation" (Moons *et al.*, 2015:20) had an effect on the future, interpretation and memories of these sites. In order to further the discussion on place stigma, reputation and historic former asylums this section will explore the stakeholders' perceptions of stigma in respect of the three sites of investigation, whether there are other types of stigma that can be detected within the data collected

before asking, if there is any stigma still present, and what effect, if any, this had on the redevelopment of the three sites.

5.4.1 Perceptions of stigma

Stigma was defined by this thesis as a mark or taint which discredits a place and is often uncomfortable and unnerving (Chapter 2, section 2.7). The data in this research showed that the existence of a stigma in respect of former asylum sites was a complicated picture. The data that will be presented suggests that there was a lingering reputation or set of connotations that are evoked in respect of these places but that there was no consensus on the level of this stigma. Some stakeholders suggested that none existed with others arguing that opinions towards mental health have not changed, both in terms of former asylum sites and mental health more generally and that it was still “out of sight and out of mind” (SM5).

The existing place stigma literature argued that for a stigma to persist, it was likely to be influenced by (i) social and political processes (Hastings, 2004), (ii) the role of the press (Hastings, 2004; Hastings and Dean, 2003) and that (iii) stigmatised neighbourhoods are usually physically separate (Hastings and Dean, 2003). Former asylum sites were certainly at the time of their construction, physically separate (Jones, 1993; Philo, 2004, Scull, 1981) and were often still hidden or away from the main centres of population, even where towns and villages had grown in the period since these buildings were constructed. This separation was true to varying extents for all three sites under investigation. This section will therefore explore whether their physical isolation resulted in a persistence of their negative reputation or whether the time between operation and closure altered that image in any way.

What emerged from the data was a complicated picture in which stigma was both seen to exist and not exist simultaneously. All the stakeholders found it difficult to concretely conclude whether there was either an existence of a stigma or a perceived existence associated with former asylums as the quotes below demonstrated:

I don't feel there's a stigma otherwise we wouldn't be redeveloping it. [...] There's no real stigma attached to these buildings anymore (D2).

We've done three. And we have done a few more hospitals so we very much treated it as a hospital and the fact that it is set in own grounds is ideal for apartments (D1).

The first quote from D2 suggested that other people felt these places had a dark past or history which could be argued was not a stigma as such but rather a negative image. The second quote from developer D1 did initially associate former asylums with a stigma however then proceeded to contradict this by stating that they felt a stigma no longer existed. This was subsequently contradicted by developer D2 who then said "X [name removed for anonymity] hospital sent a shiver down my spine – you could still tell what the room had been used for". This indicated that even though they had previously said there was no stigma, there was still something about these hospitals that gave the developer a negative feeling or image. The final quote above (D1) suggested that former asylums were considered as any other hospital and in fact its characteristics made it ideal for conversion.

It could be argued, particularly in the case of D2 and D1 cited above, that these developers were unlikely to argue that a stigma or even negative image persists as they were looking to convert, market and sell these buildings and any remaining stigma would be a considerable hindrance to this. Although, as the quotes above show, this was not necessarily straight forward. D2, who stated there was no stigma but who felt uncomfortable in an empty former asylum did also argue that any new apartment, following development, would have a different feel to it than an empty building would. The process of redevelopment changed the atmosphere within a building and an empty building had a different "feel" to it than an occupied one. This ambiguity as to whether or not a stigma existed, was also reflected upon by the planning professionals:

There's a stigma to a general point, but people want to live in historic buildings (LMH PC).

The idea might put some people off (P2).

People wanted rid of the association (P3).

As seen above, the planning professionals felt that a stigma did exist however, as the first quote demonstrated, this was tempered by the fact that the buildings were historic and this appeared to outweigh any possible stigma. The responses given to the question “how did the site make you feel” when asked to the planners demonstrate the difficulty when dealing with these sites:

I actually found what turned out to be the morgue... didn't expect that when I got in there. Suddenly the mind starts playing games and you hear and start seeing shadows so made a quick exit [...]. You hear of people talking about when they go to Belsen and Auschwitz and all that? Probably like that. It was very quiet, very peaceful though. And it was, a summer's day if I remember. I remember that. How quiet it was, that's probably what gave me the fright when I got inside. Can anybody hear me if I do scream?! (P3).

Awesome building, Gothic. Slightly down at heel, a spooky feel (CO1). Both that site [St George's] and St Mary's do make you feel a little bit eerie, just because of their nature. I don't think it's to do with the previous use, I think as I've said before, you've got so many buildings on that site, they're all vacant, you're walking around a completely vacant site like that on that scale, it's quite eerie, quite intimidating [...] I think first impressions are always the worst aren't they and I think the first time on the St George's hospital site, you're walking around and thinking my god this place is huge! (P2).

The buildings were seen as both being amazing or “awesome” (CO1) as the quotes demonstrated but also their past history was reflected in the planners' views of their first impressions. The use of “eerie”, “spooky” and “intimidating” betrayed a perception of the sites that potentially conflicted with the view of them as beautiful heritage buildings. Although this could be the result of the derelict state as suggested by P2 above, there was also the lingering idea of challenging or difficult connotations as shown through the comparison with the Holocaust. This was an interesting comparison to make and was also made by one of the former staff members (SM5) who suggested that asylums should not be forgotten like the Holocaust, lest we repeat the mistakes of the past. This comparison suggested that asylums were still viewed as places of horror, despite their reappraisal as beautiful buildings.

This inconsistency in their image was equally reflected by the heritage professionals:

Obviously had a lot of emotional relevance to them. It's the negativity and the negative associations isn't it? Almost like a "baggage" (HP2).

They are still something packaged off and separated, not really visible. [...]
The public don't see them, there's a deliberate blindness about them (HP4).

But then:

Other hospitals and workhouses have been reused so people don't seem to be that bothered (HP2).

It becomes a characterful story (HP3).

These former historic asylums were seen, from the above quotes, as being buildings with difficult or negative pasts and yet at the same time, people were buying the new houses and flats within the developments as the limited number of questionnaires with new residents demonstrated. The perceptions of the new residents who purchased apartments in converted asylums will be explored further in Chapter 6 however this study found no evidence that people were reluctant to buy them because of their past associations. Six out of seven of the respondents stated they knew the history at the time of purchase and the one who had not been aware now was and wanted to find out more information; they were not put off by the history.

The above discussion suggested that the reputation of former asylums was a complicated one with some professionals feeling that people might be uncomfortable about their history (HP4; HP2). For the heritage professionals, this sometimes challenging history did not detract from their heritage significance:

As comfortably as any other category of heritage. Heritage is... heritage shouldn't be selective in my opinion, heritage isn't about beauty, it's not about the good things, heritage is physical parts of our nation's story, our nation's past, good and bad (HP3).

They'd be considered alongside the whole hospital regime (HP2).

I think it's really important that we keep those elements and keep an understanding of what buildings like X [removed to retain anonymity] were for (HP1).

I mean they are fairly new, like workhouses, there was a recent publication on workhouses and I think there was one on asylums as well, so they are... a new element, recently recognised. I think the feeling is that that's correct (HP4).

As the above quotes demonstrated, the heritage professionals considered asylums to be classed as heritage and reiterated that their difficult history was something important that should not be forgotten, as did one of the planners, (P3).

The difficult reputation was part of the asylums' history and something that should be remembered and understood. In contrast to the planners, developers and heritage professionals' opinions outlined above, these negative connotations were seen as being potentially problematic for the redevelopments by the owners of two of the sites:

I think they [the public] probably would have a pretty dim view of them (O2).

It's all this haunted house thing and getting in there and spooky and that sort of you know, people who supposedly killed themselves or ghosts wandering around, all these kinds of stories, the very fact that these people and I guess that adds to the sort of mystery over asylums (O2).

There also might... buying in a... when you know it's an asylum, there might be a bit of "don't want to be in an asylum", slightly different to an old mill in Manchester where there's maybe a bit more prestige. But it was an asylum, people might think "what happened here?" (O2).

The images of asylums presented above were clearly ones of ghosts, mystery and those with difficult connotations and demonstrated that people were seen to have

negative views of these former asylum buildings. However, this was not straightforward:

It didn't have an atmosphere I must admit (O1).

It must have been fantastic, like X [site name removed for anonymity] as well, their own little eco systems and so it must have been fantastic, and probably a great place for people to be you know in a secure place rather than the aim now is to put people in to the community but I think in those days it would probably have been a nice little place to live (O2).

X [site name removed for anonymity] is probably my favourite site over the last eight years, you know it's a beautiful site (O2).

The first quote suggested that the person visiting the site felt that it would have a certain atmosphere because of its history prior to entering and yet they were surprised when this was not the case. The second two quotes were in complete contrast to the views depicting the sites as being spooky or mysterious; here historic former asylum sites were seen as beautiful, friendly, wonderful places to live.

The different perceptions of former asylums and their history shown in these quotes above demonstrated the complicated nature of former asylums in the eyes of the professionals. Each of the professionals was also asked whether or not they would live in the converted former asylum buildings to ascertain whether they felt the stigma of the previous history persisted. Of the 13 professionals, six said they would be happy to live in the converted sites, four said no because of the history, personal reasons or because of practical factors (for example, location or the type of houses). The final three professionals were unsure or did not give a clear answer. These responses again show the difficult nature of historic former asylums and people's perceptions of them. It also demonstrates the professionals' personal opinions in respect of these sites and the question of whether these opinions influenced their professional decisions will be explored in the following chapter.

The complex nature of the image of historic former asylums was equally present in the former staff's views of these buildings with many arguing that the opinion of these

buildings has not changed in the minds of the general public (SM2). Others however suggested that attitudes were changing as people's views on mental health problems were changing (for example SM3; LMH1; SG3). A member of staff did state that their husband used to lock their car doors when they came to pick them up from work (SM1), and that asylums were perceived as prisons with people being horrified when you said you worked there (SM4). Three former staff members stated that these buildings were used as threats to naughty children, further adding to the myths that surrounded these places (SM5; SM6; SG2).

The complicated and often conflicting perceptions presented above were equally present in a limited number of the general public questionnaire data. The public's opinions were predominantly in favour of redevelopment and the reuse of these former historic asylum sites. However, there were some people, from both Morpeth and Lancaster, who expressed more negative opinions on them, describing them as follows:

Evil [no elaboration given] (M18).

Not a nice place (M71).

Not a good place (M79).

Wouldn't live there – creepy building (L15).

Fine unless you believe in ghosts (L38).

Think it should be knocked down – because of its difficult history (L69).

The above opinions represented 4% (6 out of 160) from the people surveyed and suggested for a small number of people, the negative image of asylums still persisted. Both the stakeholder interviews and the questionnaire data presented perceptions or images of historic former asylums that were complicated and could be argued to be unfixed or not clearly defined; there was no one clear perception of them that could be said to exist. In this way, and as Moons *et al.* (2015) argued, asylums can be viewed as liminal places, places between fixed identifications (Thomassen, 2012), and marginal places (Shield, 1991; Andrews and Roberts,

2012). The question of the existence or persistence of a stigma forms part of this possible liminality however it was also important to explore the existence of other stigmas to aid this discussion.

5.4.2 Other types of stigma?

As with the concept of attachment outlined in the first part of this chapter, the data revealed that there were other issues of concern to the stakeholders, issues that could, as this section will explore, be considered as other types of stigma. Vacant buildings could be argued to possess a stigma and were seen as problematic economically and visually (Portas, 2011) and a source of crime (Ludwig and Kling, 2007; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Wassenberg (2004:223) directly related the issue of vacancy or dereliction to that of stigma, arguing, “many studies and reports about problematic areas indicate that a negative image – a stigma, [...] is one of the aspects of urban decay”. Wassenberg (2004) equated a negative image and a stigma together here, a contraction that was investigated in Chapter 2 but importantly, he also connected decay with stigma. The issue of decay was raised by both the former staff members and the general public who stated that they preferred that the three sites be reused rather than demolished or left to go to ruin:

Just seeing the buildings just deteriorate and roofs dropping in, I found it very... I mean we used to go and have walks around and I was upset by it. Because of all my years, my working life, was there. And to see it just deteriorate and be left just to rot, I used to think this is awful, because it was my life (SM5).

And I don't think people are against it, in my perception of the people in the town anyway and personally I think, I think these places have to be used, and it is good to see it alive again, it was very sad watching it deteriorate (LMH4).

When it was all empty I'd have liked to have looked around but I never did. I heard lots of stories about how it deteriorated and how the trees have grown up through the actual walls, through where I worked (SM2).

These quotes demonstrated that the condition of the sites, prior to redevelopment, made many of the former staff upset. As the quotes show, this was linked to their

attachments to the sites, the large amount of time they had spent there and therefore the considerable pain that was felt as a result of seeing a place of fond memories and experiences slowly fall apart. High and Lewis (2007) argued, in respect of former industrial sites, that physical places become symbolic sites for people's identities and this was clearly seen with former asylum sites. The state of the buildings prior to redevelopment was also commented upon by both the public and the professional stakeholders.

The public were equally shocked or upset by the state of the buildings prior to redevelopment as the former members of staff:

Not serving any purpose at the moment, it's a shame (M7).

Needs to be developed, shocked by the state of the old wards (M25).

It's good [the redevelopment]. Stood empty for so long (M41).

Better than the state it was in (L1).

Shame for it to stand empty (L8).

Should have been developed earlier (L16).

As with the former staff members, the derelict condition caused concern, the predevelopment state of the buildings were seen as being problematic. Lynch (1990) argued that "we fear waste which is the signal of loss. Waste is an impurity to avoid or to wash off. Things should be clean and permanent, or better, should constantly increase in competence and power". Seeing the buildings in their derelict state induced unease as "buildings, although inanimate, are often assumed to have "life". Death, destruction and deterioration represent the negative, anxiety-inducing flip side to a range of enduring and sometimes contradictory assumptions about built architecture's defining attributes: its material durability, its creative genesis, its productive utility, its aesthetic value" (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014:1). The suggestion by Lynch (1990) and Cairns and Jacobs (2014) was that these decaying or ruined buildings make us uneasy and remind us of the past in uncomfortable ways and

therefore we dislike these forms of buildings and the state they are in; it causes unease. The process of decay may also have been an influencing factor here, as old ruins are considered “safe” as they are from the deep past and, as Lynch (1972) posited, these are considered safe, they cannot harm us unlike those buildings which are not as far along in the decaying process.

This discomfort in the derelict or decaying state of the three former asylums sites was also echoed by the professionals:

It's been empty for well, it was closed in 1999, no appreciable use for 15 years, something's happening to it, great (O1).

It was a little bit of sadness that not only that, but the time it had taken from somebody identifying the need to redevelop to when I carried out my initial site visit, and how much it had fallen into disrepair (P3).

People are saying well actually it's about time something happened to St George's (D2).

People just wanted something to happen (PC1).

How did it make me feel? Sad. Because such a fine building was becoming derelict (CO1).

These opinions from the professionals echoed those of the public and former staff members in being concerned about the derelict state of the buildings. Every stakeholder was pleased that something was happening to the buildings after the length of time they had all be closed. The issue of dereliction has long been seen as a problem (Barr, 1969; Ludwig and Kling, 2007; Ranasinghe, 2012; Wilson and Kelling, 1982) that needs to be solved to a prevent blight on the landscape (English Heritage, 2011) or something seen as a professional task to resolve (Bennett and Dickinson, 2015). One of the planning officers echoed this:

I'm in a position to do something about it (P3).

The planning professional could affect an outcome to turn the building from its derelict state into something new and the positivity around developing the site was reiterated by one of the developers: “I’d like to think there’s a general positivity around actually... redeveloping what’s there and bringing a little bit of that vibrancy back in” (D2). It was clear therefore, from all the stakeholders in this study that firstly reuse was better than the demolition of the building, but secondly that it was time all three buildings were reused and that their condition prior to redevelopment was disliked. There was an unease at the condition of the buildings in their derelict state, the idea that the buildings were being wasted while nothing was happening to them and all stakeholders expressed their dislike or unease at their predevelopment condition. The question of whether this dislike or unease was a stigma or merely a negative image required a return to the definitions of stigma explored in Chapter 2 and the complex nature of determining what a stigma is and whether one exists. Goffman (1968) argued that a stigma could be “discrediting” and the derelict, predevelopment condition of these three sites might feasibly be interpreted as harming the reputation of the local area in the eyes of those who live there.

5.5 Effect of stigma on redevelopment

In the same way that the attachments to the three sites created neither action to protect or save, nor protests over the sites, neither did the perceived stigma. The majority of people interviewed or surveyed felt that the reuse of the three sites was a good thing with only a few expressing reservations about their former use. As one developer stated there was a “positivity around the redevelopment of the site” (D2) from people they encountered. Although there was a suggestion that people living near to one site “wanted rid of the association” (P3), the general feeling from the professional stakeholders was that people were not perturbed by the previous use and that they were buying the houses and flats that were being created (P3; HP2; CO1).

In ascertaining whether any perceived stigma resulting from the former use affected people’s decisions to buy these properties, the data from the residents’ questionnaires was important. The seven people who completed the residents’ questionnaires confirmed the view that people were not perturbed by the former use or history of such sites. Across all seven respondents, all knew the history either

before purchasing their property, or in the case of two respondents after inquiring at the time of purchase. There was no concern from any of the respondents over the former use and in fact, six out of the seven stated the history was important to them with one stating that it was more important now they were aware of it (SPQ4). The person who declared the history was not important was more concerned with how the building looked (SPQ2) and many of the respondents said that they chose to buy property in these converted former asylums as a result of their historic, heritage or unique elements. This thus supported the view of the planning consultant who stated that whilst there was a general stigma associated with the former uses of these buildings, people wanted to live in historic buildings (PC1).

The developments retained their historic nature through the buildings but the process of redevelopment gave them a new “atmosphere” (D2), losing or removing any possible stigma or connotations; their reuse is a way of “reclaiming them” (HP4) or turning them into something more positive. The process of development changed a building from somewhere with potentially difficult connotations or a difficult history into somewhere recognised for its heritage or historic nature as Franklin has (2002) argued. This could explain the lack of opposition to the redevelopments and the reason why, as one staff member stated, “the town desperately wanted it developed [sic]” (LMH4). Through the redevelopment and therefore the possible change in image, the stigma of both its past use and its derelict state would be removed, making it an attractive building again with a more positive image for the town.

Unlike buildings that are appreciated for their architecture and heritage nature and where redevelopment might be resisted because of connections or attachments to that building, in the case of former asylums, redevelopment was seen as a positive thing. It was here that the derelict state of the buildings prior to conversion, could be viewed as having an effect on the redevelopment. Both the professional stakeholders and the former staff and public felt that it was time something happened to all three former asylum sites. This was often linked to the state of the buildings, to their decay (CO1; O1; P3; SM5; LMH4; SM2). Although it was not possible to definitively say, the sense of waste and the uneasiness this created (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014; Lynch, 1990) overrode any other stigmas, attachments or concerns and allowing the buildings to be reused with no objection. However it is likely to be more complicated as other types of heritage buildings become vacant and derelict and yet other

heritage buildings evoke and provoke emotional reactions to their redevelopments (Kalman, 2014; Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished).

5.6 Summary

This chapter has explored the attachments and stigmas associated with former historic asylums. Former staff members displayed strong, positive attachments gained through personal experience and memories, contact with people and the length of time spent within these places. These attachments closely mirrored those expressed in existing place attachment literature. Other attachments however were present. Professional stakeholders felt an affinity for these buildings. This suggested that attachments can form in shorter periods of time through intense association with a place as part of a professional working life rather than through direct experience working within a building. This also indicated it is not necessary to live in a place to feel a connection to it. The public (both the general public and the new residents) displayed an affinity for older buildings because of their perceived aesthetic qualities. This could be place specific but also an attachment to older, historic buildings more generally.

The question of whether a stigma persisted in respect of historic former asylums and the picture from the data was a complicated one with no consensus. A range of opinions were expressed from no stigma attached to the buildings (D2) to people's opinions regarding mental health issues and the buildings associated with them being seen as not having changed (SM3). Those purchasing the new properties were not concerned by any stigma (although this was a small sample) and this therefore cast doubt on whether such a stigma still existed. Certainly neither the attachments nor any of the perceived stigmas led to action to either save and protect or prevent the reuse in any way. This chapter also considered the existence of another type of stigma; that of the condition of the buildings prior to redevelopment. All interviewees agreed that they wanted to see something happen to the buildings and their state prior to conversion was upsetting for the former staff members and the public and seen as something to be solved by the professionals.

The perceptions of former asylums were complicated and often contradictory with both attachments and stigmas being present as well as them being perceived as

heritage buildings although this was also not straightforward as has been demonstrated. Different types of attachment and stigma were presented in the same building and therefore former asylums could be argued to be contested, complicated places. As Moons *et al.* (2015) posited, and as stated previously in this chapter, asylums could be seen to be liminal places, in between stages of fixity (Andrews and Roberts, 2012; Thomassen, 2012). Meetham (2012) contended that liminality is a temporary state, one that is both temporal and spatial involving a separation from one role with another and the reuse of former asylums could be used as a way of making them into something positive. In their current, contested and complicated state an acceptable level of stigma existed but they were also valorised as heritage places and sites of economic value. Asylums could therefore be argued to be, what Virillio (1994:13) termed “not yet archaeological” in that more time has to pass before they are seen as safe enough to fully contemplate. Yet it depends on who is doing the looking, viewing or seeing as to the images of these places that are created. They created very different images for different people and this image was not “fixed” or stable and still there can be seen to be a move from them being seen as places of stigma to being places of heritage significance and even beauty. Consequently they became desirable locations in which to buy property and live.

