

**The Culture of Conservation: An Ethnographic Interpretation of the
Re-use of Historic Urban Industrial Buildings in England**

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Abstract

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Heritage-led regeneration provides a means of revitalising historic industrial towns and cities, with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings having been seen to achieve dramatic results through sustainable regeneration, economic development, mix of uses, leisure related investment and a perception of prosperity and vitality. There are, however, buildings that remain without use and in a poor state of repair. Often these buildings are located in socially and environmentally deprived areas, yet hold the potential for major heritage-led urban regeneration.

The overall aim of this research has been to explore the discourses associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration. This has identified and evaluated themes and meanings attached to social and cultural issues of re-use affecting past and present schemes. At a theoretical level this research has drawn from post-structural theories to enable a more challenging interpretation of how historic environment professionals (in an urban setting) make sense of their identity.

The strength of employing case-study data collection during the initial stage of this research has been to provide the opportunity for using different sources of evidence to examine re-used historic urban industrial buildings. A tool was designed to look specifically at re-used industrial properties on the basis that everything carries social meaning and affirms a social ideology. The results from Stage 1 identified a particular type of re-use movement.

The methodological approach for subsequent research was ethnographic, being the most effective way of considering the culture of historic environment professionals. The use of semi-structured interviews enabled data to be collected and analysed using domain, taxonomic and contrast analyses. In addition, semiotic and discourse analysis provided a

new type of synthesis. Six ethnographic domains were identified in relation to a key domain of 'sense of place', these being quality, people, image, investment, knowledge, and sustainability.

The research explores the 'taken-for-granted' assumptions concerning re-use, and attempts to identify cultural themes associated with the historic environment. A major contribution of this work has been the use of ethnographic research in exploring the culture and everyday experiences of historic environment professionals involved in the re-use of buildings and urban regeneration activities. A central point to this thesis and identified themes is that 'sense of place' has a significant impact on the cultural knowledge (ideologies) associated with the re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

This research has been influenced by the debates within English Heritage, the (then) Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport on regeneration and the historic environment. This interpretive research provides evidence that post-structural theories present a platform from which to examine cultural issues and direct future research associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration.

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Contents

List of figures	viii
List of tables	x
Preface	xii
Acknowledgments	xv
Section 1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Historic urban industrial places	1
1.2 Research aims and objectives	2
1.3 Research methodology and methods	4
1.4 Research outcomes	6
1.5 Summary	7
Section 2.0 Literature review	8
2.1 Re-using historic buildings: finding a focus	8
2.1.1 Urban historic industrial buildings	10
2.2 Urban regeneration: its purpose and role	13
2.3 Re-use and conservation-led urban regeneration	20
2.4 The social and cultural impact of re-use	24
2.4.1 Social and cultural perspectives	25
2.5 Semiotics, myths and discourse	28
2.6 The cultural meaning of the historic environment	32
2.7 Place imagery: communicating and selling an image	35
2.8 Summary	40
Section 3.0 Research methodology	42
3.1 Qualitative research	42
3.2 Epistemology	47
3.2.1 Sociology	49
3.2.2 Structuralism	51
3.2.3 Post-structuralism	51
3.2.4 Semiotics	53
3.3 Methodology	55
3.4 Ethical considerations	56
3.5 Sampling	59
3.5.1 Sampling approaches	59
3.5.2 Data collection: Stage 1	61
3.5.3 Data collection: Stage 2	62
3.6 Triangulation	64