This chapter has explored the stakeholders’ perceptions of attachment and stigma. The following chapter turns to explore their perceptions towards themselves and other stakeholders as part of the process of the redevelopment of historic former asylums.

Chapter 6. Perceptions

The previous two chapters explored the values (Chapter 4), place attachments and stigmas (Chapter 5) associated with the reuse of former historic asylums. This chapter will investigate the perceptions of the different groups of stakeholders from the three asylum sites under consideration. In doing so it addresses aim 4: To investigate how the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved in the redevelopment of historic former asylums affect its reuse. The perceptions examined in this chapter are the stakeholders' perceptions of themselves, their perceptions of each other and their perceptions of the process of historic building reuse. As outlined in Chapter 1, there is little research that examines property development in respect of historic buildings and similarly, there is limited research exploring the perceptions of each of the stakeholders involved in that process. Given that the process of redevelopment involves many different stakeholders, each with their own opinions and views of each other it was important to try to establish whether the stakeholder's views were in fact correct, or whether the process was based on misleading or inaccurate assumptions made by the stakeholders. This chapter therefore seeks to start to address this gap in knowledge through exploring the perceptions of each of the stakeholder groups in the three sites of investigation.

The data from the three sites revealed the following range of perceptions:

- Perceptions of self (including professional role)
- Perceptions of others (including experts versus amateurs)
- Perceptions of the process of heritage redevelopment

These three areas will be explored in detail in this chapter. It is important to acknowledge at the outset that each of these types of perceptions have been studied in a range of disciplines, including social cognition, social psychology and identity theory, each with their own large body of literature. It was not possible for this thesis to address all the disciplines dealing with these concepts here. However, in order to help with gaining insights into the data explored in this chapter, this chapter will use the theories outlined in Chapter 2 including Wenger's (1998) theory of Communities of Practice and Situated Learning and the concept of frames (Goffman, 1974) to help illuminate or illustrate the findings discussed. It will first explore the opinions of self that arose from the data followed by the stakeholders' opinions of each other. It will

finally examine the views of the stakeholders in respect of the process of the redevelopment of historic former asylums. Whilst it was difficult to quantify, some of the stakeholder perceptions of each other did affect the redevelopments and consequently it was particularly important to explore this gap in knowledge that was identified in Chapter 2.

6.1 Opinions of self and professional role

The opinions of the former staff members relating to themselves and their professional roles clearly focused on caring for people with mental illnesses and the resulting challenges, these views were interesting but outside the scope of this thesis and necessarily the focus of this chapter centres on the professionals involved in the redevelopment process in this section, the first of which to be explored are the developers.

The developers of the St Mary's and the Lancaster Moor sites expressed the view that they were "experts" in what they did:

I've been doing this for 25 years, it's what I do (D3).

We've done three. And we have done a few more hospitals so we very much treated it as a hospital (D1).

For the St Mary's developer, in the first quote above, developing buildings had been their professional role for a long time and in doing so it had become a part of their identity. They went on to say that "part of it, you know if you've been doing it for a few years as I've been doing with my colleagues, you know if you're not learning as you go then goodness me what are you doing?" (D3). Whilst they have been developing property for 25 years, and could therefore be considered as an "expert", this developer also argued that you also learn through each project (D3). For the Lancaster Moor developer in the second quote however, they became experts in converting former hospitals and that included former asylums. Expertise is seen within the concept of Communities of Practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) as being socially constructed and developed over time. Wenger (1998) argued that as we interact with each other in certain ways we learn and develop practices in

pursuit of our particular enterprise or action. These practices then develop and refine themselves over time and through which each community of practice gains meaningful experience. Experts then use this knowledge and experience gained over time as a way of reading situations and using knowledge of what worked in the past to adapt to the situation they find themselves in (Beach and Connolly, 2005). For both developers above, their past experiences allowed them to gain and develop their knowledge as they undertook each new project, but they were also still learning with each new development.

Over time the community of developers have created and sustained certain practices pertaining to how to develop buildings. Through this experience they learn how to develop buildings, creating an “expertise” in this area. The heritage professionals also viewed themselves as “experts” but in terms of providing advice on historic buildings and educating the public to their importance:

We’re a kind of disinterested party who give an objective view of where significance lies and any harm created by the change (HP1).

In the quote above, HP1 was suggesting that their organisation provided objective opinions on the buildings they were asked to advise on and that the organisation was fair minded or unbiased, through being objective. Another interviewee in the same organisation also saw their role as one of providing advice but not one of telling people what they must or must not do:

We tend to couch our responses in... you know “we are giving you advice, we are not directing you” because we can direct, at certain points we can direct local authorities to notify the secretary of state for example. We tend to be more a... “friend” I suppose more than a statutory consultee in that case. But that very much depends on what else we’ve got on the books. If we’ve got anything more pressing than that we can’t get involved (HP2).

This individual saw their role very much in terms of only providing advice, not of telling people what to do; their professional role was to highlight areas of concern or best practice, not to prevent things from happening. This was in contrast to the planning professionals who felt that their role was one of educating the public in

terms of what is good about a particular development or why a particular development should go ahead:

You have to educate them [the public] through your report and presentation to committee (P3).

From the above quote, the planner, (like the developers) viewed their role as being an “expert” but went further than the heritage professional (HP1) arguing that as the expert, they should then tell the public what the merits of a particular development were. This quote also suggested that in the mind of the planner, the public did not have the necessary knowledge or experience to view and interpret planning applications in the way that the planning professional did. This was further reiterated by the same planner who, when asked whether they thought the former staff should have any say in the future of the asylum building, responded:

Now it’s always nice to get their comments on board as part of an application but sometimes, erm, because they’re non-professionals in the context of that process, they can muddy the waters if you follow. Where we’re looking to get professional advice, eg EH... but if you start inviting those in at that stage, erm... that’s my opinion, it becomes complicated. During the application process, it’s nice to hear their views, a lot of the time, they’ve been there from day one and they can tell us things that we haven’t identified, but I think yeah, bringing them in too early on would cause more problems than anything else (P3).

The planner (P3), through the quote above, viewed the process of heritage and property development as being one for “professionals” who have experience in such matters. Whilst the “non-professionals” might have interesting information to aid in the process, they lack the relevant “expert” knowledge to participate properly. This idea of the expert educating the public echoed Smith’s (2006) view of the AHD where she stated the heritage professionals viewed themselves as the experts who have to educate the public as to the benefits of heritage. All of the professionals, as outlined above, saw themselves as the experts in their respective fields, the experts in different aspects of the property development process and saw the public as having limited knowledge of this process.

Wenger (1998:93) argued that “because the negotiation of meaning is the convergence of participation and reification, controlling both participation and reification affords control over the kinds of meaning that can be created in a certain context and the kinds of person that participants can become”. He went on to contend (ibid) that “in order to sustain the social coherence of participation and reification within which it can be exercised, control must constantly be reproduced, reasserted, renegotiated in practice”. The professional stakeholder groups within this research framed and interacted with former asylums from within their own particular Community of Practice. Each of these communities also therefore reified, stressed or focused on particular aspects of the process and the sites, depending again on their particular community’s viewpoint and expertise. The developers, heritage professionals and planners could all be seen as their own Communities of Practice with their own expertise gained through their practices and experiences over time. Wenger *et al.* (2002:139) argued however that the downside of Communities of Practice is that they can “hoard knowledge, limit innovation and hold others hostage to their expertise”.

This hoarding of knowledge by Communities of Practice again echoed Smith’s (2006) concept of the AHD (as explored in Chapter 2) in that she suggested that only “experts” can take care of heritage, the public must be educated in order to appreciate “heritage” and there were spokespersons for the past who dictate what should be spoken about, what can be taken as knowledge and what cannot. The planner (P3), from the above quotes, could be said to express this view in that they saw their role as “educating the public” and whilst the individual from the heritage professional (HP2) suggested they only provided advice, this advice was taken from their viewpoint as a heritage protecting organisation. The developers brought their specific expertise to the process as developers with their own viewpoints. Interestingly, HP1 expressed the view that the organisation was a “disinterested party” suggesting an objective opinion is provided by them however as part of a particular community or group of similar people, they will always bring their own viewpoint or experience to the process. This viewpoint or experience from their community and profession will therefore affect how they view buildings and the process of reuse as they have been trained professionally to view things in a particular way. This thesis also argues that it is impossible as human beings to ignore

these experiences and personal feelings and therefore these will also be brought into a person's approach to a building or job.

The views of the professionals in relation to their own professional roles that have been explored above raised two key issues from the data that will be discussed through the rest of the chapter: that of professional objectivity and the role of experts. The developers viewed themselves as experts in redevelopment through their experience and length of time in the business. A planner (P3) and heritage professional (HP2) saw their roles also as experts but ones that instruct others as well as taking action in their particular role. The question of whether people can be truly objective is one that has dominated philosophy and social theory. Rorty (1991:35) argued that "the notions of "science", "rationality", "objectivity" and "truth" are bound up with one another" and that we tend to equate seeking objective truth with using reason and therefore with following procedures.

The professionals in this study suggested, as outlined above, that they are the experts as well as being objective and Rorty (1991) argued that this objectivity is connected to procedures. Professionalism is seen by Paquette (2012) as referring to standards of practice, procedures or collective values gained through experience and professional practice. This was something that the non-professionals did not possess because they did not belong to the same communities. One of the heritage professionals also felt they were an objective "disinterested party" (HP1), a party who applies the rules and follows procedure, for whom heritage is a professional task, not a non-professional one with subjective views on heritage. However, as Polanyi (1966) argued, and as shall be seen throughout this chapter, it was not as straightforward as simply applying objective, rational rules and procedures to a particular situation. Polanyi (1966) posited that much knowledge is tacit and not objective; it is gained through hunches and experience rather than rules and procedures; it is subjective, experience based and intuitive.

6.2 Opinions of others

All the stakeholders interviewed discussed or commented upon the other stakeholders within the process. This was of interest to this study as it demonstrated the thoughts, possible misunderstandings and inaccurate assumptions made by each

group of people within the process. Whilst it was not possible to measure how these perceptions impacted as the process unfolded, as this thesis looked at a snapshot of the redevelopment of the three asylums and this would require a longitudinal study, it was important to explore how the different stakeholder groups viewed each other. This was to support or cast doubt on the perceived wisdom that was expressed in existing literature and to shed light on the process of redevelopment.

In exploring the stakeholders' perceptions of each other and combining this with the data discussed in the previous two chapters, this enabled the assessment of whether these often stated opinions are present in the redevelopment of historic former asylums. Opposition to the development was likely to be hostile to the developer (MacLaran, 2003) and objectors were likely to cause delay or the abandonment of projects through their own self-interest (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008) but equally heritage buildings were often perceived as being "owned" by the public even when there was no legal ownership and "the possessive pronouns "my", "our", "theirs" and "yours" are constantly deployed (Howard, 2003:112) by members of the public. These opinions will be explored through a discussion of how each group viewed each other from the data arising from the interview analysis.

6.2.1 Developers

The views expressed by the developers centred around the involvement of the local community as the quote below from D2 demonstrates:

They [referring to the local community] all have a vested interest... but it's useful for us to get... because what you also find is one guy might sit on three or four of these committees and it's interesting to see how his views change depending on which committee he's sat in at any one time! But I think it's very useful for us to get feedback. But one of the biggest benefits of it is just getting to understand people's association and attachment to the site. And sort of being able to just tease that out of them and play on that a little bit. It's been good (D2).

For this developer, the involvement of the community was perceived as a good thing, something that helped with both the plans for the site but also getting to know the

politics of local groups and how things worked in the local community. The view expressed by this developer was contrary to the prevailing literature on property development and real estate which suggested the local community were a source of objection to property developments (Reed and Sims, 2014; Wilkinson and Reed, 2008) as they were seen as potential opponents. The developer above however, appeared from their interview to believe that community engagement was a key element of the development process, something that the different professional bodies involved in property development (for example the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) and RICS) have been encouraging although the suggestions of these professional bodies were not explicitly addressed by this developer. The developers did go on to state that this community engagement depended on the “buy-in” (D2) of the local community, referring to how engaged they were, but D2 concluded that on the whole this was a positive process and one that should be encouraged in development proposals. It was not seen as something that just had to be done as part of the process or that was a hindrance in any way. This view was in direct contrast to those expressed by the two site owners interviewed.

6.2.2 Owners

The two owners interviewed discussed many of the groups involved in the redevelopment of historic asylums and historic buildings more generally. In terms of the community and former staff members, they felt the emotional connection and memories of the site might interfere with the site’s future development:

You have different... drivers, different reasons for wanting it developed and how it’s developed to the owner. Because the owner’s forking out a third of a million pounds a year and people who’ve got an emotional attachment might want to see it knocked down or redeveloped (O1).

Because they probably don’t want much changed. They probably just want to modernise the buildings, keep the open spaces but that’s a massive conflict against private developers and wanting to make money (O2).

Emotion was seen by the owners above as a barrier to the redevelopment of these former asylums, as something that might prevent the reuse of the building when

compared to the owner who was seen as bearing a huge financial burden and therefore different priorities. The owners here implied that they (and other professional stakeholders) were objective in comparison to the more subjective and emotional reactions which they believed the former staff and members of the public would have towards the redevelopments. The effect of these subjective attachments according to the owners, was that change would not be wanted; the former staff were likely to feel that the buildings should remain as they were.

The owners were making a judgement on the non-professional stakeholders involved in the process and in this instance suggesting that their emotional reactions towards the buildings were not credible because they did not belong to the same communities as the professionals, nor did they have the same experience. Professions were seen by MacDonald (1995) as having a position of prestige or reputation that they must protect (Bromley, 1993). The owners viewed themselves as possessing the necessary knowledge to decide what should happen to a site and this knowledge was gained through their expertise and experience. The former staff members and wider community were viewed by the owners as not holding such knowledge and therefore their opinions could only be subjective and potentially incorrect (in the eyes of the professionals).

Groups of individuals, such as developers, planners, heritage professionals and property owners are likely to have similar views because of the frames (Beach and Connolly, 2005; Goffman, 1974) or sets of beliefs that are shared or similar because of their life experiences and professional training. The frame of reference each group of stakeholders employed determined how they saw these places and the other stakeholders however, they brought all their experience and tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1996) with them. Tacit knowledge is the skills and learning that we implicitly know. As Schon (1991:49-50) argued:

The workaday life of the professional depends on tacit knowing-in-action. Every competent practitioner can recognise phenomena- families of symptoms associated with a particular disease, peculiarities of a certain kind of building site, irregularities of materials or structures – for which he cannot give a reasonably accurate or complete description. In his day-to-day practice he makes innumerable judgements of quality for which he cannot state adequate

criteria, and he displays skills for which he cannot state the rules and procedures. Even when he makes conscious use of research based theories and techniques, he is dependent on tacit recognitions, judgements and skilful performances.

Professionals gain skills and experience which they cannot always articulate verbally as to why things are done a certain way and this is then applied to their professional roles on a day-to-day basis as Schon (1991) above argued. People also act towards things on the basis of the meanings that those things have for them (Blumer, 1969). These meanings are defined through interaction with other people. Following Blumer (1969) therefore, the different stakeholders within the redevelopment of these three former asylum sites acted towards both the objects and the other stakeholders according to the meanings these had for them. The owners above were suggesting that because of their professional experience or frame, they viewed the site in a particular, objective way whereas the former staff did not have this experience and were therefore more subjective. However, the limited research on the role of emotions and the reuse of the historic built environment argued that this was not always the case as emotional investment in the built environment is not always limited to what are seen as the non-professional stakeholders in this study (Bennett and Gibbeson, 2010; Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished).

This study revealed that the combination of emotion and reuse was a more complicated process in the case of historic former asylums, and the professionals were not simply able to provide objective guidance or follow procedures. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, whilst the staff members certainly felt emotional attachment to the buildings, and the public felt they were historically important, these emotional or subjective connections to the buildings did not prevent change and the redevelopment as suggested it would by the owners above. Consequently it could be argued that the impact or effect of emotional attachment to place is a more complicated concept when considering how it affects the built environment.

As well as discussing the emotional attachment of former staff members, both owners also expressed their opinions on how they felt the public viewed former asylum sites.

People don't seem that fussed (O1).

People might not want to live in an asylum (O1).

There also might... buying in a... when you know it's an asylum, there might be a bit of "don't want to be in an asylum", slightly different to an old mill in Manchester where there's maybe a bit more prestige. But it was an asylum, people might think "what happened here?" (O2).

The quotes above suggested both owners held negative images of former asylums; they projected their personally held views of these places being more difficult in nature than former mills. Again the complex nature of the objective/ subjective debate could be seen. It was their perceived negative views which they believed prospective purchasers would hold. There was an apparent contradiction here in these quotes. The owners did not feel the public had a problem with former asylums and yet they also suggested that people might not want to live in one. This served to further reiterate the complicated nature of former asylums discussed in Chapter 5 and showed that historic asylums did not necessarily create the usual type of reaction from the public in terms of redevelopment that other historic buildings might. The suggestion that prospective purchasers would be put off does not appear to be the case from the questionnaire data collected with current residents of the new houses.

As discussed in Chapter 5 all seven responses provided by new residents of converted asylum sites stated that they knew the history of their site. One respondent said that they had not been aware when they bought their property but now they had found out about the history and were now very interested in learning more (SPQ4). Six out of the seven respondents said that the history was important to them, the one respondent who did not find it important stated "it was the buildings and surroundings we liked" (SPQ2). These responses, although limited in number, were from residents of different sites and demonstrate that people were not put off buying or nervous of the sites' former history. Two respondents, one from each site (SPQ3 and OSQ1) both stated they had personal connections to the sites from having worked there and these were part of the reason for purchasing a property. All of the respondents emphasised the age, beauty, character and the fact that the building had "history" as reasons for choosing to live there with five out of seven stating that their historic

element was the main reason for doing so. What was particularly interesting from the responses gained was that all seven respondents stated that they felt attached to the buildings, even if they had only lived there for a short period of time. The new residents expressed an emotional reaction to their properties but, as seen in Chapter 5, this was a positive, not a negative reaction to the history of these sites.

From the above discussion, it was evident that the owners expected the public and the former staff members to behave in a particular way; they expected them to oppose the changes or react emotionally. They expected people to hold a certain image of the site, based on their own perceptions and they believed people would seek to protect or save the buildings because of their historic nature. The owners also felt that the public would prefer certain types of historic buildings (mills) to others (asylums) because of their former history. The opinions expressed in their interviews suggested they thought heritage professionals also shared these preferences.

But I don't know if there's a question possibly for English Heritage [sic], you know who list these buildings. Are they not interested in listing asylums? I don't know how many asylums are listed in the country but certainly I mean [site name] is not listed, [site name] wasn't listed and you think well they are quite spectacular buildings, why weren't they listed so I don't know whether there's a thing with English Heritage [sic] in that they, for some whatever reason they don't seem to be attracted to asylums (O2).

I'm not speaking from experience, just more of a personal view but you get the feeling that English Heritage [sic] do like to get their paws on buildings and protect buildings but yet asylums, there doesn't seem to be that much interest in them (O2).

These quotes suggested the owners held a negative view of Historic England and the listing process they were seen as being responsible for. Historic England were portrayed by the owners as being meddling or interfering and only being interested in certain types of buildings (not asylums). In suggesting that Historic England liked to "get their paws on buildings and protect them" (O2), this implied that heritage protection restricted redevelopment and reuse. This opinion might also have been expressed by the developers as it was suggested that heritage was often seen as a

barrier to reuse or regeneration (Deloitte, 2013) and yet this view was not conveyed by any of the three developers interviewed in this study. The developers themselves were also perceived in quite a negative fashion by the owners:

At the end of the day you're talking about developers whose main aim is to you know to make money. But I'm sure that you know the range of developers range from some at the top who want to just make money and some where they want the in between where they want to make a nice development and make less money. It's kind of a full range (O2).

Developers were viewed in the above quote as predominantly seeking to make money with some concession that there are people who might also be interested in other aspects of the development. The owners' views of the public and former staff, Historic England and the developers, suggested a view of the redevelopment process as quite confrontational. This appeared to be confirmed with the following view of the planning system:

You almost need an independent arbitrator. Which is what the planning system is (O1).

The use of the word "arbitrator" was important as this can be defined as a mediator, intermediary or even peacemaker (Oxford Dictionaries Online, n.d). The owners viewed the process of heritage redevelopment and reuse as a potential source of disagreement or conflict between the various parties involved, a view which was in contrast to the view of D2 who stated that community engagement was a positive thing. In viewing the parties involved in the redevelopment of heritage building in a different manner or the process as a conflict or source of disagreement has the potential to prevent communication or of making it difficult between a group of stakeholders if viewed with suspicion from the outset. Wenger *et al.* (2002:139) posited that there are several problems that can arise within Communities of Practice, firstly that they can "reflect the narrow, unjust prejudices" of society. Secondly that "a lot of implicit assumptions can go unquestioned, and there may be few opportunities or little willingness inside the community to challenge them" (Wenger *et al.*, 2002:139). Viewing other stakeholder groups with suspicion or being unwilling to change could create an inflexibility or obstinacy between groups and

therefore prevent a potentially positive change to the built environment. This is the case across all the stakeholder groups, it is would apply to any of these groups or Communities of Practice.

The owners' opinions of the different stakeholders, particularly those of the public conformed with the perception in the property development literature of the public as being potential opponents of development and reuse (MacLaren, 2003; Wilkinson and Reed, 2005). People tend to ignore information that does not fit their original views or opinions and this often includes the use of stereotypes. Stereotyping is seen as being a way of categorising behaviour (Steward *et al.* 1979) and this enables people to filter large amounts of information (London, 2001) however as "much of organisational behaviour and processes are rooted in person perception phenomena" (Klimoski and Donahue, 2001:5) this was important when considering the interactions of stakeholders within the process of redevelopment, particularly as this was usually done without people being aware (Operario and Fiske, 2001). In categorising different stakeholder groups in terms of stereotypes, the owners had formed their opinions of each of the different stakeholder groups from these categories, opinions which may in fact be incorrect, thereby potentially limiting the opportunity for effective communication and problem solving.

6.2.3 Heritage professionals

When discussing the process of heritage redevelopment, one heritage professional (HP1) raised the issue of communication and understanding as being a key element of the success of a historic building redevelopment. They suggested that the big issues in the process result from a lack of understanding between the groups involved (HP1). It could be argued that starting from a position of suspicion or negativity towards the others involved in the process, as demonstrated by the owners above, results in this lack of understanding as people are viewed right from the start as holding opinions that subsequently appear to be incorrect from the data arising from this study.

As well as the owners, one of the heritage professionals also expressed a certain degree of suspicion towards members of the public:

It depends on the... it very much depends on what they're after to be honest. Some are interested in what we're saying, some are interested in the building, some are interested in getting an application refused shall we say. So we have to be a little bit wary... about motives sometimes and we have to basically remain to our, to our statutory duty (HP2).

Whilst the above heritage professional felt that information from the public was useful in terms of the history of a particular building, they stated, that the public's intentions might not be the same as the organisation they themselves represented and they should keep within their limits of their professional role. Collins and Evans (2002:266), discussing the planning process, argued that local knowledge within this "confers special expertise on certain social groups". They go on to state, "local people can be seen as a larger pocket of experience-based expertise when the issue within the core is local planning" (2002:267). Locals were therefore elevated through this process as having a useful expertise however this was not the same as professional expertise: "this expertise has to be used carefully, because local experience, when it is not combined with other experiences, is partial and this will frame contributions in a particular way" (Collins and Evans, 2002:267). These opinions supported the view of professionals as being objective and non-professionals as subjective, even if they can have access to a certain level of expertise, it was not the same as a rational professional who, the insinuation is here, has all the relevant knowledge and "other experiences" to follow procedures and therefore seek the "truth" (Rorty, 1991).

The heritage professional (HP1) was making assumptions of the public in the above quote, as the owners did. This could suggest that elements of the redevelopment process are conducted on the basis of assumptions of people and their motivations towards a particular building. Klimoski and Donahue (2001) contended that people use cognitive structures and heuristics to organise their knowledge about the behaviour that is expected of a person in a particular position or situation. These structures and heuristics are "strategies that allow people to make social judgements quickly and with less effort" (2001:14) although this may not lead to accuracy in these interpretations (ibid). The property owners and heritage professionals have learnt certain impressions or views of the different stakeholders that may in fact be incorrect or untrue in the case of former historic asylums. The heritage professionals, as well

as the owners, speculated that the public and developers might struggle with the idea of a former asylum because of their potential connotations:

Some people might be squeamish about the word “asylum” (HP3).

Developers aren’t going to use the word “asylum” (HP3).

Perceptions might change if you showed people round after conversion (HP1).

People have changed their views through things like *Who Do You Think You Are?* (HP4).

The heritage professionals did not explicitly state why they felt former asylums would be difficult for the public and developers but, as seen in the above quotes, they were perceived as being potentially problematic. The heritage professionals did however suggest that this was changing, through television programmes and the conversion of sites although again did not explicitly state why they thought that might be. One posited that this might be because former asylums were becoming “remote enough in time for people to not really understand them” (HP4); time here was seen as a “healing factor” (HP3), lessening the image or history of the former asylums sites in a similar way to how the former staff member (LMH1) felt time had loosened the emotional ties and attachments as seen in Chapter 5. Like the heritage professionals, the planning professionals also felt that the public had a particular image of these former asylum buildings which will now be explored.

6.2.4 Planning professionals

Echoing the heritage professionals, the planner for the St Mary’s development felt that some people in the surrounding area wanted rid of the association of the asylum and the redevelopment would achieve this:

There’s lots of up and coming little hamlets and settlements around [name of place] and you’ve got some executive type housing estates in [name of place] for instance. I think the last thing they want on their doorstep is to be associated with a lunatic asylum, I think they were quite relieved (P3).

The planner here clearly believed that the residents around the site felt that the redevelopment would remove some of the stigma or image that had previously been associated with the hospital and as we have seen in this chapter, this links again back to the issues discussed in Chapter 5. The public were seen to have particular views, here negative, of former asylum buildings by the planning professional. This was echoed by the planner for the St George's site:

Certainly in the Morpeth community, probably do have a certain [inferring negative] perception about those buildings, not being from Morpeth, I probably don't have that historical... (P2).

This planner felt that the local community would have a particular, negative perception of these former asylums. This was not however borne out in the questionnaire data (see Chapter 5). Although there were a few respondents who felt these places were "evil" or not nice (M18; M17; M55) or should be knocked down (L69), 72 out of 160 felt that the history of these asylums should be remembered (and clearly stated so), no matter how challenging that might be as outlined in Chapter 5.

The above quote from P2 also demonstrated again the professionals' perception that they were objective and that as a consequence they did not hold the same negative image of these buildings; they treated them as objects that fell in their professional sphere. Professional judgement was seen to be outside these emotions. This was reinforced by PC1 who argued that "developers become experts at listed buildings". The professionals saw themselves as the objective parties involved in the process, the ones with the skill and knowledge and that the emotional attachments of the non-professionals prevents or hinders decision making. This was further reiterated by P3 who stated that:

It's always nice to get their [the amenity societies were inferred] comments on board as part of an application but sometimes, erm, because they're non-professionals in the context of that process, they can muddy the waters if you follow (P3).

Referring here to amenity societies within the planning process, there was a view that whilst people's views should be sought, they should not have a deciding factor in the process overall as this should be left to the professionals within the process. This was reiterated by all the professionals who, when asked if they thought the former staff members and patients should have a say in the future of the asylum sites, all stated that their opinions should be heard, and that the planning process was the place to do this but they should not have a deciding vote in what happens to a building. This highlighted a possible tension within the heritage redevelopment and planning processes more generally. The public often were seen to become disappointed following a planning application or decision because they do not get what they want and that they also object to planning applications simply because they can (CO1). Equally, P3 felt that people generally do not like change and therefore have to be educated to the benefits of this change (P3). However, as one planner stated, the different professionals within the process of redevelopment also approached the development from their particular role or standpoint and wanted to get what they see is best out of a scheme for them:

Everybody wants their own thing [...] they all want to achieve the most that they can from the development for their particular interest and that, as I say from a planning point of view is quite difficult in terms of balance and all of those tensions (P2).

Each stakeholder group was seen through the above quote, as wanting to achieve the best for their own particular position. P2 also suggested that the most difficult conversations within the process for the St George's development was with their own internal conservation offices and Historic England regarding what buildings should be retained and which could be demolished with each of the various consultees only approaching the development from their particular standpoint. Their role as a planner was therefore seen as the one of balance and objectivity and yet inevitably they, like all the other professional stakeholders, brought their own position or frame of reference (Beach and Connolly, 2005; Goffman, 1974) to that professional role.

Despite the views outlined above that the former staff members were likely to be too emotional (O1) and therefore non-objective as the professionals would be (O1) and that the public wanted rid of the associations of the hospital near them (P3), CO1 felt

that the public were not worried about the former history and that the staff felt their time was over; and therefore they could be reused and redeveloped. This contrasted with the suggestion from the two owners interviewed that the public or former members of staff, being non-experts or non-professionals (in terms of the redevelopment) would be more subjective and emotional. This was not the case as the public were largely unconcerned about their redevelopment, either positively or negatively (as seen also in Chapter 5). Secondly CO1's impression suggested that former staff members were seen as being pragmatic, that they realised the buildings could not continue to be used as they had been and that redevelopment was a better option than no redevelopment. This corresponded with the interview data from the former staff members as whilst they expressed great fondness and attachment to the three sites, they equally thought that redevelopment and reuse beneficial. Whilst the majority of the interviews focused on the buildings and how the staff felt about them, several of the former staff members did express opinions about some of the professionals involved in the process of redevelopment in respect of the three sites under consideration and it is to these opinions this chapter now turns.

6.2.5 Former Staff

All of the former staff members were aware of the redevelopments at the three sites and, as discussed in this and preceding chapters, they felt that reuse was a good thing but did not otherwise get involved with or engage with the redevelopments. They were asked within the interviews whether they knew about the developments and how they felt about them. They talked about their memories of the sites and their attachments to them. Of those who did express opinions about the other stakeholders involved however, the three key stakeholders discussed were the developers, the local community and the NHS.

When discussing their views of the developers, the former staff members held mixed opinions across all three sites. One area in particular that was discussed was how the developers of the different sites were dealing with their history:

I wrote to the developers [of the residential part] and asked them if they're going to mark the site in any way, I got an extremely curt response back. [...] they've forgotten any memory it whatsoever, it just feels like people are trying

to wipe it out of history which makes me quite angry. I got a very different response from [the commercial developer]. They were extremely positive, they want to hear the stories, they want to mark the site, they want to invite the staff there for an open day (SM3).

It's a shame that the developers are not going to incorporate something on to the site. Because I actually think it would bring people to that site (LMH4)... I think something that's got to do with the developer perhaps if it was a local, NE developer, they might want to retain the local history but if it was someone outside the area, then they might be different because they might see it as sort of reducing you know... economically it might not be in their interest (SG2).

From the former staff's impressions outlined above there were very mixed responses to the history by the different developers of the three sites. In terms of the St George's site, the interviews were carried out at an early stage in the redevelopment process and so the plans had not necessarily been seen by the former staff members. The view expressed by SG2 above could be interpreted therefore as more of a wish than a reflection of the actual redevelopment. However it did demonstrate the fact that whilst the former staff expressed relief that the building was being reused, they did feel that the history should be remembered through that redevelopment and it was the developer's job to do so. One interviewee was very fond of the site but keen to see something happening with it, and adopted a pragmatic view towards the redevelopment of historic buildings: "You've got to do what you've got to do to them so people can live in the modern world. [...], you've got to knock buildings around. You've got to move with the times" (LMH4). It was important for this former staff member to remember the history but also to reuse and adapt the building for the future.

A developer's approach to a particular site would be influenced by their experiences which had shaped both their professional and personal frame of reference. This approach with these influences therefore affected how they treated the former history of a site however in the case of the former asylum sites, the staff felt there was a history that the developers were not presenting; the view of the history from their (i.e. the former staffs') particular standpoint or frame of reference. What was particularly interesting was that both members of staff and the public felt that the history of these

buildings should be remembered through their redevelopment. Each of the developers however differed in the extent to which they felt this should be the case. All seven of the respondents of the residents' questionnaire who bought property in similar redevelopments had bought them for their age and character, not necessarily their history although many were interested in this or became interested after moving in (SPQ1; SPQ3; SPQ4; OSQ1; OSQ2; OSQ3). The new residents, whilst interested in the history, were primarily purchasing the properties for their aesthetic qualities and their age, the history was usually a secondary thought thereby demonstrating the different frames or perspectives of each of the stakeholders within the process. This is what renders historic redevelopment complicated as it is not simply a matter of one dominant type of value or perception that is prominent, many values from many perspectives come together in one building.

Whilst the former staff members suggested that it was the role of the developer to retain or reflect aspects of the former history of these sites (SM3; LMH4; SG2), one former staff member expressed a different view:

The developer's job is to get as much money as they can for the shareholders or whatever else... I think it's down for the planners but also I think it's for the community to actually sort of... to say "how do we now move on? (LMH1).

LMH1 above suggested that actually it was not the developer's role to remember the history, theirs was a commercial role and it is the community and the planner's responsibility to ask the questions about how and what a community wanted to remember. As LMH4 argued "the town wanted it redeveloped" and yet the majority of the members of the public interviewed for this study also wanted the history to be remembered through that development.

6.3 Perceptions of the heritage redevelopment process

Many of the stakeholders interviewed also expressed opinions on how they felt the other stakeholders viewed both the process of redevelopment and the concept of "heritage" within that process. It is to these opinions that this chapter now turns.

As well as the public being seen as requiring education as to the benefits of redevelopment or change (P3), they were also perceived by several of the professionals interviewed as not understanding the process of redevelopment, in particular the process concerning heritage buildings (O1; CO1; PC1; LMH1). They were principally seen as not understanding the costs involved (O1; CO1) nor that conservation was not the same as preservation (PC1; LMH1). Here again, as seen in the above sections, the issue of professionals versus non-professionals or experts and non-experts, arose with one of the owners stating: "That's something they [the public] also don't realise, it's not just like repairing a normal semi-detached house, it's repairing something with real trades and real craftsmen and again cost wise is astronomical" (O1). Across each of the three sites the professionals appeared to have seen themselves largely as dispassionate and objective carrying out specific roles whereas the public and former staff members were seen as more emotional and subjective.

Whilst the public might help to provide useful information (HP2) and the societies they form provide useful comments, "they are not professionals" (P3). All of the stakeholders were asked whether they thought the former staff members or patients should have any say in deciding the future of the buildings beyond the existing planning system. All said no, the public (i.e. the non-experts or non-specialists) should not have legal or statutory say in the future of these buildings. Interestingly, one member of staff also stated that people who worked and lived in these places should not have any say in their future (LMH1). The planning system, through the ability of people to comment on planning applications, was seen as the opportunity for former staff or patients to express their views, along with the other members of the general public. The planning system provided the opportunity for people who wish to, to comment on changes in their area.

The professionals, within their interviews, also discussed how they saw the process of heritage redevelopment and their roles within it. As well as requiring education (HP2; P3) the public were also viewed as not understanding the costs involved in the historic redevelopment process (O1; O2), they were equally seen as misunderstanding the listing grades (P3). A developer (D2) similarly raised the listing grades as a source of potential confusion in the process as they felt that the public saw the listing status of a building as giving it more weight in terms of preventing

change. From the questionnaire data collected for this study, the age and beauty of a building was the main focus of why buildings were considered special by the public, the listing status of these buildings was not highlighted by any respondents as discussed in the previous chapters.

Whilst a developer (D2) and a planner (P3) felt that the public did not understand the listing grades, their significance or the difference between them, the owners (O1; O2) suggested that when any change is proposed to a historic building (listed or otherwise), there was usually interest from the public and heritage bodies. This interest, whilst not being overtly described as negative was seen as being potentially restrictive: “there’s normally some historic group involved and you know obviously they would like the development in a particular way” (O2). This highlighted the different communities, professional and non-professional, that the respective stakeholders belonged to and the resulting frames (Goffman, 1974) that they brought with them. They each had their own expertise or knowledge on how the redevelopment should be approached, according to their community or frame of reference. However, in the case of former asylums, one owner suggested, the redevelopment of historic former asylums was not the same as other heritage redevelopments:

So you’ve got academics there [in the locality being discussed], you’ve got students there, it’s a fairly affluent place, it’s not very big, er so probably the concentration of people who might be concerned about historic and built environment, possibly higher there than you would find in the middle of nowhere? But not a massive amount of opposition I don’t think. Probably quite a... level of interest as opposed to opposition (O1).

The above quote also suggested that this owner saw interest in historic buildings as being the domain of certain types of people; those who are more affluent are more likely to be interested in the historic built environment. This view corresponded to Smith’s (2006) argument that heritage is the domain of certain elite classes who dictate what should and should not be considered “heritage”. Interestingly, the owner above highlighted affluent members of society and students, suggesting that it was the educated classes who know about historic buildings and are interested in their preservation. The heritage professionals who, as discussed in the first section of this

chapter, viewed their role as one of education, did not believe that this was the case as they stated:

I mean we can never assume that people who will go round a site completely new will have that understanding, you can kind of never ever assume that and so actually having something that helps people, guides people through why the building was significant (HP1).

From this quote, the general public (i.e. non-experts) again were seen as needing guidance or interpretation to aid their understanding by the heritage professionals, they could not interpret a site without this understanding. There was again a link here to Smith's (2006) concept of the AHD where heritage professionals are seen as being the "experts" who were required to educate the public to appreciate "heritage" and to the concept of a Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998) who produced their own knowledge and expertise which those outside the community did not share or must be educated in in order to participate in that community. This idea of heritage professionals as the heritage "experts" was also reflected in the following comment:

I'm not sure how many people would know about why [...] is significant. I mean people know it as an important part of the local landscape but they maybe... they don't necessarily realise how significant it was in actually changing attitudes towards the treatment... of people (HP4).

The links again to Smith's (2006) AHD can be seen in the above quote through the idea that heritage experts were needed to educate people so they can appreciate what was significant and what was not but it does raise the important, and often asked question surrounding heritage buildings about whose heritage and what heritage is important (see for example Cowell, 2008). In the public questionnaires, as previously outlined, the majority of the public felt that historic former asylums were key parts of their social history and should be remembered; thereby seemingly viewing them as "heritage" buildings and yet the heritage professional above was suggesting that this was not necessarily so, that heritage bodies and professionals were needed to inform the public of the significance of them. This demonstrated the difference between the appreciation of something as old and the recognition of its significance in terms of heritage value, something that only heritage experts can do.

Each of the professional stakeholder groups in this research (planners, heritage professionals, developers, property owners) had their own practices and knowledges that they sought to maintain and highlight. Wenger (2010:188) gave the example of engineers when he stated “belonging to a community of engineers confers you the right to design bridges because your practice has a history of doing so” and belonging to a community of heritage professionals confers the right to protect and promote historic buildings; holding the knowledge of what was and what was not significant in heritage terms. The role of heritage bodies was seen as causing misunderstandings in the eyes of the public by one of the professionals interviewed:

We already have to communicate so many different things like the fact that we’re not the [other heritage body] let alone how we’re actually communicating exactly what our role is (HP1).

Just from the... just from the enquiries we get and to a certain extent, it’s imagined that we’re just there for anything in the historic environment, just to say no you can’t do that, that’s damaging (HP1).

As well as the perception that the public did not understand the listing grades outlined above, HP1 also felt that they were seen by the public as being some sort of heritage police or preventative force to stop anything happening to the historic built environment. From the above quotes, it was also suggested that the public were not able to distinguish between the different heritage bodies and their roles, they saw them as being the same organisation with the same objectives.

All the professional stakeholders expressed the opinion that they were “experts” within their particular field and the public were non-professionals or inexperienced, and they all agreed that the public (including the former staff members) should not have a deciding say in the future of a historic building, beyond what is currently possible within the planning process. The planning system as it exists was seen as the place for the general public, to have their say over the building’s future with O1 describing the planning system as an “arbitrator” as outlined in section 6.2.2. Whilst there was agreement across all the stakeholder groups with respect to the public’s involvement in the process of redevelopment, the same could not be said in respect of one aspect

of the process, namely the condition in which the buildings had been left prior to redevelopment.

There is much literature that addresses the physical and economic process of property redevelopment (for example, Guy and Henneberry, 2002; Issac, 2002; Kincaid, 2002; Wikinson *et al.* 2014) and a limited number that address the physical issues in redevelopment of historic buildings (for example Deloitte, 2013; English Heritage, 2008). This research data interestingly revealed a slightly antagonistic relationship and negative perceptions between several of the professional stakeholders in respect of the physical condition of the respective asylum sites. For the owners of the former asylum sites, cost was a major consideration in keeping the buildings in a certain state or condition. In the case of the sites under investigation here there were subsequently differing views across the professional stakeholder groups as to whether or not the owners had kept or maintained their buildings in a good enough condition. In the case of Lancaster Moor, the conservation officer felt that the owners had done a very good job in keeping the building in a good condition: “and to be fair, [the name of the owners], I think they’ve done a brilliant job” (CO1) however this view was not held by the PC1 who, referring to the demolition of parts of Lancaster Moor, stated: “they didn’t manage that particularly well”. The condition of the historic buildings on the St George’s site was also highlighted by D2:

It hasn’t been well kept by the [owners]. There’s a lot of water been ingressed, it’s been under a lot of broken glazing that hasn’t been repaired, we do know there’s been a lot of vandalism inside, there’s been a lot of, well all of the pipework under the floors is asbestos lagged, there’s been a lot of people in, taking out the pipework for scrap- to their own detriment! They’ve ripped the asbestos lagging off and left it lying about so we’re now in the position that you can’t get into the building without breathing apparatus as it’s so heavily contaminated with asbestos (D2).

The maintenance of these former asylum sites was argued to be very expensive (O1) but equally, as the above quote demonstrated, these costs, where not met by the owners, are met by the developers when they acquired the sites as these issues need to be rectified. In the case of the St George’s development, the developer would have kept more of the buildings but a structural engineer’s report stated that

many were in too poor a condition to be saved (D2). This discussion of the condition of the sites and who had or had not maintained them in a satisfactory condition clearly demonstrates how subjective opinion did feature in what was otherwise perceived as an objective, professional process. There was no agreed or universally defined level of condition that was required; different stakeholder's views on what is acceptable was therefore likely to differ. Rorty (1991) argued that objectivity requires rationality, being methodical and the following of procedures and therefore if, as the professionals in this study suggested, they were objective, then there should be no disagreement as the rules of what constituted good or bad maintenance would simply have been followed. However, there was disagreement on what these "rules" were between the different professional stakeholder groups; disagreement that emanated from their frames of reference and professional experience.

The perception from O1 was that developers were likely to look for the cheapest option in relation to these sites: "if it's not listed then unfortunately due to the finances, then there probably will be greater pressure to look for a cheaper alternative because as you know turning a listed sorry, non-listed structures, but old structures into liveable accommodation now is very expensive" (O1). Most developers were seen here by the owners as likely to choose to develop a site as cheaply as possible; thereby removing any existing building even if it was historic in nature. This view, combined with the cost of maintenance of an old, empty building could be the reason CO1 felt the owners had not maintained the buildings as they should have although this could not be measured. This did reveal the slightly antagonistic or distrustful relationship between several of the professional stakeholder groups.

As explored in Chapter 5, the negative perceptions of the condition of the asylums whilst empty was raised by both the former staff members and the general public as being a source of concern. However, from the data collected for this study, few of the former staff members appeared to engage with the actual process in terms of commenting on the planning application or getting involved in any discussions about the reuse. This lack of engagement with the process was remarked upon by many of the professional stakeholders (O1; P2; P3) although D2 did say that they had good attendance and interest at the public consultation events they held.

As part of this thesis' research the general public were asked whether they were aware of the developments and what they thought about them. Whilst these two questions did not specifically ask what they thought of the people involved, they enabled a discussion on the process as a whole and for people to raise any issues they felt were relevant. The overriding theme from the public questionnaire responses was the desire for the buildings to be reused which is dealt with in Chapter 5 although one respondent expressed the view that the planning regulations were "a mess" (M1) and eight respondents felt that the type of use was not appropriate (M6; M14; M77; L42; L60; L66; L72; L73). Housing was a contentious issue nationally with a 2015 Ipsos Mori poll finding "75% of the public agreeing there is a housing crisis compared to 80% in 2013" and 37% of those who agree there is a national housing crisis disagreeing that there is one in their local area (Ipsos Mori, 2015). The discussion of whether housing was a suitable use for these three sites is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.4 Summary

From the perceptions examined in this chapter, a discord between the perceptions stakeholders held for each other and the actual thoughts or actions of those stakeholders was evident although each of the stakeholders within the different groups also held mixed views of each other. Both HP1 and P3 saw their roles as heritage bodies and planners as one of educating the public as to the benefits of the respective developments and why a particular heritage building was significant. HP2, D2 and D3 saw the public as having useful knowledge that could aid a heritage assessment or the development itself, either influencing it or providing links to the past. This could be argued to be unusual for the two developers particularly who, given their role, look predominantly forwards rather than backwards when dealing with a building. When compared with the views of the owners explored in the chapter, these two opinions are particularly interesting. Whilst any developer seeks to make a profit on a scheme (Wilkinson and Reed, 2005) and they are therefore likely to use information to their commercial advantage, here the two developers were involving the community and discussing their proposals to gain input and support. D2 particularly argued that stakeholder engagement and communication was a very important part of what they did as a business and felt it was an important part of development to work with the other parties involved in the process, something

echoed by P2 who stated that communication was the key to any redevelopment but particularly a heritage one; something also stated by HP1.

This chapter has explored the perceptions of the stakeholders towards each other, themselves and the process of heritage redevelopment in the context of three historic former asylums. Together with the two preceding chapters, it has investigated the reuse of these buildings, the attachments, stigma, values and perceptions that surround both the buildings themselves and the process of their conversion and reuse. This thesis now seeks to bring these three chapters together to discuss their implications for these building, this research and future research directions.

Chapter 7. Discussion

The three preceding chapters have explored the themes of value (Chapter 4), place attachment and place stigma (Chapter 5) and stakeholder perceptions (Chapter 6) arising from the data collected in this study. This chapter discusses the connections between the themes identified in the preceding chapters and taking these insights into account draws conclusions on how these factors interacted with each other and affected the reuse of these historic former asylum sites. This study investigated the factors affecting the reuse of historic former asylum sites through three sites during and post conversion. In doing so, it sought to explore those factors that influenced, positively or negatively the reuse and conversion process of the three sites under investigation. It expanded on the limited literature that looks at the reuse of former asylums but also people's attachment to negative places and how these places are conceived and valued both in heritage and economic terms. This chapter therefore develops the insights from the preceding three chapters and brings the themes together to critique, support and add to the existing literature in these areas.

In expanding on the inferences and insights from the preceding chapters and the existing literature, the first section of the chapter will bring together all of the themes explored in the thesis to examine the interaction between them. The second part of the chapter will then explore the tensions that were found to exist in the perceptions of the stakeholders in respect of the buildings, the process and each other. The chapter will also examine how these areas of tension could equally be seen to have positively influenced the reuse process of the three sites. This chapter will argue that there was a specific set of circumstances that applied to the reuse of historic former asylum sites. The tensions between the perceptions and the process also became "enabling factors" in the process. The tensions that existed in the perceptions of the sites and the process did not prevent their reuse. Neither however was there a desire to protect the sites as heritage sites or prevent their conversion because of their historic nature as has been seen in the redevelopment of some other types of historic sites (Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished; Kalman, 2014). This chapter will argue that the specific set of circumstances identified in this study which were applicable to historic former asylum sites but were different to other historic sites (because of their nature) therefore assisted and facilitated the reuse process. This is important because it explores the circumstances surrounding the reuse process of a specific historic

building type and begins to open up this reuse process by looking at the people involved. Whilst the findings cannot be extrapolated to other historic sites because, as this thesis argues, former asylum sites have specific connotations other sites do not, it explores the complex interplay of factors involved in the reuse and redevelopment of historic sites and buildings, a topic that is currently under-researched.

7.1 Summary of the factors affecting the reuse of historic former asylums

This section will provide a summary of the main points identified by this thesis before the factors affecting the reuse of historic former asylum sites, through the tensions and enabling factors, are explored.

The five stages from the adaptation of Rubbish Theory (outlined in Chapter 2) were original use – transient- rubbish – transient- durable. The different types of values, the stigmas and attachments were also represented across each of these stages. As discussed in Chapter 5, former asylums were seen as liminal sites because their location was hidden (Jones, 1993; Philo, 2004), because of the type of former use (Moons *et al.* 2015) and then because they became empty. If liminal places are between two fixed locations (Thomassen, 2012) then former asylums could be argued to be in a liminal space and time between their original use and their converted use when they have moved into the durable category. As time passes in their lifespan, they become less challenging or more safely perceived (Lynch, 1972; Stromberg, 2012; Virilio, 1994). These changes through time subsequently affected the values, attachments and stigmas associated with former asylums.

The perceived stigma surrounding them declined and was replaced by the stigma of decay and waste (in terms of a building remaining unused) in the period since their closure. This was in conjunction with the rise in both heritage appreciation generally, in terms of aesthetic and age value, and the appreciation of former asylums as heritage buildings as shown in Chapter 4. However, the appreciation of them as heritage, and the attachment to their valorisation as heritage did not rise to such an extent that people took action to try to preserve these buildings. It is suggested that enough of a stigma persisted to prevent this. As this happened and their perception as heritage also increased, developers started to perceive them as economically

viable for conversion and this was combined with the addition of economic value created by the desire to own a historic property (Chapter 4). Interestingly this thesis also found that, whilst the attachments of former staff members continued from the time they worked on the sites, through their closure and period of being empty and through their reuse, equally new attachments formed for both new residents and some of the professionals even after just a short period of time. This was contrary to the prevailing literature (Guilliani, 2003; Shamaï and Illatov, 2005) which suggested that a long period of time was necessary in which to form attachment to place, although the exact length of time needed for this to occur is not given.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the existing literature on place attachment argued that length of residence or experience of a place created attachment (Guilliani, 2003; Shamaï and Illatov, 2005). As Chapter 5 explained, this was the case for former staff members who demonstrated strong, positive attachments to all three asylum sites. This, according to the literature, was not surprising. However, the attachment was expressed towards a building type that has been seen as being negative (Franklin, 2002; Joseph *et al.* 2013; Kearns *et al.* 2012; Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004). This was significant as few studies have explored the types of place where attachments form (Manzo, 2014). It would therefore appear that people were able to form attachments to any building or place, not simply those which are seen as positive. Equally, the attachments to a negative or stigmatised site can be positive and create a sense of belonging as shown by the data in this study. These attachments however, did not then translate into action to protect these sites, as Devine-Wright (2014) and Mihaylov and Perkins (2014) argued. Neither attachments, appreciation of the sites as heritage nor any stigma prevent these sites from being redeveloped.

The existence of attachments, stigmas and the reappraisal of the sites as heritage (Franklin, 2002) created the specific set of circumstances applicable to historic former asylum sites as outlined in the introduction to this chapter. Out of the interaction of these factors arose a series of tensions but also what this thesis has termed the “enabling factors” in the reuse process. This chapter will now examine these in turn, commencing with the tensions in the reuse process.

7.2 Sources of tension in reuse

As explored in Chapter 2, former asylum sites were often seen as sites or places of stigma largely because the stigma of mental health had been transferred to the buildings and sites (Moons *et al.* 2015; Mellett, 1982). It has been argued that this resulted in a hiding of the history in order to reinvent the building as something more positive (Moons *et al.* 2015; Gittens, 1998). The limited literature exploring the reuse of asylums suggested that the stigma associated with these former sites acted as a barrier to their reuse (Kucik, 2014; Moons *et al.* 2015) or was covered up (Franklin, 2002; Weiner, 2004). As outlined in Chapter 5, when it came to stigma and former asylums, the picture was complicated both across stakeholder groups and within them. There was no overall consistency or agreed position on whether or not a stigma existed or persisted.

None of the stakeholder groups held a consistent view of this within their group, nor did a consistent picture of whether a stigma existed emerge across any of the groups; a stigma was said to both exist and not to exist. The former staff members largely felt that the attitude of the public towards mental illness had improved which consequently had reduced some of the stigma connected with the former asylum sites. On the other hand, one of the developers (D2) suggested that a stigma did not exist, otherwise they would not be developing the site. Developers could be argued to be obviously concerned that no stigma would be perceived to exist and therefore reinforce this view as property value is driven by “perception, perception, perception” (Bell, 2008:1). Bell (2008:1) argued that detrimental conditions are those which “*potentially* [sic] have a financial impact” and his categories of detrimental conditions includes a classification titled “Distress and Sociological Conditions” (ibid). This classification of detrimental conditions did not specifically single out mental illness but did include illness and disability as factors that could affect value. Therefore it can be suggested that the developers in this study were unlikely to agree that a stigma existed in case this influenced peoples’ decisions to purchase their new apartments. However, the developer in question did subsequently suggest that they found these types of buildings personally challenging when you could still see traces of their original use.

The developers’ views also suggested that the people buying the new flats would be influenced by the history, the developers could therefore be seen to have a particular opinion of the public, one that sees the public as viewing former asylums as

stigmatised. Whilst the developers were keen to stress that no stigma existed, the planning professionals were less sure and suggested that members of the public wanted rid of the associated connotations (P3) The heritage professionals presented a fragmented position across the four representatives with some more at ease with these buildings (HP3; HP1) than others (HP4; HP2). The picture was equally heterogeneous across the former staff members and members of the public who acknowledged that these sites did have a difficult history and that perceptions of mental illness affected this (see Chapters 4,5 and 6). However, new residents purchasing the converted properties, from the limited data collected in this study, did not appear affected by the previous history or any stigma that could have been associated with the sites; often they were interested in learning more about the history although this would need further investigation to confirm this more concretely or more widely and this is addressed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The image of former asylum sites as stigmatised (Moons *et al.* 2015); as sites that carried their original connotations through to their reuse would therefore, given the above insights, appeared to be too simplistic a picture. It was argued in Chapter 5 for the existence of an “acceptable level of stigma” recognising that, as per the views of the former staff, attitudes have changed towards mental health, as supported by recent research which stated fear of mental health is declining (TNS, 2015). Also, whilst a stigma could be said to persist, the buildings were being both converted and the new apartments and houses purchased. Therefore any stigma that did or does exist, did not prevent this conversion or purchase, the level of stigma must therefore be of a level to be acceptable to enable their reuse otherwise more would remain either empty or they would be demolished.

The issues above related specifically to the connotations of stigma that related to historic former asylum sites but also their history more widely. The historical nature and resulting value from that nature was raised by all stakeholder groups and can be seen as both a source of tension and an enabling factor. Chapter 4 argued that over time age and aesthetic value became more important than historical value. These sites were appreciated for the aesthetic qualities and the fact that they were old, rather than their specific history. These insights corresponded with Franklin’s (2002) arguments that these sites were reappraised as heritage sites with a focus on their architectural qualities in order to enable their reuse and this thesis concurs with this

view. Whilst the developers were keen to stress there was not a stigma attached to these buildings, otherwise they would not be developing them (D2), they all exhibited slightly different approaches to the history of the sites and how this was dealt with from total demolition and reconstruction (St Mary's), to retention of non-listed buildings (St George's) to conversion of the listed building minus the removal of modern additions such as concrete lift shafts (Lancaster Moor).

The developers also displayed different approaches and attitudes to the history in terms of its part in the new development and this was commented upon by one staff member (SM3) who felt aggrieved by lack of response from the developer to their enquiry about whether the history was to be remembered in any way at the new site. It is interesting to note that the developer in question was the developer who did not wish to participate in this study (see Chapter 3). They were also the developer who appeared to engage the least with the history of the former site, the building was rebuilt and there seems to have been little other recognition of the history of the site. Whilst this thesis can only speculate, this developer gave the impression they were uncomfortable with the history of the site and perhaps wary of what might be asked of them, both by this researcher and the member of the public.

The issue of how the former history was approached by the different stakeholders was discussed in Chapter 5. It explored how the different stakeholder groups felt about both the stigma and the past history and from the views presented within, it can be argued that the professional stakeholders appeared to struggle with the former history more than the former staff members and members of the public. Whilst the former staff would be expected to have no reservations with the past history, given that they worked there, the reactions from the members of the public was surprising. From the public questionnaires 39% in Morpeth and 43% in Lancaster said that whilst the history was a difficult one, it was important to remember it. The professionals, as shown in Chapter 5 however, were not as consistent in their views. The new residents, like the member of the public, were interested in the history, rather than being put off by it as had been expected by some of the stakeholders (O1; O2). The reactions of the members of the public and the new residents therefore challenged both existing literature but also importantly the perceptions of the other stakeholder groups. They were expected to react in a negative way (O1; O2) but did not. In expecting the public and purchasers to react in a negative way towards the

history of these buildings, the professionals relied upon their previous experiences and personal perspectives to come to this opinion however the public and staff members did not react in the way they were expected to, moreover the professional's previous experience did not accurately translate to the situation for historic former asylums.

The knowledge and experience that they had previously gained led the professionals to believe that the public and the new purchasers of these converted properties would not want to be reminded of the history, although this was not in itself straightforward as will be explored below. In interpreting the behaviour of the public and new purchasers incorrectly the implications are that there could have been missed opportunities to discuss the former history which could have been of interest to a large number of people and opened up the discussion of mental health more widely. However, as Chapter 5 revealed, the developers' attitudes to the history was also not straightforward, nor did they seek to merely cover up the history as has been suggested elsewhere (Moons *et al.* 2015; Gittins, 1998).

As Franklin (2002) and Moons *et al.* (2015) have argued, generally historic asylums were reappraised by the developers as heritage or historic sites as demonstrated through their treatment of their history. They focused on the age, aesthetic and historic nature of the site rather than the history itself however this was not totally straightforward. For the developers and the new residents the value in these sites came from a combination of age, historic and aesthetic values which in turn drove economic value and made the sites profitable to develop or purchase. The developers did not, as Moons *et al.* (2015) suggested, simply cover up the history in the conversion of the sites, it depended on the developer as to their response to that history and whether or not they chose to recognise it. Therefore, to state that developers reappraised the sites as being historic and this became their primary focus in order to sell the properties was too simplistic, it was more nuanced than this. It depended on the site, the developer and who was involved in the process itself within that development company and what their personal experience and views involved. This again, added weight to the conclusion expressed by this thesis that whilst all the professionals within this study suggested that they were "objective" and the public was subjective, this perception of themselves was in fact not true. How a developer or developers reacted to the history of the site was, by virtue of the fact

that the people involved were human, influenced by their previous experiences (Beach and Connolly, 2005) together with the socioeconomic milieu within which they operate. These previous experiences, like all the professional stakeholders was influenced by the sphere in which they worked and the factors affecting this, such as the economic climate in the case of the developers.

When each of the professionals were asked whether or not they would live in a converted asylum, their response was influenced by their own experiences (as discussed in respect of their response to the sites in Chapter 5). Therefore how they reacted and treated these buildings through the conversion process, whilst driven by procedures and professional knowledge, was also influenced by their personal experiences and therefore they cannot be truly objective. Uzzell and Ballantyne (2008:502) argued that “emotions colour our memories and experiences and thus our selective attention to information. Our minds are not virgin territories and our past experiences and decisions influence our future actions”. Although Uzzell and Ballantyne (2008) were discussing people’s reaction to heritage places predominantly, their argument is true of any experience and therefore all of the professional’s previous experiences will affect how they react towards the redevelopment they are focused on. Layton (2008:259) suggested that “the meaning of artefacts is culturally constituted”. Layton (2008) was also discussing heritage places and argued that because meaning is culturally constituted it is not possible for experts to be purely objective, their opinions are clouded by the meaning of the object culturally as well as their previous experience (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2008). This thesis concluded therefore that all the professionals involved in this research employed their experiences and personal opinions within what they see as their objective decision making processes and therefore how they reacted to each site was culturally, socially and personally influenced and within the professional context in which they were situated.

A further tension in the case of the developers was the attachment and responsibility that two of them (D3, D2) felt towards their sites. This finding firstly provided a challenge to the existing place attachment literature which argued that length of residence (Guilliani, 2003) and long experience of a place (Shamai and Illatov, 2005) created attachment to places as this demonstrated that attachments could be formed by people who worked with sites over a relatively short period of time. It secondly

challenged the existing stereotypes of developers not listening to local communities (Wainwright, 2014;) and the suggestion that people outside the professional teams on developments were seen as hindrances or objectors (MacLaran, 2003). In the case of the St George's development, the developer felt community engagement was important although it did depend on the "buy-in" (D2) of the local community as to whether it was successful. In the case of St George's, some changes to the plans were discussed as a direct result of these community discussions including the incorporation of some original elements from the site's history (Chapter 5). The view of this particular developer supported the best practice guidance issued by the RICS (2014) and RTPI (2005) who called for community engagement on all development by developers. All the developers interviewed in this study held different views and it was however difficult for this study to conclude precisely what these opinions or personal experiences were that influenced their particular responses. It was possible from the interview data to suggest that these views held by the developers were likely to have been influenced by their previous experiences of working on historic building redevelopments however this is difficult to conclude conclusively as it was not something that was foreseen at the interview stage and therefore the discussions concentrated on the building and the sites specifically. It is therefore something that would benefit from future research.

The existence of different developers with different views was supported by Henneberry and Parris (2013) who highlighted that there were a variety of developers and therefore these different developers are likely to take different approaches to heritage redevelopment. The insights from this study suggested that, as with the existence of a stigma for historic former asylums, the attitudes of developers to the asylums' history was also complicated. They did not simply ignore or cover up the history as writers have suggested (Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004; Franklin, 2002), nor did any potential stigma prevent developers finding value in these sites as has also been suggested (Randall, 2008). They could also experience attachment and a sense of responsibility towards these sites and valued the public's views of them, contrary to existing place attachment and property development literature. This was important because it challenged the perceptions held by the developers and other professionals in this study that they were objective and non-emotional as professionals, in contrast to the subjective, emotional members of the public or former staff members. Emotion or subjectivity is often seen as a threat to "rationality

and professional practice” (Craggs *et al.* 2016:1) and is therefore not something that belongs in the practical, professional sphere of property development or heritage management. The professionals in this study saw themselves as objective and following rules and procedures required by their professional sphere and yet the findings from this study indicated that this was not the case. As people’s experiences influence their world views and action (Beach and Connolly, 2005; Goffman, 1974; Wenger, 1998), the findings from the study suggested that it is not possible to separate personal opinion and feelings from professional ones.

The developers however, were not the only group in this study to display this dichotomy. The heritage professionals (as Chapter 5 demonstrated) held conflicting views on the former history of these sites. All four of the heritage professionals were in agreement that historic former asylum sites should rightly be considered as heritage buildings however they differed in their personal responses to the history of the three sites (Chapter 5). The question of whether or not they would live in one of the converted apartments revealed that two indicated that they would be comfortable with living in these buildings and two professionals stated that they would not, either because of personal reasons or because they found the history of the building difficult. Here again the tension between professional and personal opinion could be seen. The three sites were considered to be heritage from a professional point of view but the history was troubling personally. This also raised questions over the treatment of the former history through the reuse of these sites and their redevelopment, something criticised in the existing literature, often in respect of developers who were seen to “cover up” or selectively forget the history (Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004). Whilst it was difficult to conclude exactly how personal experience and opinion influenced professional judgement it is suggested that a professional who felt that the history was difficult was likely to act differently towards the redevelopment than one who feels less negatively. The professionals were all situated within the social and political arena in which they all operated and although their professions may have set criteria with which to make judgements on a particular building or site, inevitably their personal opinion would still come into their decisions.

As Chapter 4 demonstrated, the age and aesthetic values of these sites were more important for the heritage professionals than their historical value in terms of the

actual history itself. This focus on age and aesthetic over historical value could be interpreted as a reflection of personal opinion influencing professional views; those uncomfortable with the history of these former sites would be less likely to focus on that history, preferring instead to focus on other qualities of the sites which correspond to professional valorisation in heritage terms. The literature concerning former asylum sites, as outlined in Chapter 2 was quite limited and therefore it was necessary to turn to wider literature on other difficult or non-conventional heritage sites in order to explore this tension further. In particular, the literature on former industrial sites and heritage was useful in this and Edensor (2005:133), looking at former industrial sites argued that “the heritage industry tends to mobilise specific ways of remembering the pasts of places” and it “banishes ambiguity”.

As Moons *et al.* (2015) have argued, former asylum sites are liminal places and therefore prove difficult to “fix” in terms of one clear meaning. Edensor’s (2005) focus was former industrial buildings and the challenges they posed for heritage bodies in communicating their history and meaning and the connections with former asylums can be clearly seen. Edensor (2005) argued that industrial heritage buildings did not provide easy histories with which to create a particular story and therefore to promote as requiring remembrance. Bangstad (2014) who also focused on industrial ruins, argued that heritage, in contrast to actually seeking to remember our past actually enables “prescribed forgetting” (2014:95) but for former industrial buildings these link into what he describes as the “social obligation of heritage” (*ibid*); the idea that heritage should also remember those who have had a less prominent role in the history books. Whilst it was suggested by one of the professionals (e.g. HP4) that they provided a good way of drawing people’s attention to these sites to enable discussions around mental health to happen more widely and to increase people’s knowledge of them, and therefore become part of the “social obligation of heritage”, from the other heritage professional’s responses, this was still challenging and the focus remained on their age or aesthetic value, rather than their former history.

Given the charge by Moons *et al.* (2015) and Franklin (2002) that developers covered up or strategically forgot the history of these sites and enabled their selective remembering, this study argues that this was a charge that could in fact be levelled at all the professionals involved in the process of redevelopment of historic former asylums. By focussing on the aesthetic and age value of the sites, the sites were

being preserved for these values, and not for their history and it was not only the developers who were involved in this selective remembering or preservation. Part of this may also be caused by their physicality; as both HP3 and former staff members (SM2; SG2) argued, the size and cost of maintenance of these buildings meant that heritage bodies such as the National Trust and English Heritage (used here because this organisation maintains historic buildings, see Chapter 1, section 1.4) were unlikely to take them on or turn them into a visitor attraction thereby reducing the opportunities for their remembrance as heritage. Otero-Pailos *et al.* (2010) argued that the focus on aesthetic value as being the dominant focus of heritage professionals has had a long history. They suggested (2010:57) that “critical analysis of the AHD suggests that expert opinion is primarily directed towards understanding aesthetic significance”. It could be argued that the level of value placed on these sites by the heritage professionals was lower than other heritage sites. Ascertaining this was not within the remit of this thesis and the listing data for historic buildings from Historic England is not available in a format with which to establish this conclusively. If former asylums were considered to be more important to society in terms of remembrance, and therefore valued as heritage more highly, then the current position might be different and more might be done to preserve them in a more traditional heritage sense.

This question of valorisation of the sites by heritage professionals in particular further added to the discussion about the interaction of the personal into professional life. Craggs *et al.* (2016:7) in their work on enthusiasm for the built environment in the Twentieth Century Society argued that “the positioning of some activities as objective and rational is the end product of a much longer and complex process imbued with emotional engagements, value judgements and enthusiasm”. This view could also be applied to the heritage professionals in this study. Craggs *et al.* (2016) suggested that heritage enthusiasm for their work runs through everything that the Twentieth Century Society does, even though they saw themselves as objective professionals. It can be argued that heritage professionals are enthusiastic about heritage otherwise they would not choose to work in that sphere and emotion is part of this professional work. Consequently, as argued above, if a particular heritage professional feels a certain way about a former asylum site, this will affect how they value it and may result in that value being seen as less significant than another type of heritage building. Due to their specific view of the former history of a site, this may result in

the reduced valorisation of historic former asylum sites compared with other types of historic building.

The professional stakeholders in this study appeared to exude a tension in respect of the history of these former sites and how they should be dealt with and remembered. What was particularly interesting was that, it appeared from the data, the former staff members and the members of the public (with the odd exception- see Chapter 5) had less difficulty with the remembrance of that history as they felt that it should be remembered even though it was often a difficult history for people to deal with. Whilst the professionals felt a tension and an unease with the history, the former staff and members of the public recognised this unease but felt it was important to remember what happened in these former asylum sites. The existing literature regarding the reuse of asylum sites highlighted the question of whose history it was that we were remembering (Edensor, 2005; Smith, 2006) and whose job it was to decide this (Smith, 2006). The treatment and remembrance of these sites provided an additional tension in the reuse process because of question over how that history was treated (Moons *et al.* 2015). The assertion within the existing literature was that it was the stigma that affected the redevelopment and also the remembrance of that history (Cornish, 1997; Moons *et al.* 2015). The suggestion was that developers did not want to reveal the former history of the sites (Chaplin and Peters, 2003; Weiner, 2004) however, this study has shown that it this was too simplistic a view. The reuse of former asylums was complicated and the developers were not the only ones who found the former history challenging. Whilst the developers in this study did find the history challenging (Chapter 4 and 5), they did not necessarily shy away from it.

Weiner (2004) raised this point arguing that sometimes the history was forgotten in the name of preservation as well as through development and therefore it was not solely the developers who were responsible for neglecting, forgetting or selectively remembering the history of these former sites; it was a combination of all the stakeholders involved who determined what was and what was not remembered and it was also dependent on the circumstances of each site. The reuse and redevelopment process for historic former asylums was complicated with multiple competing values and perceptions all focused on the same site thereby highlighting the challenge of the redevelopment of historic buildings more widely.

Smith (2006) argued that there are designated experts who are responsible for deciding what heritage is and the perceptions that the planners and heritage bodies in this study held were that of being the experts who needed to educate the public in respect of redevelopments and heritage as outlined in Chapter 6. What was particularly interesting in this study was that the professionals were more cautious in respect of the history and historical value of former asylums than the members of the public. The professional view of the public was that they were more emotional and subjective than them and as such a suspicion (HP2; O1; O2) as to their motives was suggested. And yet, the professionals appeared to have been more concerned by the former history of these sites than the public. Both professional and personal practice is informed by experience and are connected (Wenger, 1998). In the case of historic former asylums, the professionals were not able to be as objective as they claimed as their personal views of former asylums influenced their reactions to them as has been demonstrated above.

The suspicion of the public's motives expressed by several of the professional stakeholders interviewed (HP2; O1; O2) corresponded with the suggestion made by Craggs *et al.* (2016) that professionals viewed subjective and emotional opinions as a threat. This can be explained using Bourdieu's (1984) idea of professional competence being gained by knowing the rules of the game; the professionals know the rules of their individual professional spheres but they could argue that the public did not because they lack the necessary professional skills, training and experience. Or, as Wenger (1998) has argued the public, in the professionals' view, were not part of a Community of Practice which has access to the relevant information and knowledge which the professional stakeholders argued they themselves possessed in respect of the reuse process. However, this study has highlighted that whilst the professional stakeholders understood the process through their training and experiences, they equally became attached to these sites (P2) or were influenced by people's (non-professionals) attitudes (D2), societal norms, pressures and emotions and found these sites challenging because of their personal experiences (HP2).

As has been discussed above, it was difficult to argue for the case of professional objectivity, given how this thesis has demonstrated that both professional and personal experience were intertwined and influenced one another. Equally, the study has challenged the idea that the "emotional" public would react to protect their local

historic environment. It was also not the case, for historic former asylums, that the “amateur”, “self-interested neighbours” created a barrier to, or seek to prevent redevelopment (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008:4). This section has explored the perceptions of the stakeholders in respect of the tensions of the redevelopment of historic buildings, something which is lacking in the existing literature. For the professionals, the non-professionals did not behave in the way expected; they did not seek to protect or save these sites in a heritage preservation sense (O1), nor were they put off by the former history (P3; O1; O2). The professionals’ experiences formed through their professional practice (Wenger, 1998) did not necessarily apply in the case of historic former asylums; they expected the public and former staff members to react in a particular, negative, way which they did not. This experience has been suggested to be formed through their experience of previous heritage redevelopments, for example the owners of the sites suggested that certain types of people were usually involved in heritage preservation as outlined in Chapter 6, although they did not provide specific examples of this.

Likewise, the developers did not necessarily hide the history of the sites as was expected by other stakeholders (LMH2; P3; SM2; SM3). The tensions that were therefore expected from all stakeholders involved in the three sites did not materialise however there were other tensions that did. This section has shown that these tensions resulted from both the sites themselves, as a result of their former use, and from the stakeholders involved in the process of conversion. It has highlighted both the complicated nature of that history but also the conflicts that present in the stakeholder’s perceptions versus what happens in practice. In highlighting these tensions however, it must be acknowledged that whilst these exist, these sites are being reused and converted to new residential uses and therefore there must also be factors that enable these conversions. It is these enabling factors that this chapter will now explore.

7.3 Enabling factors in reuse

As well as areas of tension in the reuse of historic former asylum sites, there could also be said to be factors that helped to enable their reuse. This section will examine these factors that were found across the themes explored in the previous three chapters. As will be explored, the factors that enabled or helped the reuse process of

historic former asylum sites were linked to the sources of tension and therefore, as this chapter will argue, were linked to the unique type of site that asylums are. The previous section discussed the question of whether a stigma existed in relation to these buildings and how this issue caused tension in the reuse process of these sites. It concluded that there was an “acceptable level of stigma” resulting from the fact that the different stakeholders were unable to agree over the existence of a stigma. If such a stigma did exist, it was however not strong enough to prevent the sites and buildings from being reused. Whilst this was seen as a source of tension, for example, the developers who argued there was no stigma but then expressed surprise over people’s attachments to the sites (D2), it could also be argued that this was also a factor which enabled historic former asylums to be converted and reused as will be explored in the next section.

As seen in the first part of this chapter, the developers were keen to state that no stigma existed (D2) the planning professionals were less sure stating that some members of the public wanted rid of the associated connotations (P3) and the heritage professionals equally presented fragmented positions. However, new residents purchasing the converted properties did not appear to have been affected or influenced by the previous history or any stigma that could have been associated with them, in fact they were often interested in learning more about the history once they had found out what that history was (SPQ4). The new residents seemed unconcerned by the former history of the sites; they highlighted the age and aesthetic qualities of the sites as being the reasons which attracted them to purchase properties within the conversions. Here again, the age and aesthetic values of the sites were seen to override the potential connotations present in the former history of the site and again the argument that the sites had been reappraised for their heritage qualities (Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015) can be applied. Yet the new residents also expressed being attached to the sites. Existing place attachment literature has argued that the historic nature of a place can aid or create attachment to that place because historic places contain shared meanings and culture (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). It was however difficult to conclude whether the attachment of the new residents was because the site was historic or whether they would have felt the same attachment to a non-historic site.

Former staff members almost unanimously (except SM4 who was attached to the people rather than the buildings), stated they were very attached to the sites they had worked in. Staff spent large parts of their working lives within former asylum sites creating attachment over a period of time (Guilliani, 2003; Shamai and Illatov, 2005). In contrast to the suggestion that length of time leads to place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2014; 2009), no action was taken to protect the sites by the former members of staff. They wanted to see the sites reused and brought back to life. Equally, there were no campaigns for any of the three sites by the members of the public who expressed the views that these sites should be remembered or turned into heritage sites or visitor attractions. Similarly, other former asylum sites have been demolished and there was limited or no action to protect these buildings, even when the Princes Trust was involved in the example of Cherry Knowle (Princes Trust website, n.d) in trying to get the site redeveloped and to reuse and conserve the existing buildings. Whilst there was academic literature exploring the fate of former asylum sites (for example Chaplin and Peters, 2003; Franklin, 2002; Moon *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004) which has been discussed in this thesis, there was no literature that this study has found that specifically explored their demolition. It is not possible to be certain why this is the case but perhaps it is connected to the history of these former buildings and the difficulties explored in this thesis in that they are challenging buildings and therefore the demolition of them does not attract the same interest as other types of historic buildings that have less challenging or difficult histories.

Neither any stigma that existed surrounding former asylum sites, nor any attachments that were present, prevented these buildings and sites being reused. Neither the attachments nor stigmas appeared to be great enough to encourage people to save the buildings as heritage attractions or prevent their conversion to residential use. The combination of an acceptable level of stigma and no action to protect the three asylum sites as heritage sites facilitated the conversion of the sites without the conflict that can result when heritage buildings are redeveloped (Emerick, 2016; Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished; Kalman, 2014). It could therefore be argued that the tensions that existed between the perceived stigma and the attachments, as well as being tensions also became enabling factors. The fact that both stigmas and attachments existed simultaneously acted as a counterweight to either one or the other becoming more dominant. This therefore prevented the total erasure of the building and its history or preventing its reuse as housing through heritage activism.

As will now be explored, the factors that created tensions in the process also helped to enable the redevelopment of historic former asylum sites.

As outlined previously, age and aesthetic value outweighed the stigma associated with former asylums and to move historic former asylums from the transient to the durable category, creating a market for them economically (Thompson, 1979). Developers perceived there was an economic benefit in developing these sites and, more importantly for them, that it would be profitable to do so. Therefore, there becomes a point where the stigma declines and the different values associated with them also change, and in some cases, rise. For age and aesthetic value, these started to rise as the appreciation or reappraisal (Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004) of these buildings as heritage buildings also started. Consequently, as the heritage values rose, economic value also started to rise as developers perceived they could make a profit (Chapter 4) and people became interested in purchasing historic homes. Strutt and Parker's (2014-15) housing trend survey stated that period homes were the most desired type of house. It can therefore be argued that this, combined with the rise in the obsession with heritage (Cowell, 2008; Harrison, 2013; 2012) has resulted in historic former asylum sites being considered historic home possibilities. It is difficult to conclude this unequivocally however, as the rise in the appreciation of heritage, the closure of the former asylums and the start of their conversion commenced around the same time. It would be difficult to assess what would have happened had these events occurred at different points in the lifespan of former asylums. This thesis would however tentatively suggest that there is a link between the increasing appreciation of heritage and the rise in the demand for historic properties but that it is a complicated situation as there are likely to be more factors affecting this than explored in this thesis. It is therefore an area for further research (see Chapter 8).

There could also be argued to be another factor which helped to enable these former asylum buildings to be reused, that of the other stigmas of decay or dereliction. As Chapter 5 explored, the condition of the three sites following their closure and prior to reuse caused both the professionals and non-professionals some concern. As Hudson (2014) argued, derelict or ruined buildings were commonly derided by planning and design professionals, and the professionals in this study did express the desire to do something about these buildings when they were empty. The empty

buildings also caused unease for both the former staff members and the general public. It can be suggested that the reasons for this were different with the former staff members having spent their working lives in these buildings and so the distress could be argued to be more personal. This in turn could have intensified their unease at their condition whilst empty. Lynch (1972:132) contended that “people who must cope with the shock of a major historical transition feel the disconnection of the present from past or future” and that:

Memories, expectations and present consciousness are not just personal possessions. These temporal organisations, and thus the sense of self, are socially supported. The most direct and simple case is the small group that has actually experienced certain events together and, by constant communication and reinforcement, creates a group past and a group future, selecting, explaining, retaining, modifying. [...] group memories are supported by the stable features of the environment, which becomes a “spatial emblem of time” (Lynch, 1972:125).

The closure of former asylums was traumatic for staff (Rossun *et al.* 1994) as the length of time they had spent working at the sites created attachments (Chapter 5). This attachment has been argued by this thesis to have subsequently resulted in the former staff members desiring that a new use be found for these sites rather than wanting them preserved in a heritage sense.

Dereliction and ruin has been seen as a sign of failure (Edensor, 2005; Mah, 2012); that the space has not yet been made lucrative but also that is also posed a problem for the heritage industry which seeks to “arrest decay” and fix a building in a specific period (Edensor, 2005). Decaying buildings were problematic for all the stakeholders in this study, as shown in Chapter 5 but often for different reasons. The sites became a problem to fix (planning professionals; developers; owners) a challenging heritage site (heritage bodies), a blight on the landscape (the local public) and a sense of personal loss (former staff members). This period of decay occurred after the previous use of the site had ended, in the period where the building was moving from the Transient to the Rubbish stage (Figure 2.7, Chapter 2), where it has limited value. This thesis suggests that for the three sites under consideration, they never reached the final “Rubbish” stage; where they possessed no value (Thompson, 1979) as they

were reused rather than demolished. Before this demolition could take place, they moved into the gaze of heritage and began to acquire value in terms of their age and aesthetic qualities which in turn allowed developers to perceive economic value in them and subsequently enabled their conversion and reuse. As Ball (2002:177) argued, “developers have been found to have a positive attitude towards refurbishment and reuse when conditions allow it – in other words, when they perceive that the market potential for refurbished premises will make them cost effective”; therefore, when there is value in redeveloping these sites.

While they were empty and therefore moving through the Transient stage towards Rubbish, their decaying and derelict states resulted in a further enabling factor; the increase in their decay and the stigma associated with this appeared to supersede and weaken the previous stigma that was associated with their former use as a psychiatric hospital. Decay and dereliction brings with it its own stigma (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) and becomes a problem to be solved (Bennett and Dickinson, 2015). At the time the asylum buildings were in use as asylums, there were particular perceptions transferred to the sites from their use (Joseph *et al.* 2013; Kearns *et al.* 2012; Mellett, 1982, Moons *et al.*, 2015). In the period between them closing and being subsequently converted, attitudes towards the treatment of, and perceptions of the mentally ill changed. Whilst the fear of mental illness actually increased at the time the asylums shut, it has subsequently decreased as the time since their closure has increased (TNS, 2015).

During this period, these three sites were empty and began to decay without the usual maintenance that arrests what has been termed the “death” of buildings (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014). Cairns and Jacobs (2014) argued that we view buildings as being “alive” and give them human like characteristics. However, this idea that they are alive only persists provided they are maintained. If they are not maintained, this leads to their decay and eventual death through demolition (*ibid*). Cairns and Jacobs (2014) argued that buildings fall out of time but stay in place, they remain physically in place but the time period to which they belong has gone. During this time they might be seen as valueless and then they may be “rediscovered, revalued and perhaps even regenerated” (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014:111). This links with *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson, 1979) and has been demonstrated in this research.

The three former asylum sites under study in this research all fell out of use around the same time, following their functional obsolescence. They were then, as we have seen, revalued and reappraised and subsequently redeveloped. This occurred because of the combination of several factors. The combination of the acceptable level of stigma, the state of the buildings during the period in which they were empty and the rise in the appreciation of heritage all combined to enable the reuse of these sites. The closure of asylums occurred largely between the 1980s and early 2000s (Korman and Glennerster, 1991) and this coincided with the rise of the heritage obsession (Cowell, 2008) which allowed these sites to be reappraised as heritage buildings. Both the period in which the closure and rise in heritage appreciation occurred plus the time between that closure and reuse (in the case of the three sites under consideration here) created a time distance and the time depth spoken about by HP3 in their interview. The time depth, as HP3 argued, added interest in the buildings as historic structures and the time distance from the original use to the time of proposed conversion allowed, as has been argued already in this thesis, a reduction in the effect of the previous history on the three sites. As Stromberg (2012:79) stated, in his discussion of the reuse of military bunkers as cultural spaces, “the militarism – is gone and that we have gained enough distance from this historical event”. In the case of former asylums, it is the effect of the past history and memory of this that has weakened. The insights from the data in this study showed that the stigma has not gone but has reduced, enabling new uses to take its place. Stromberg (2012) also contended that the process of this is uneven and this was true of former asylums as some were demolished and the removal or remembrance of history is uneven and dependent on the particular professionals involved in the redevelopment process.

This section and the previous section have presented historic former asylums as sites of contradiction. They have been seen as both stigmatised sites (Moons *et al.* 2015) and sites of heritage (Franklin, 2002). The sites were converted and reused, therefore the stigma did not affect those buying the sites, nor did it affect the value of the sites for those developing them. People were attached to them, both old and new residents, but this attachment did not turn into place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2014). Stigma, the different types of value and attachments appeared to exist alongside one another. They were sites that could be considered marginal (Shields, 1991) in terms of their original locations and former use and they were also perceived

as heritage (HP5, HP4; Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015; Weiner, 2004). Historic former asylums are therefore sites that are not straightforward in any of the spheres in which they sit. The stigmas, values, attachments and perceptions created or led to a specific set of circumstances that resulted in these buildings being both awkward and yet not awkward at the same time; the circumstances permitted the reuse of historic buildings without the potential difficulties (for example, unexpected costs, viability, finding a beneficial use) that are usually associated with the reuse of historic buildings (Deloitte, 2013).

Moons *et al.* (2015) have argued that former asylums are liminal spaces because of these contradictions that appear between their past and converted uses. The concept of liminality is commonly defined through the works of Turner (1967) and Van Gennep (1960) (both cited in Meethan, 2012) who “saw liminality as a temporary state, typically involving separation from day-to-day society and the placing of individuals in a socially ambiguous category that was also demarcated spatially and temporally” (Meethan, 2012). It has been suggested that “the liminal is [...] the “initial stage of a process”. It therefore exhibits *temporal* qualities, marking a beginning as well as an end, but also duration in the unfolding of a spatio-temporal process” (Andrews and Roberts, 2012:1). Liminality is seen as a “position between two fixed states” (Thomassen, 2012) and Moons *et al.* (2015:127) in employing these ideas in their discussion of the reuse of asylums, suggested that asylums are liminal “not only in the sense of being at the edge of a city [...] but to the extent that the shadow of their former use must either be embraced, transformed or suppressed”; the suggestion being that the latter is the most common outcome.

When in use for their original purpose, asylums, were certainly separated from the communities which they served, having been built on the outskirts of towns and cities, although they have often since become part of those communities through the expansion of towns and cities. Arguably, through their reuse they have been brought back in to society after a period of time and therefore could be seen to follow Turner’s (1969) and Van Gennep’s (1960), (both cited in Meethan, 2012) concept of liminality. With the liminal being considered the “initial stage of a process” (Andrews and Roberts, 2012:1) or a position between two fixed states (Thomassen, 2012) this corresponds with this thesis’ discussion of the tensions and enabling factors in their reuse in that former asylums go from their original use to empty to being converted.

In terms of being used therefore they could be argued to be between fixed states of use as an asylum and conversion to residential use.

Massey (2005) stated that places are not fixed but constantly fluid and, through the preceding discussion on the tensions and enabling factors in the reuse of former asylums this could be seen. The assertion that in being considered liminal, former asylums were between two fixed states, this thesis considers as being too simplistic. It was not possible to state at which point asylums have a “fixed” image, the tensions and enabling factors both restrained and permitted the new use and the perceptions of those involved were conflicting and multiple both within the stakeholders as a group and across the groups. It could be suggested that their reuse “fixes” them as they are considered heritage and heritage is seen to try to fix buildings and places in time (Edensor, 2005) as this study has shown however, the treatment of the history of these sites was also not straightforward or fixed either. Their converted use, whilst having a fixed purpose of residential accommodation did not negate the myriad personal views and perceptions of these places; their meanings were still fluid and they continued to mean different things for different people.

Whilst Moons *et al.* (2014) have stated that their converted use restricts the memorialisation of these former asylums, Stromberg (2012) in his discussion of the reuse of military bunkers argued that reuse may actually prevent demolition and therefore becomes in itself a form of preservation. Many former asylum buildings have been demolished and therefore arguably their reuse as residential accommodation is better than their demolition and complete removal which would prevent any form of interaction or engagement with their past history. The ability to reuse formally difficult places results from having gained enough time and historical distance from the events for which they are known (Stromberg, 2012). Equally, this time distance enabled a revalorisation process to occur. Otero-Pailos *et al.* (2010:81) argued that the “values behind conservation decisions come from wider currents in society, and are subject to shifts as different priorities arise over time”. The time span allowed the stakeholder groups to engage in different processes of valorisation as changes in society’s perception of mental health and heritage change. This explanation serves to link the foregoing discussion of asylums as liminal places with the final concept and connection between the themes in this thesis: that of time.

Stromberg's (2012) assertion that reuse of places with challenging histories is the result of enough time passing relates to Virilio's (1994) work on the Atlantic Wall bunkers where he argued that people who had lived alongside the Atlantic Wall did not see them as archaeological moments, for them they were "not yet archaeological" (Virilio, 1994:13). It was "a question of time- time must pass before we are able to consider anew these military monuments" (Virilio, 1994:14). Difficult or challenging, dark places such as former military bunkers and asylums require a certain amount of time to pass before they can be considered safe enough to be perceived in other ways. As Lynch (1972:42) argued the "remote past is different since it does not threaten the present". Former asylums have become more remote in time and through their obsolescence become "between two fixed states" (Thomassen, 2012) and therefore could be argued to be in a liminal position; a period of fluidity in their meanings. This is supported by Cairns and Jacobs (2014:103) who argued that "an obsolescent building is in place but out of time"; during their period of emptiness, former asylums are therefore seen as timeless. However, as outlined above this was, in the case of former asylums, too simplistic an analysis as Cairns and Jacobs (2014) argued that an obsolescent building loses its value. This thesis has shown through its reimagining of Rubbish Theory, that former asylums were valued by different people in different ways, they did not simply lose their value but that these different values ascribed by different people were stronger or more visible at particular times and that the perception of one value, say aesthetic, then led to the rise in other values such as economic.

Parkes and Thrift (1980:113) argued that "the process of "place-making" depends heavily on the collocation of spatial and temporal elements and in particular the "right" experiential time elements will be important". In the reuse of the three historic former asylums under consideration in this study, time enabled or created a particular set of circumstances that permitted the three sites to be perceived both as heritage but also to be reused without the usual tensions (Emerick, 2016; Kalman, 2014) through the acceptable level of stigma associated with their past use. What was also particularly interesting for these three sites was that, with the exception of the residential conversion of St Mary's, the three developments, to a greater or lesser extent also made reference to their former history. The question of whether the time between closure and conversion affected the remembrance of the history or whether this was solely related to the developer and their perceptions was not something that

this study can conclude, however it would be an interesting area for further exploration. For each of the three sites under consideration there could be argued to be a particular set of circumstances that allowed for some remembrance of history, their conversion and yet appreciation as heritage, including the formation of new attachments that are all present simultaneously.

The existence of this combination of circumstances was a result of the moment in time at which these sites were being redeveloped, this thesis would suggest. Parkes and Thrift (1980:389) stated that “the townscape is replete with sign posts to the past and may point to the future. In both directions they initiate an image, the clarity of which depends on the context of the present”. As this chapter has discussed, former asylums did not have one “fixed” image held by all and this was the result of the different perceptions of the different stakeholders at this particular point in time under study. Lynch (1972:126) argued that “multiple streams of collective memories must be brought into some common framework to allow coordinated social action. These arise out of common ways of marking and structuring time, common histories and myths”. This thesis would argue that there are still no completely “common” images of former asylums. As this thesis has demonstrated, there were multiple images and perceptions of these places and these perceptions were often contradictory to the practices and perceptions that are expected of a particular stakeholder group.

7.4 Combining the enabling factors and the tensions in reuse

Whilst Rubbish Theory (as outlined in Chapter 2) does not have any explanatory power itself, it did enable the perceptions of the stakeholder groups across the themes identified within this research to be examined and herein lies the explanatory power of this study. Employing analytic generalisation which Yin (2013) argued is an appropriate method for generalising findings from a case study or studies, it is possible to present the “how and why the studied events occurred” (Yin, 2013:326) for each of the three sites investigated and former historic asylum sites more widely. The Changes in theme diagram (Appendix F) and the Explanation of themes table (Appendix G) seek to achieve this analytic generalisation and demonstrate how the different aspects considered in this research (values, attachments, stigmas and perceptions) interacted and changed across the periods of time identified in the adapted Rubbish Theory adopted (Chapter 2).

The diagram in Appendix F shows a simplified version of the change in each of the themes and values identified in this study across time and the table in Appendix G details more precisely what happens within each stage of adapted Rubbish Theory with each of the stakeholder groups. It particularly identifies when the enabling factors and tensions began to merge and enabled the reuse of these sites. As the use of the buildings declined and moved from the Transient to Rubbish categories, most of the values identified declined but then as the buildings started to be considered aesthetically or architecturally important, these began to rise again. The table also demonstrates the persistence of both stigma and attachments in respect of these sites and how at no point did either one of these become strong enough to prevent the conversion of these sites as discussed in the first part of this chapter.

Using these two diagrams it was possible to identify the key dynamics, timings and relationships across the three sites and to generalise more widely to other asylum site as Yin (2013) suggested can be done with exploratory research. The diagram and table show the interrelation between the enabling factors and tensions particularly in the latter stages of the timeframe as investigated in this research. The key timings in this process were during the Transient (use declining), Rubbish (building empty) and then Transient (object becoming visible) stages (Appendix G). The key dynamic that led eventually to the conversion of these sites started towards the end of the first Transient stage and continued during the Rubbish stage as aesthetic value began to be ascribed to the sites, first by heritage professionals and then later by members of the public. During this stage, age value increased as the buildings continued to age and the buildings' historical value also rose, although more slowly than aesthetic value due to the persisting stigma and connotations of their past.

The former history and perceptions of stigma were challenging and, as this thesis has demonstrated, former asylum sites are unlike other historic buildings such as stately homes because of this. During the Rubbish phase of the timeline, this stigma, whilst still present, began to be overtaken by the stigma of other decay as the buildings fell into disrepair. This occurred at the same time as the aesthetic and age values were rising and gained importance or significance (in heritage terms) and valuing these buildings and sites as aesthetically beautiful and old took place (as shown in the diagram in Appendix F). This in turn led to the key relationship between

aesthetic, age and economic values as described in this research. The Changes in themes diagram shows the economic value declining through the Transient and into the Rubbish phase. This represents the decline in economic value perceived for these sites at the point up to and during their closure and period of lying empty. Once economic value was perceived and redeveloping these sites became viable, economic value therefore increased. The connection between aesthetic and economic values can be seen; as aesthetic value began to rise, after a short time lag (the length of which would require further research), so economic value began to rise until historic former asylum sites moved once more into the Durable category as they are converted into their new use as residential accommodation.

These connections between value types and the changes within them required the perceptions of the different stakeholders towards these sites to also change. The Explanation of themes table in Appendix G demonstrates how and when this happened. As Thompson (1979) stated, it requires someone to decide something is valuable for something, and this could be seen as the heritage professionals began to consider former asylums as being significant in heritage terms during the Transient and Rubbish stages (Appendix G). At this time, former staff members perceived them as having historical value and their attachments were still present however the stigma of the former use persisted at too great a strength to enable the reuse. Through the Rubbish Stage, other stakeholders such as planners started to perceive these sites as having historical and heritage values and now, in their empty phase, they also began to recognise the issue of these buildings lying empty and the stigma of decay started to appear. As these elements combined, developers recognised the market or economic value in redeveloping these sites and the demand for historic properties from potential purchasers. For each individual asylum site these patterns of events are likely to have taken place at a different pace depending on factors such as location (for example many London sites were redeveloped much quicker than those outside London, likely due to the different property markets as outlined in Chapter 3). However, the key interactions between factors that caused both tension but also enable the redevelopment of these sites can be seen.

Although this study only focused on the latter part of the lifespan of these sites, and therefore can only explore the attachments of those staff who worked there in the later years, their attachments have been shown (Chapter 5) to continue through the

closure and reuse of the sites. The attachments held by the staff therefore only reduce as these staff age and their numbers decline (Appendix F). However, at no stage during the lifespan did these attachments turn into place-protective action (Devine- Wright, 2014; 2009) to preserve these sites as heritage sites; as the table in Appendix G demonstrates, these attachments were balanced with the desire for the reuse of these sites, particularly during or stemming from the Rubbish stage where the condition of the sites whilst they are empty and decaying caused concern for the former staff, members of the public and planning professionals. The attachments of former members of staff to these sites was a constant over the latter part of the history of these sites as this study has shown. Such attachments are also something different for historic former asylum sites to other types of heritage building (such as stately homes) as staff are still alive who spent long periods of their lives working within these institutions that most people did not experience. Further research would be needed to see whether these attachments by former staff members are present in other heritage buildings, particular other medical sites.

These two figures (Appendices F and G), combined with the earlier discussion in this chapter showed the change over a lifespan of a building (although here considered from their point of conversion rather than the whole lifespan) in terms of the values, perceptions, stigmas and attachments that were identified in these sites. In viewing these changes over time, combined with the perceptions that each of the different stakeholder groups held towards each other and the process of redevelopment, the lifespan of historic former asylums can start to be viewed. For former historic asylum sites, the history of the sites (and the associated stigmas, perceptions and values) have directly influenced the reuse process, although in a manner different to other types of heritage buildings as this thesis has detailed. This history, plus its associated connotations, was an integral part of that process and one with consequences for the conversions of these sites. This is likely to be true of any historic or heritage building; its history will affect and influence the reuse and redevelopment process, whether positively or negatively. Considering the history of a building or site that is designated as heritage is usual as part of the planning process, however tracing the different interactions of people and processes during that history is not. In viewing historic buildings and sites across their history of lifespan, or in expanding the timeframe considered would enable these different values through time and each stakeholder group to be explored within the conversion and redevelopment process. As a result,

this would firstly provide the opportunity to open up perceptions of different stakeholders involved and remove misconceptions or stereotyped views (such as expecting local people to react in a particular way towards the sites as shown by O2). Secondly, it would allow the whole history of a place to be reviewed which could lead to different interpretations of that history rather than the narrow or one-sided interpretations that were common such as former asylums as purely stigmatised places and this is something that needs additional research (see Chapter 8).

As this thesis has demonstrated, different groups of people at different stages in the life of a building, perceived different values, stigmas and attachments and held different perceptions of these places and the process of their reuse. In the case of former asylums, the combination of these at a particular time resulted in an acceptable level of stigma and a perception of heritage value (aesthetic and age) which combined and enabled their conversion to a new use. Unlike other heritage buildings where fierce battles are fought over whether or not to protect that building (Lynch, 1972) this did not appear to be the case for former asylum sites and they have been reused and redeveloped to enable the buildings to continue to exist.

7.5 Summary

This chapter explored the three themes of attachment and stigma, values and perceptions concerned with the redevelopment of the three former asylum sites in more depth. Section 7.2 examined the sources of tension in this reuse process and argued that across all of the themes discussed, the picture is complicated and inconsistent both within the themes, the stakeholder groups and within the stakeholder groups themselves. This section highlighted that there was no consistent view of whether or not a stigma existed and therefore whether or not this hindered the redevelopment in any way. Given that the buildings were reused, it was concluded that there was no overall detrimental effect of the previous history on the present and future history of the sites, something contrary to what has been suggested by existing literature (Gittins, 1998; Moons *et al.* 2015). This section also outlined the surprising finding that several of the professional stakeholders expressed attachment to the sites and raised the question of whether professionals are therefore totally objective as the professionals in this research argued. This was concluded as being impossible as past experiences, social and cultural

circumstances were all seen to influence people's decision making (Beach and Connolly, 2005; Goffman, 1974; Wenger, 1998).

Section 7.3 examined the factors that enabled the reuse of these three sites and highlighted the connections of these enabling factors to the factors causing tension within the reuse process. The potential stigma and past history were again explored and the aesthetic and age value of the sites also discussed as these were concluded to override any possible negative connotations from the past; the buildings were "reappraised as heritage" (Franklin, 2002) by all the stakeholders excluding the former staff members who had much more personal connections to the sites. This section raised the issue of a different type of stigma, that of dereliction and decay, being applied to these three sites and, together with the age and aesthetic values, this overtook the previous connotations of the three sites, refocusing the discussion around empty, decaying buildings causing upset in local communities.

Section 7.4 emphasised the key dynamics, timings and relationships between the enabling factors, tensions and insights presented in this research. It demonstrated the change in values and perceptions of both the sites and stakeholder groups over the different time periods of adapted Rubbish Theory. In doing so, it concluded that the key moments for the reuse of historic former asylum sites occurred between the Transient (towards the end of this phase) – Rubbish- Transient stages. During these phases the aesthetic and age value of the sites began to be detected and ascribed to the sites which in turn lead to the perceived economic value in developing and owning the properties within the conversions. At the same time, as the sites closed and became empty and decaying, the stigma of the condition of these sites whilst empty began to rise and cause the different stakeholder groups of the planners and former staff members particular concern. Whilst the stigma of the former history persisted, these other stigmas began to override the historical connotations of the sites and this, combined with their appreciation as architectural or aesthetically pleasing sites enabled both an acceptable level of stigma to be present but also the desire to see something happen with the sites, ultimately leading to their conversion without any protests to save or protect the sites.

The chapter presented historic former asylums as sites of contradiction and complexity. Multiple processes of valorisation took place at multiple times in their

lifecycle. This, combined with the attachments, stigmas, and perceptions created a unique set of circumstances for this particular type of building which was different from other types of heritage buildings because of the former history of asylums. For the three sites under consideration in this thesis, time therefore affected all of the different themes identified in the data with the exception of the attachments of former staff members which persisted, only to be diminished with the number of former staff members remaining alive. It permitted the decline in perceptions of stigma and replaced it with other concerns over decay and waste; enabled the rise of age and aesthetic, the heritage values which subsequently became linked to economic value which resulted in the conversion of these sites.

The final chapter in this thesis will draw conclusions from this research, discuss the limitations of this research and highlight recommendations for future research in this area.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

This research set out to explore the interactions between place attachments, stigmas, stakeholder perceptions and the types of value involved in the reuse of historic former asylum sites. It chose for its focus three former asylum sites, all of which were in the process of being converted into residential use. It examined the conversion of St Mary's and St George's in Northumberland and Lancaster Moor in Lancaster. Within the context of each of the three research sites, different stakeholder groups were interviewed or surveyed. These groups were as follows: former staff members, owners (where identifiable), developers, planners, heritage professionals and members of the general public within the local area. A small number of new residents of other converted asylum sites were also surveyed.

The history of the three sites was examined in Chapter 1, together with a background history of asylum sites and the processes involved in their decline and reuse. Chapter 2 explored the wider context of this research arguing that there is limited research in the area of property development and the historic built environment and as a consequence, examined the different areas of literature and existing research around this. Chapter 3 detailed the methodology employed in this research, explaining how the data was collected and analysed. The three subsequent chapters investigated the data and the resulting findings. Chapter 4 examined the different taxonomies of value that the stakeholders identified in respect of historic former asylums and explored how these values changed and affected the reuse and redevelopment of the three former asylum sites. Chapter 5 investigated the attachments, both personal and professional, to these sites as well as the stigmas associated with the sites while Chapter 6 looked at the perceptions of the stakeholder groups in respect of themselves, others involved in the process and the process of reuse and redevelopment itself. The insights from these three chapters were brought together in Chapter 7 and the factors that enabled and restricted the reuse of historic former asylum sites were discussed.

This chapter concludes the thesis by bringing together the key findings from this research. To do this, it is divided into three sections; a reflection on the aims and objectives and how these were achieved, an exploration of the limitations of the study and recommendations for further research.

8.1 Reflections on Aims and Objections

This project sought to explore the factors affecting the reuse of historic former asylum sites by examining the attitudes of stakeholders involved; the values they ascribed to the sites, the effect of any attachments or stigmas perceived and their perceptions of each other in the process. To do this it used interviews with the different stakeholder groups involved in the reuse of three historic former asylum sites to address the aims and objectives (Table 8.1). These stakeholders were the owners, developers, planners, heritage professionals and former members of staff connected to the three sites and their conversion. It then used questionnaires with the general public in the locations of two of the three sites (for justification of the two sites see Chapter 3) to assess how the public felt about historic buildings more widely and the reuse of the former asylum site in their locality. Finally it surveyed a small number of new residents in already converted former asylum sites to investigate their reasons for purchasing their properties and their reactions to the history of their properties.

As outlined in Chapter 3, this research sought to take an inductive-deductive, or abductive approach seeking to move between the data gathered and theories examined. Through the data analysis process a predominantly inductive process was actually adopted as the insights gained through the data (as presented in the preceding chapters) became key to the aims and objectives of the research. The originality and contribution to knowledge provided by this research comes from the interaction with the key stakeholder groups in the process of redevelopment and therefore a predominantly inductive approach to that data was essential. The explanatory power (as outlined in previous chapters) came from the insights gained from the data in this study through the stakeholders' perceptions of each of the key themes examined.

Table 8.1 outlines each of the aims and objectives that were identified in Chapter 1 together with where in the thesis they are explored. A summary of them is then presented.

Table 8.1: Aims and objectives of this study and the location of their discussion in the thesis.

Aim 1	To investigate how the interplay between place attachments, stigmas, stakeholder perceptions and the concept of “value” affects the reuse of historic former asylum sites.	Section number where addressed
1.1	Explore how the asylum building fell out of use and the processes involved in their reuse	1.1; 2.1
1.2	Investigate the factors that aid or hinder the reuse of historic asylum sites and any connections between these factors	2.1; 7.1; 7.2; 7.3
1.3	Examine if a tension between heritage preservation and property development exists in the reuse of historic former asylum sites	2.1; 7.2; 7.3

Aim 2	To critically examine the different taxonomies of value identified by the different stakeholder groups and how these affect the reuse of historic former asylums.	Section number where addressed
2.1	Establish the types of value associated with historic former asylums	2.3; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3
2.2	Explore how the different types of values change during the recent history of historic former asylums	4.1; 4.4
2.3	Evaluate whether there are any connections between the different taxonomies of value and whether this affects the reuse process	2.4; 4.1; 4.3; 4.4
2.4	Examine the different concepts of value and their impact on the reuse process	2.5; 4.1; 4.2

Aim 3	To explore the roles of place attachments and stigmas in the reuse of historic former asylums.	Section number where addressed
3.1	Evaluate and define the concept of “place attachment” and determine its role in the redevelopment process	2.6; 5.1; 5.2

3.2	Define the concept of “stigma” and determine its role in the redevelopment process	2.7; 2.8
3.3	Explore the perceptions of former asylums before, during and after the redevelopment. How is their past, present and future (re) negotiated or (re) constructed?	2.1; 4.2; 5.2; 5.4; 5.5
3.4	Examine whether the past history of the site has to “die” before a new use can be put in its place.	2.1 5.3; 5.4; 5.5

Aim 4	To investigate how the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved in the redevelopment of historic former asylums affect their reuse.	Section number where addressed
4.1	Evaluate the perceptions of the stakeholders with respect to each other and the role this plays in the redevelopment	2.2; 6.1; 6.2; 6.3
4.2	Explore the perceptions of the stakeholders with respect to their own roles in the redevelopment process	2.2; 6.1; 6.2
4.3	Evaluate the roles of professional and personal identity for the professional stakeholders within the context of the redevelopment and the bearing this has on the process.	2.2; 6.3

Aim 1:

To investigate how the interplay between place attachments, stigmas, stakeholder perceptions and the concept of “value” affects the reuse of historic former asylum sites.

Aim 1 brought together aims 2, 3 and 4 to identify how all the concepts explored in this thesis affected the process and outcome of the reuse of historic former asylums. Chapter 1 introduced the history of asylums, together with their closure and subsequent conversion with Chapter 2 exploring each of the individual parts of aim 1 in more depth through an analysis of the existing literature. Chapter 4 studied the findings from this study in respect of the different taxonomies of value and this will be summarised in more detail in aim 2 below. Chapter 5 investigated place attachment and the stigmas associated with former asylums, reviewed in more depth in the section on aim 3 below and Chapter 6 discussed the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved and will be examined in aim 4. Chapter 7 brought the inferences

from the three preceding chapters together and is key in answering aim 1 which will now be explored.

Chapter 7 examined the interplay between the themes of this thesis presented the values applied by the stakeholder groups with the attachments, stigmas and perceptions of the stakeholders using this thesis' adaptation of Rubbish Theory. The chapter then looked at the interplay between these concepts through whether they helped to enable the reuse and redevelopment or whether they created tension in the reuse process. As argued in Chapter 7, the reuse of the three historic former asylum sites was complicated, and no one, clear picture emerged across the stakeholder groups or three sites; the factors that enabled the reuse process to occur were equally those same factors that created the tension in that process.

As argued in Chapters 5 and 7, an “acceptable level of stigma” provided both a tension in the reuse process and created the circumstances that enabled reuse to occur. The existence of a stigma of the former use of historic asylums has been stated as a barrier to redevelopment (Moons *et al.* 2015) and yet historic former asylums have also become perceived as heritage buildings (Franklin, 2002; Weiner, 2004), something which enabled this stigma to be overlooked. This thesis contended that whilst it was the case that they have been reappraised as heritage (Franklin, 2002) as their age and aesthetic values outweighed both the historical value and the perceived stigma, there was disagreement over the persistence of that stigma, it had not been completely eradicated. It was also argued within the existing literature that the stigma caused the history of the sites to be forgotten or overlooked during their conversion and subsequent reuse (Franklin, 2002; Moons *et al.* 2015). This thesis demonstrated through Chapters 5 and 7 that the picture was again more complicated than this. Having interviewed developers, the stakeholder group usually charged with forgetting or removing the history of the sites (Moons *et al.* 2015, Gittins, 1998), it became clear that this was not necessarily the case with two of the three developers making some use of the past history in their redevelopments (see Chapter 5). Equally, several of the professionals expressed attachment and a sense of responsibility towards their particular site, demonstrating that they did not necessarily ignore or reject the history of the sites they work on, even in the situations where that history was challenging. By interviewing these stakeholders, an approach not previously adopted by researchers, this thesis has shown that there were tensions in

the reuse process. These tensions related to the previous history of the asylums and the resulting stigma and yet former asylums have been reappraised as heritage sites but this was a complicated picture.

A further factor that this thesis has shown which aided the reuse process was that of the existence of other stigmas (other than their use as asylums) surrounding the three sites, namely the stigma of empty, decaying buildings. The condition of the three sites, post-closure and pre-conversion caused concern to both the professional and public stakeholders with all stakeholder groups expressing the view that something needed to be done with them. As Chapter 7 outlined, the perceptions around the condition of the buildings, became concerning or upsetting and created a stigma in itself. Together with the reduction in the stigma associated with the history of the sites to an “acceptable level of stigma” and the focus on age and aesthetic values which in turn were perceived by the developers and new residents to add to the market value of the sites, this created a specific set of circumstances which enabled the three sites to be reused without protest over the use or a desire to preserve the buildings as heritage sites.

The interplay between place attachments, stigmas, values and the perceptions of stakeholders connected with the reuse process of historic former asylums presented a picture of contradiction and provided challenges to the existing literature in all these areas. The sites have been, or were in the process of being, converted and therefore any stigma did not prevent their reuse but neither did the attachments that are present create place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2014). They were perceived as heritage sites by the heritage professionals and different types of value existed alongside each other and were connected as shown in Chapter 4. As this study has not examined other types of heritage buildings it was therefore not possible to generalise the findings to other types of heritage building. However it was clear that for the three historic former asylum sites investigated in this study, there were a particular set of circumstances that apply to all three sites which enabled them to be reused and redeveloped.

Aim 2:

To critically examine the different taxonomies of value identified by the different stakeholder groups and how these affect the reuse of historic former asylums.

The second aim of the research sought to investigate the different conceptions of value that the groups of stakeholders identified with historic former asylum sites and the how these effected the reuse process. Chapter 1 detailed the history of asylums and their changes in fortune, introducing the start and middle of the lifespan of now former asylum sites. Chapter 4 took this background, combined with the different concepts of value and the adaptation of Rubbish Theory (Thompson, 1979) identified in Chapter 2 to provide the insights explored in the data from this study. Four types of value were identified through the data: age, historic, aesthetic and economic value and these were charted across the different stakeholder groups to assess how each value was ascribed and affected the reuse and redevelopment of the sites through the adaptation of Rubbish Theory adopted.

Chapter 4 showed how the four values identified through the data changed over time and were affected by one another. It also explored how each of the types of value were found and employed by the different stakeholder groups. All of the stakeholder groups highlighted the aesthetic qualities and resulting aesthetic value of the three sites, predominantly in a positive manner, focusing on the architecture of the buildings. Some negative aspects of the architecture were raised, by the former staff in terms of the contradiction of the exterior with the interior spaces (Chapter 4) but also by both the former staff and one of the heritage professionals (HP2) who felt that the exterior had the negative connotations built into the architecture itself. The developers, planners and owners focused on the positive aesthetic qualities of the three sites and for the developers in particular, these aesthetic values were seen as being an attractive quality for potential purchasers; for the heritage professionals the aesthetic value was an important part of the reason to consider former asylums as heritage.

Age and historical value were also identified and ascribed to the three sites by the stakeholder groups although (as argued in Chapter 4), whilst these were connected, there were differences between them, as Mason (2008) has discussed (outlined in Chapter 2). Historic value related to the past history although, as stated in Chapter 4, the past connotations gave way over time so that the building was considered as having a history, a “time depth” rather than being valued for its specific history. This was highlighted in Chapter 7 which stated that over time, the historical value was

focussed on less than aesthetic or age value. Age value was related to the fact that the buildings were considered old, and therefore were valued because of this. This valorisation of the three sites through their age, aesthetics and, to a lesser extent, their historic value were also connected to the economic value of the site. As outlined in Chapter 7, as the valorisation of the sites in terms of aesthetic and age value occurred, this was linked to a rise in the perception of their economic value. The attribution of age and aesthetic value to the sites by heritage professionals and planners, combined with the declining stigma and changes in the perceptions of mental health outlined in Chapters 5 and 7, enabled other stakeholders to perceive and desire these qualities. Heritage has become increasingly important for people, even an “obsession” (Cowell, 2008) and historic properties become fashionable (Millington, 2000) thus commanding higher prices as the supply is limited. Consequently, as Franklin (2002) and Weiner (2004) argued, the sites become reappraised over time as they move from being valued for their original use, become empty and lose economic value. They then become revalorised for their age, aesthetics and history which results in their economic value rising, conversion taking place and a large demand for the converted properties being in high demand.

Time therefore played a key role in the change in types of values as well as in respect of the stigmas and place attachments associated with former asylums as will be explored in aim 3 below. The different stakeholder groups had different lengths of involvement with the former asylum sites with the professional stakeholders (as identified by this study- see Chapter 1 for a definition) consequently only being involved during the conversion process. The nature of their role also determined which values they ascribed to the sites and why, with professionals such as the heritage professionals trained to perceive age, aesthetic and historical value and the owners and property developers being trained through their professional role to perceive economic value, although this was created through the perception also of the aesthetic and age values of the sites for the reasons outlined above. The valorisation of the sites was affected by wider social trends, such as the rise in the appreciation of heritage (for example, Cowell, 2008) and the changing attitudes to mental health (for example, TNS, 2015). The sites were also influenced by the attachments and stigmas that were present and it is to this aim, aim 3 that this chapter now turns.

Aim 3:

To explore the roles of place attachments and stigmas in the reuse of historic former asylums.

The third aim of the thesis was to explore both the possible place attachments to the three former asylum sites and the possible existence of any stigmas relating to their past history. The history of asylums was discussed in Chapter 1 which detailed their conception, rise in numbers and subsequent issues and controversies. It also outlined their decline, closure and the resulting trends in conversion of these sites into residential accommodation. Chapter 2 then explored the limited existing literature that examined the reuse of these sites, highlighting the assertion by Moons *et al.* (2015) that the reputation of former asylums negatively affected their reuse. The findings from the stakeholder interviews and questionnaires were then presented in Chapter 5.

The insights presented in Chapter 5 showed a complicated picture in terms of both attachments and stigmas; there were multiple forms of attachment and stigma present at the three sites. Former staff members displayed significant attachment to the three sites. This was also the case among several of the professional stakeholders who expressed either attachment or a sense of responsibility towards the sites they were working on. Attachment to place has previously been theorised as being influenced by the length of time spent in a place (Guilliani, 2003; Shamai and Illatov, 2005) with the longer someone spends in one particular place, the more likely they are to be attached. This could be attributed as the reason for the attachments felt by the former staff members as they had spent a large part of their career, if not all of it, living and working in or near their particular asylum site. This long period of time and living and working with other colleagues on site created a sense of community (Altman and Low, 1992), intensified with the inability to discuss their work with those outside the hospitals (LM3). The attachments felt by the former staff members corresponded with existing literature on place attachment although it did add to this literature by examining attachment to a place that has been perceived as being negative.

The professionals who expressed attachment or a sense of responsibility had not spent as long a period of time working with these sites as the former staff members

and therefore these findings were particularly interesting as they contradicted existing place attachment literature in terms of why place attachment happens and the reasons for this. This finding had not been anticipated at the start of this study and emerged through the analysis of the interview data and was therefore an area for further research (as discussed in Section 8.3) below. It was however an important finding as it challenged the existing literature and highlighted the complex nature of attachment. It also connected to the fourth aim of this study as it cast doubt on the ability of professionals to be purely objective in their approach to their roles which will be discussed in more detail below.

As with the different attachments explored in Chapter 5, the picture was equally complicated with respect to the question of whether a stigma existed or persisted with historic former asylums as suggested by the literature (Joseph *et al.*, 2013; Kearns *et al.* 2012; Moons *et al.* 2015). To the question of whether one did exist, the findings were inconsistent across each of the stakeholder groups, there was no consistent opinion held by each group and neither was there a consistent opinion held by all those involved in the study. Former staff members felt that whilst attitudes to mental health had improved and this had helped the image of former asylums but that an unease with the former history remained. The professional stakeholders were equally unable to conclude decisively; the planners arguing that other people felt there was a stigma (P3) and the developers and owners both arguing there was no stigma and yet suggesting that there was at the same time. The heritage professionals also found the former history challenging because of their personal feelings towards the sites (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Chapter 5 also demonstrated that there were other stigmas (than the connotations of the original use of asylums) present in the recent history of historic former asylums; those relating to the period in which they were empty and unused. The condition of the buildings post closure and pre-development was highlighted by all the stakeholder groups as something of concern. Vacant buildings have been considered problematic and possessing a stigma (Portas, 2011; Wassenberg, 2004) because of the decay attributed to them. They were seen as a waste or a sign of failure both of which made people uncomfortable (Lynch, 1990). The condition of the sites resulted in all of the stakeholders expressing the need for something to be done with the buildings with the planners, developers and heritage professionals feeling like they

were able to make that happen. The question of whether the decaying condition could amount to a stigma rather than a negative image was raised however this thesis concludes that it was something that was seen as “discrediting” (Goffman, 1963) to the area and therefore could be taken as being a stigma and not just a negative image.

Aim 3 sought to explore place attachments and stigmas but also the role which these played in the reuse and redevelopment of the historic former asylum sites. This was addressed in Chapter 7. This chapter followed on from Chapter 5 in arguing that an acceptable level of stigma existed; neither the stigmas present, nor the attachments prevented the sites from being reused (Chapter 5). There was no place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2014) in terms of action to save or protect the building as a heritage site this thesis would argue that this was a result of the former history, as suggested in the literature (for example in Moons *et al.* 2015). Their history and the resulting connotations did not prevent the reuse but contrary to the existing literature which suggested the history is covered up or ignored by developers, some developers incorporated elements of this history into the new sites. As with the changes in value over time, the history, attachments and stigmas resulted in a particular set of circumstances for historic former asylums. Given that the study only examined historic former asylums it was not possible to definitively conclude that these specific circumstances only apply to former asylums as the reuse of other historic building types were not explored. To do so would require the investigation of different types of historic buildings (which is addressed further in section 8.3). However, this thesis would suggest that other types of historic building are perceived more easily as heritage than former asylums and therefore are easier or more comfortable for people to argue that they should be protected. This however is an area that needs further study. The final part of this set of circumstances investigated in this thesis is that of the perceptions of the stakeholders in the process, and it is to this final aim that addresses this to which this chapter now turns.

Aim 4:

To investigate how the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved in the redevelopment of historic former asylums affect their reuse.

The final aim of the thesis was to assess the role of the different perceptions held by the different stakeholders, individually and as groups of stakeholders towards each other within the process of redevelopment and to ascertain the effect of these perceptions on the reuse process. Chapter 2 outlined the limited literature surrounding perceptions in the process of historic building reuse and focused on other literature that explores how and why people perceive situations from a particular standpoint (Fish, 1980; Wenger, 1998). Chapter 5 explored the stakeholders' perceptions in relation to the history of the three sites and has been examined in Aim 3 above. Chapter 6 discussed how each of the different groups of stakeholders in this study saw each other in the process and themselves and their particular role. It also examined the role of "expert" and "non-expert" in how the stakeholder groups perceived each other and this fed into how the professionals viewed themselves as objective, with the members of the public being viewed as subjective in their views of the reuse and redevelopment process.

All of the professional stakeholders viewed themselves as "experts" with their expertise having developed over time with their experience (Lavé and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Each of their particular area of expertise had their specific practices whether that be providing advice on the nature of the historic buildings (HP2) or educating the public about a particular development (P3). Whilst the public was seen as having interesting and useful knowledge, they were not seen to possess the necessary skills for making decisions on the reuse of the buildings. The public did not have the experience, practice and processes that each of the groups of professionals felt they possessed and this determined the way the professionals viewed the three sites. It also prevented the public from being seen by the professionals as being objective. As outlined in Chapter 6, Rorty (1991) suggested that being objective is about processes or procedures, something which all the professions involved in this study followed, according to their particular role.

Chapter 6 also explored the views of the stakeholders in respect of each other. The owners adopted the view that the public were likely to be emotional and therefore non-rational, a view shared by the other professionals whereas the professionals viewed themselves as being rational, non-emotional and objective. The ability for the professionals to be rational was however challenged through the views expressed by the owners in respect of how they felt people viewed former asylums when compared

to mills (as somewhere that had an easier history to deal with (Chapter 6)). This exposed the expectation by some of the professionals (O1; O2; HP2) that the public would or should behave in a certain way which was refuted through the public and resident questionnaire data. The questionnaires showed that the public felt these sites should be remembered and that those buying the converted properties were not necessarily put off doing so by the history of the sites. The inferences in Chapter 6 therefore demonstrated that the process of redevelopment, particularly involving historic buildings is often conducted on the basis of assumptions or stereotypes which may be incorrect.

Chapter 7 addressed how the perceptions of the stakeholders outlined above and in Chapter 6 affected the reuse process. To do this, it brought together the inferences from all three findings chapters and in doing so argued that the findings from Chapter 5, highlighting the attachments and sense of responsibility felt by some of the professionals demonstrated how it was difficult to separate the personal from the professional and therefore be completely objective in their particular role. Equally the responses to the history of the sites exhibited by the heritage professionals in particular demonstrated that whilst their professional processes deemed the buildings to be heritage, personally the history was more uncomfortable for some. It was argued in Chapter 7 that it was difficult to separate personal from professional opinion and it was difficult to measure this or estimate where they boundary lay between the two. However, and this is an area for further study (see section 8.3), whether the sites were viewed positively or negatively by any of the professionals was likely to have a bearing on how they reacted to it and consequently how they dealt with it professionally.

8.2 Limitations

The above section has reflected on the aims and objectives of this study and how the thesis responded to these. There were however alternative ways of conducting this study and therefore limitations must be addressed which this section will now do. The methodology employed in this research sought to address the aims and objectives outlined in Table 8.1. Interviews with the stakeholder groups were conducted to investigate in depth their attitudes to historic former asylum sites and the redevelopments that they were involved in, or the sites in which they had worked in

the case of the former staff members. Questionnaires were conducted with members of the public in the locations of two sites, Morpeth and Lancaster. They were not conducted in the local area of St Mary's as this was located outside a very small village and therefore was unlikely to obtain a large enough sample of respondents (see Chapter 3). A limited number of questionnaires were completed by new residents of converted former asylum sites. This limited number of questionnaires to residents is one limitation with this study. As only a small number of residents from two sites responded to the questionnaires, it was difficult therefore to conclude how new residents felt about their converted properties. The data from this study demonstrated that they did not appear put off by the past history of the sites and that they predominantly bought their properties because of their historic nature although some respondents were former staff members who had worked at the sites.

A second limitation, and something that was addressed in Chapter 3, was that former patients of the three sites were not spoken to as part of this study. The challenges in reaching former patients was outlined in Chapter 3 however it would have benefitted this study to have obtained the views of the former patients in respect of these buildings and their conversion as it would have enabled all the people that were connected to the original use of the sites to have expressed their views on the reuse and therefore given a more detailed picture of the reuse process and people's attitudes and responses to it.

This study could also have analysed both the planning documents and the brochures that accompanied the conversion of the sites. Taking the planning documents first, this would have enabled the examination of the planning submission by the developers, responses by the planning department and consultees together with any letters of support or objection from the local residents. These were examined at the outset of the study, particular for the letters of support and objection to gauge local opinion however there was very limited response on these from the public. Whilst the developer and planning committee submissions could have been analysed, the study did speak to representatives of both these groups to gain their opinion. In examining these documents it would have given a more rounded view of the planning authority through their report and would have enabled more analysis of the presentation of the scheme by the developers to the public domain, something an analysis of the marketing brochures would also have furthered.

Examination of the marketing brochures produced by the development companies for their respective sites would have enabled the analysis of the presentation of the new sites and would have enabled the choice of images, words and presentation employed to be explored. This is an area that could also be studied across a larger sample of sites to investigate the different approaches to the presentation of the converted sites by different development companies. This would further the work from this study and the previous literature in analysing how developers deal with the histories of these sites and how they present the idea of their conversion to people interested in purchasing one of the properties.

In terms of the methods adopted there were possible alternative approaches that were considered or that arose as alternatives through the course of the research. Focus groups could have been used in lieu of semi-structured interviews. This would have enabled, particularly for members of the public, a wider exploration of the issues around former asylums themselves and their redevelopment. Several local groups within both the Morpeth and Lancaster areas were identified however after initial interest, none agreed to participate. This is a recognised issue with focus group work (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999) and people seem reluctant perhaps to participate, something demonstrated by the response rate to the questionnaires where for every questionnaire completed, an average of 2.4 people declined. Using focus groups for the professional interviews would have been more problematic as there were usually only one type of stakeholder within each group. Whilst there were likely to be several people working on the project within say, the development company, it is unlikely they would have all agreed to give their time to be interviewed in a focus group situation as this would be a cost to their business in terms of loss of time. Equally, it would not have been possible to have all the professional stakeholders from each site together as this would have caused potential confidentiality issues and they were unlikely to talk about certain things in front of each other, thereby limiting the data obtained. The methods adopted therefore, were considered to be the best methods for investigating the research aims and objectives of this study.

Through the course of the analysis of the data, inferences were drawn that have been explored in Chapters 4-6. During the analysis process, insights were identified, such as the attachments to these sites felt by some of the professional stakeholders

that were interesting, surprising and which had not been anticipated at the outset of the research. As these reactions had not been anticipated and because they had arisen from the data, the interview questions had not been designed to explore this area. This is therefore an area that should be considered for further research and this, together with other areas for further research, is explored further in the next section.

8.3 Recommendations

As outlined above, this research only explored one building type: historic former asylums. Moons *et al.* (2015) suggested that certain buildings would produce more opposition than others and therefore by only looking at one building type; former asylums, and a building type with particularly strong historic connotations, it is not therefore possible to say whether this would be the case that the findings from this study would be applicable to other types of large, historic buildings and their reuse or redevelopment. This study has therefore shed light on this particular building type however it would also recommend that further research be conducted on other types of historic buildings through the process of their redevelopment and reuse to assess the factors that are applicable to those types of buildings. It would then be possible to explore whether there are findings that are applicable across all types of historic building reuse or whether each former use has their own specific circumstances that are applicable. In doing so, it may be therefore possible to see whether changes or adaptations to policy regarding historic building reuse and redevelopment could or should be made. It would also permit comparisons across different types of historic buildings to be established to ascertain whether there are any commonalities in the reuse of certain types of historic buildings that can be drawn out. In drawing out these comparisons or commonalities further research could be carried out into the demolitions of these sites to ascertain whether they are not well documented within the literature because of their former history and whether other types of historic buildings are documented.

Two further areas for future research that were identified through this study are the relationship between professional and personal identity and professional attachment to places. Chapter 5 outlined that several of the professional stakeholders expressed a sense of responsibility or attachment towards the places they were working with.

As far as this study has been able to ascertain there is limited literature that explores how professionals interact with their work places or places they are responsible for managing except for Bennett (2015:7) which highlighted “the strangely heightened emotional attachment that could arise for ordinarily sober and instrumentalist asset managers”. With the inferences from this study that professionals are able to, and do in certain circumstances, become attached or at a minimum feel some sense of responsibility towards their site, goes against the view that, in the case of property developers, they are a “corruptive force” on the built environment (Cairns and Jacob, 2014). Further research could therefore investigate the existence of professional attachment to the places they are involved with, whether that be historical buildings or non-historical buildings and sites. This could explore in further detail how and why these attachments occur and whether any conclusions can be drawn, adding to knowledge.

The study also raised the question of how long it takes for attachments to form. As well as the professionals expressing attachments after a relatively short time working on these sites, often less than two years, respondents within the public questionnaires expressed attachment to the place in which they lived having only been residents equally for a short period of time, usually less than two years also. Within existing place attachment literature and models (Devine-Wright, 2009; Scannell and Gifford, 2010) time has not been widely focused on other than to suggest that the longer the period of time spent in a place, the more likely one is to become attached to it (Shamai and Illatov, 2005). This study demonstrates that this is not necessarily true and that attachments can form through a relatively short period of time spent in a place. Further study is therefore required to determine how much time is needed for this to occur.

Another area identified was the relationships between personal and professional identity. This study raised questions about whether personal and professional identity could be separated and whether personal identity affects the professional identity and any decisions made professionally (Chapter 6). This thesis adds to the small number of existing studies exploring the nature of personal and professional identity connected with the use of the historic built environment that have been published recently (Bennett, 2015; Craggs *et al.* 2016). It is therefore an under-researched area but this thesis would argue an important one for heritage and real estate studies and

research involving professionals more widely as the professional stakeholders in this research viewed themselves as the objective experts against the subjective public but this was not borne out by the findings of this study. Craggs *et al.* (2016:8) argue that this is important because “as organisations grow and responsibilities, constitutions and demands shift and compete, and political and funding landscapes change”. Equally, it raises the question of how emotion affects expertise, an area which is under-researched yet important for the area of historic building redevelopment and reuse in particular as the reuse of the historic built environment is often an emotional issue (Emerick, 2016; Gibbeson, 2013 unpublished; Kalman, 2014).

This research explored the reuse of historic former asylums buildings and examined the factors involved in that reuse process. This research only explores one type of historic building: former asylums and therefore it is difficult to apply its findings to other types of buildings. Former asylum buildings, as demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 5 can be argued to have particular connotations associated with them that other historic buildings do not, and there are a set of specific conditions that are applicable with the reuse of former asylums that are unlikely to be present in other historic buildings. However, this research firstly advanced knowledge in several areas; place attachment, stigmas attached to place and the relationship between professional and personal opinions in the reuse process which are applicable to the wider historic built environment. Secondly, it has brought two areas of literature together; heritage and the historic built environment and property development which has otherwise been neglected in the literature. The research in this thesis also focused on one type of successor use (Chaplin and Peters, 2003), that of residential, and did not look at other possible types of use for empty historic buildings. Again, whilst this limits the findings to a particular successor use, the process of reuse and redevelopment itself is the same and therefore findings can be considered more widely in that context. Equally, large historic buildings are likely to be only considered as residential or leisure use because of their physical size and the cost to convert them and therefore this is not seen as a significant limitation in this study.

In terms of the approach taken, the study was relatively small and focused on a snapshot in the lifespan of former asylum sites as it only looked at a particular point in their conversion to a new use; the duration of this study. The research therefore

was limited to this particular period in the lifecycle of former asylums. An alternative would have been to carry out a longitudinal study which would have enabled a more detailed study of each of the phases of the lifespan of historic former asylums and therefore a more detailed picture over time could have been established. The redevelopment of large buildings can often take a considerable amount of time from start to finish due to changes in the market and the planning process and the three sites under consideration were empty for a long period. It would therefore have been difficult to follow the process over a longer period of time in this particular research project however it could be something to explore in future research. It is also recommended that in exploring these lifespans of other historic buildings, that the effect of that history or lifespan upon their redevelopment is examined and the consequences for property development and heritage practice can be investigated.

8.4 Final reflections

This research has brought together several concepts to investigate the factors involved in the reuse of historic former asylums. In doing so, it has also examined two areas of research into the built environment, heritage and real estate, that are not usually combined despite both disciplines working with the same built environment. It sought to investigate the factors involved in the reuse of historic former asylums, focusing on place attachments, stigmas, values and stakeholder perceptions. Through the data presented it has achieved its aims and expanded upon an area of research that has been unexplored to date. It has examined the different taxonomies of value applied by the different stakeholder groups over time which shows more fully the process of the valorisation of a historic building and the perceptions of these stakeholders with regards to the sites, themselves and each other. In doing so, it challenges previous research in these areas but also provides new insight into the process of redevelopment and reuse of historic buildings by exploring the different stakeholder groups within that process.

Appendix A. Interview Schedule- site developers

1. Did you know the history of the building and site before you bought it?
2. Why did you decide to buy this site?
3. How did you first approach the site and the redevelopment?
4. What were your first impressions of the site/ building? [Have these changed?]
5. What do you want to achieve for the site?
6. What were the practical considerations for the project?
7. How did you approach the conservation aspects of the development?
[methods/ strategies]
8. How important was the history of the site when you were planning its redevelopment?
9. How did you approach the history of the site?
10. Was there much public interest in the planning application/ redevelopment?
[Why?]
11. What are peoples' reactions to the redevelopment?
12. What do you think about the consultation process for planning applications in the context of historic buildings?
13. Have you had any communication with the local people regarding the redevelopment? [When, why and how?]
14. Have you done other any redevelopments in historic or old buildings?
15. How do they compare with this one?
16. How did [insert site name here] make you feel?
17. What was the atmosphere like?
18. How do you think asylums are perceived and viewed today?
19. Do you think this affects their reuse?
20. How do you think patients felt about the redevelopment?
21. Should those who worked and lived in them have a say in their reuse? Why?
22. Do you think the history of the building should be remembered? How?
23. Would you be happy to live in the building when it is converted?

Appendix B. Questionnaire for the general public



A study of the role and effect of place attachment on the reuse of NAME OF HOSPITAL

This questionnaire forms part of the assessment for the PhD degree at Newcastle University which I am currently undertaking. It focuses on how the public view [NAME OF HOSPITAL], how they engage with these buildings and in turn how this affects the heritage development process.

The data from this questionnaire forms part of a PhD thesis examination and therefore will be seen by academic staff both within and outside Newcastle University. It is also usual with a PhD thesis that articles are produced from the research that takes place and therefore the data from this questionnaire may be used in publications in the future. It is however, completely anonymous and you will not be asked to give your name. [ask them also at this point where they are from i.e. local not tourists]

Questionnaire

1. How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The town in which I live is important to me					
I feel that I belong in my town					
I am proud of where I live					
I feel part of a community where I live					
I am interested in the history of my town					
I care about what my town looks like					
Buildings are an important part of how I feel about my town					

2. Are there any buildings that you think are distinctive or special to the local area?

Yes/ No

If so, which ones?.....

Why are they distinctive or special?

3. Are there any buildings that you would miss if they were no longer there?

Yes/ No

Which ones?.....

Why?

4. How might you respond if any of these buildings were threatened? (tick all that apply)

- Online petition
- Written petition
- Attend public meetings
- Attend planning meetings
- Make a comment on a planning application
- Demonstrate
- Canvas support door to door

5. Have you ever made representations to the local planning authority on any planning applications that involve historic buildings?

Yes/ No

6. Have you attended any planning meetings involving historic buildings?

Yes/ No

7. Have you attended any public meetings (non-planning) involving historic buildings

Yes/ No

If so which

ones?.....

8. Do you know the history of the NAME OF HOSPITAL?

Yes/ No

9. If yes, can you tell me what it is:

10. Are you aware of the redevelopment?

Yes/ No

11. How do you feel about the building being converted to housing?

12. Should the history of the building be acknowledged in any way?

Yes/ No

Why?

13. Are you male or female?

Male/ Female

14. What is your age range?

16-20	
21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
51-60	
61-70	
71+	

15. How many years have you lived in your current home? (tick which applies)

Less than 1 year	
1-5 years	
6-10 years	
11 + years	

16. Are you a member of any of the following? (please tick all that apply)

National Trust	
English Heritage	
The Victorian Society	
The 20 th Century Society	
The Georgian Society	
Morpeth Antiquarian Society	
Morpeth Civic Trust	
North of England Civic Trust	
Other	
None	

Any other comments:

Appendix C. Questionnaire for new residents of converted former asylums

Please note, the formatting of this question has been set to basic as it was an online questionnaire, making it difficult to put into a Word document in the format sent to participants.

This questionnaire forms part of the assessment for the PhD degree at Newcastle University which I am currently undertaking. My research looks at the conversion of historic former hospitals, including people's impressions of them which this questionnaire focuses on. The data forms part of the PhD and therefore will be used for the thesis but also in articles for publication however it is completely anonymous, you will not be asked to provide any personal information. The questionnaire should not take more than 5 minutes to complete as it is very short and I would like to thank you for taking time to participate.

Many thanks

1. Please write in the box below any words and phrases that you feel describe why you chose to live at in this development?

2. Was the fact that the development had a historic element, part of the reason you chose to live here?

Yes

No

Please give reasons for your answer

3. Do you know the history of this redevelopment?

Yes

No

If yes, please provide details

4. Did you enquire about the history of the site at the time you move into your property?

Yes

No

Please give reasons for your answer

5. Is the history of the site important to you?

Yes

No

Please give reasons for your answer

6. Do you feel attached to where you live?

Yes

No

Please give reasons for your answer

7. What is your age range? (tick which applies)

16-20

21-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61-70

71+

8. How many years have you lived in your current home? (tick which applies)

Less than 1 year

1-5 years

6-10 years

11 + years

9. On what basis do you occupy your property?

Owner

Tenant

Other

10. Are you a member of any of the following?

National Trust

English Heritage

The Victorian Society

The 20th Century Society

The Georgian Society

None

Other (please specify)

Appendix D. Participant Consent Form and Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

A study of the role and effect of place attachment on the reuse of former asylums.

The reuse of heritage buildings is often the subject of debate and contested protection issues. This interview forms part of the assessment for the PhD degree at Newcastle University which I am currently undertaking. It focuses on how people view former asylums, how they engage with these buildings and in turn how this affects the heritage development process.

I would like to conduct an interview with you to gain your views and perspectives on heritage redevelopment. I would like to talk to you about how you feel about heritage redevelopment as well as what you think other people feel about this. I would like to know how you think people perceive former asylums and how people perceive their redevelopment.

I would like to make an audio recording of the interview however if at any point you are not comfortable with your words being recorded, we can turn off the recorder.

Before the interview commences I will discuss the interview with you and of course you will be able to discuss your participation with me and raise any questions that you feel you would like answering. At the end of the interview I will also discuss anything that you would like to go over together with providing my contact details so you can contact me at a later date if there is anything you feel you would like to ask or speak to me about. I have also attached with this information sheet, a list of the questions that will be asked during the interview to enable you to see the questions in advance.

The data from this interview forms part of a PhD thesis examination and therefore will be seen by academic staff both within and outside Newcastle University. It is also usual with a PhD thesis that articles are produced from the research that takes place and therefore the data from this interview may be used in publications in the future. I would therefore like to discuss this with you prior to the interview and will return to it again at the end of the interview to enable you to ask any questions or raise any concerns regarding this.

Participation within this study is completely voluntary and if there are questions you do not feel you want to answer or you change your mind about participating during the interview you are free to withdraw from it.

In the event that you have a complaint relating to the interview, please contact Dr Aron Mazel at Newcastle University on aron.mazel@ncl.ac.uk

My contact details are as follows:

Carolyn Gibbeson

c.gibbeson@ncl.ac.uk

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies (ICCHS)

School of Arts and Cultures

18-20 Windsor Terrace

Newcastle University

Newcastle upon Tyne

NE1 7RU,

United Kingdom

Consent Form

TITLE OF STUDY:

Please answer the following questions by circling your responses

Have you read and understood the information sheet about this study?

YES NO

Have you been able to ask questions about this study?

YES NO

Have you received enough information about this study?

YES NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from this study?

• At any time?

YES NO

• Without giving a reason for your withdrawal?

YES NO

Your responses will be anonymised before they are analysed.

Do you agree to take part in this study?

YES NO

Your signature will certify that you have voluntarily decided to take part in this research study having read and understood the information in the sheet for participants. It will also certify that you have had adequate opportunity to discuss the study with an investigator and that all questions have been answered to your satisfaction

Signature of participant:..... Date:.....

Name (block letters):.....

Signature of investigator:..... Date:.....

Please keep your copy of the consent form and the information sheet together.

Appendix E. Participant recruitment poster

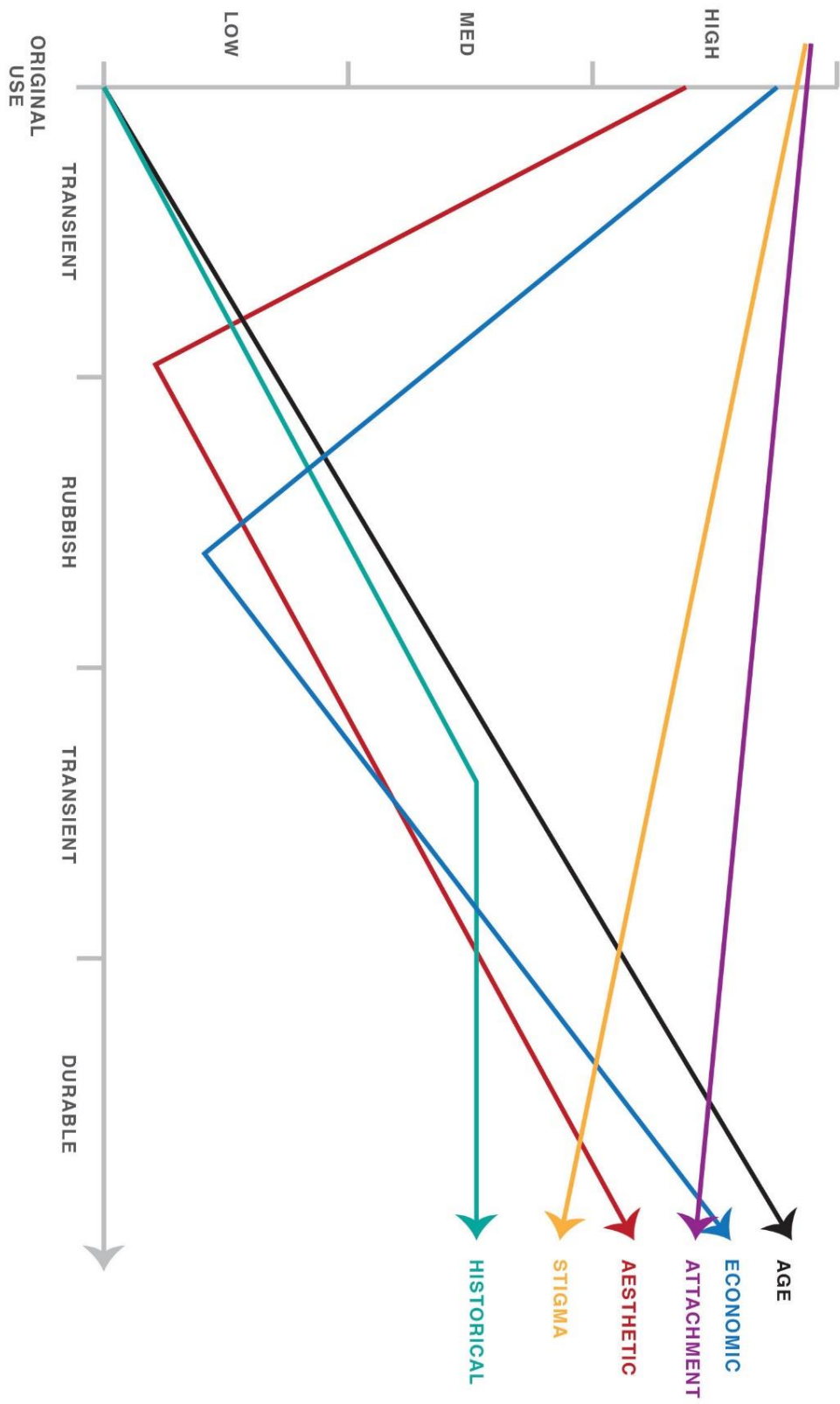


Did you or anyone you know work at St George's Hospital, Morpeth or St Mary's Hospital Stannington?

I am a PhD student at Newcastle University researching the re-use of former psychiatric hospitals and am looking to speak to anyone with a connection to either of the above two hospitals. My research looks at the re-use of these hospitals today, whether they fall under the category of a "heritage" building and whether people feel an attachment to them. I would love to speak to anyone with any connection to either hospital.

If you would be willing to speak to me or would like further information, please contact Carolyn Gibbeson on c.gibbeson@ncl.ac.uk or at ICCHS, Newcastle University, 18-20 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle, NW1 7RU

Appendix F. Changes in themes by adapted Rubbish Theory time periods



Appendix G. Explanation of themes by adapted Rubbish Theory time periods

	Original Use In use	Transient Use declining/ stops	Rubbish Building empty	Transient Object becoming visible	Durable In use – new use as residential
Economic value	As occupation occurs, practices increase the existing use value	Original use declines, building becomes obsolete Costs of maintenance rise Market value falls	Decay – costs of maintenance/ repair high Investment/ Asset value declining	Market value rising Perceived to be worth converting – this is affected by the other "heritage" values	Developers realise sales values New residents perceive good value in buying market value dependent on property market values
Age value	No age value at the initial building phase but this gradually starts to increase as the building ages	Building is considered old when closed – Victorian or Edwardian buildings	Age value increasing- starts to combine with other "Heritage values" and begins to affect market value	Continues to increase – combines with other "heritage" values to increase market value	Age value continues to increase. Age and Aesthetic value become main reasons for preservation and purchase of converted buildings
Historical value (incl. Social)	No historical value yet as in use for original purpose	Initiation and rise of Historic value alongside other "heritage" values Staff perceive it as having social value	Continues to rise but seen as having social value in its historical context by planners, heritage bodies and the public	Public and staff say it should be remembered Social part of historical value still important to some	Some new residents are interested in the history Age and Aesthetic value become main reasons for preservation and purchase of converted buildings
Aesthetic value	Aesthetics are seen as being part of the treatment for patients	Aesthetic value increases with other "heritage" values although the building structure becomes obsolete	Heritage Bodies and Planners are aware of the Aesthetic value	Rises still – developers now have perceived it and this converts to ability to make money – use value New residents attracted	New residents are buying because of the aesthetic qualities of the sites
Stigma	Stigma of being put in an asylum present Building becomes associated with the stigma of mental health	The stigma of mental health continues to stigmatised the sites	Other stigmas start to take over through its decay These stigmas are perceived as much as the stigma of the former use Attitudes to mental health changing	Attitudes to mental health still changing – but disagreement across stakeholders as to whether a stigma still persists	New residents are not put off buying the converted apartments and houses. Age and Aesthetic value are perceived to increase market value
Attachment	Community of staff who worked there: conditions for attachment present	Attachment continues to remain through closure	Attachments present among staff and public mixed with desire for reuse	Other professionals, including developers, become attached through working on the site Attachment of staff weakens with their age	New residents become attached. Staff continue to be attached but this declines with their age

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