3.7 Reliability of methods and validity of results	67
3.7.1 Reliability of methods	68
3.7.2 Validity of results	70
3.8 Summary	71
Section 4.0 Case-study design	72
4.1 Background and aims	72
4.2 Case-study method	74
4.2.1 Development of the tool	76
4.2.2 Classification of location	79
4.3 Stage 1 data collection	80
4.3.1 Using External Assessment Tool (EAT)	81
4.3.2 Taking EAT north	86
4.3.3 Further use of EAT	92
4.4 Summary	95
Section 5.0 The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)	97
5.1 What is ethnography?	97
5.2 The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)	102
5.3 An overview of descriptive, structural and contrast questions	104
5.4 An overview of the analytic process	105
5.4.1 Domain analysis	107
5.4.2 Taxonomic analysis	108
5.4.3 Componential analysis	110
5.4.4 Post-structural analysis	112
5.5 Summary	114
Section 6.0 The ethnographic interview	116
6.1 Background and aims	116
6.2 Explicit purpose and ethnographic explanations	117
6.2.1 Project explanations	117
6.2.2 Recording explanations	118
6.2.3 Native language explanations	119
6.2.4 Interview explanations	119
6.3 Ethnographic questions	120
6.3.1 Descriptive questions: Step Four in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)	121
6.3.2 Structural questions: Step Seven in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)	123
6.3.3 Contrast questions: Step Nine in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)	125
6.4 Ethnographic hypotheses	128
6.4.1 Using ethnographic hypotheses	128
6.4.2 Finding the focus	130
6.5 Summary	137

Section 7.0 Critical analysis of the ethnographic case-study design	138
7.1 Analysing the ethnographic case-study design	138
7.2 Theoretical and methodological considerations	140
7.3 Methods	142
7.4 The role of the researcher	143
7.5 Summary	145
Section 8.0 Analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT): Stage 1	146
8.1 The nature of the data being presented	146
8.2 Analytical approaches: Stage 1	148
8.2.1 Simple descriptive statistics	148
8.2.2 Sequential developmental analysis	149
8.2.3 Initial post-structural analysis	149
8.3 Analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT)	150
8.3.1 Conservation-led regeneration is successful	151
8.3.2 Re-using historic buildings regenerates urban areas	153
8.3.3 Types of uses	155
8.3.4 Statistical analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT)	156
8.3.5 Neighbourhood profiles	159
8.4 Initial post-structural analysis	160
8.5 Summary	163
Section 9.0 Analysis of Developmental Research Sequence (DRS): Stage 2	165
9.1 Introduction	165
9.2 Identifying the level of significance	165
9.3 Selecting a tentative focus	166
9.4 Making a taxonomic analysis	168
9.5 Further taxonomic analysis	173
9.6 Making a componential analysis	180
9.7 Systems of representation	183
9.8 Semiotic approach	189
9.9 Constructing ‘sense of place’	192
9.10 Summary	194
Section 10.0 Discovering cultural themes	195
10.1 Cultural themes	195
10.2 Making a theme analysis	196
10.2.1 Immersion	197
10.2.2 Making a cultural inventory	198
10.2.3 Making a componential analysis of folk domains	201
10.2.4 Making a schematic diagram of the cultural scene	203
10.2.5 Searching for universal themes	204
10.3 The impact of ‘sense of place’	207
10.3.1 Quality is an attribute of ‘sense of place’	207
10.3.2 People are a cause of ‘sense of place’	208

10.3.3 Image is a part of ‘sense of place’	208
10.3.4 Investment is a way to do ‘sense of place’	209
10.3.5 Knowledge is a reason for doing ‘sense of place’	209
10.3.6 Sustainability is a way to do ‘sense of place’	210
10.4 Summary	210
Section 11.0 Discussion	212
11.1 Introduction	212
11.2 The demand for re-use and heritage-led regeneration	214
11.3 Type of re-use movement	216
11.4 Understanding historic urban industrial buildings	220
11.5 The concept of ‘sense of place’	224
11.6 Cultural knowledge	226
11.7 Transmitting quality	230
11.8 People, places and image	232
11.9 Towards understanding heritage value and ‘sense of place’	236
11.10 Summary	239
Section 12.0 Conclusions and recommendations	240
12.1 The aims and objectives of the research programme	240
12.2 Additional aims and objectives	241
12.3 Practical changes in data collection	242
12.4 The theoretical perspectives	245
12.4.1 Structural theory	245
12.4.2 Post-structural theory	246
12.5 Research outcomes	247
12.5.1 Originality	247
12.5.2 Methodological originality	248
12.6 Research challenges	248
12.7 The research limitations	250
12.8 New work since this research began	252
12.9 Further research	254
12.10 Future work suggested as a result of this research	255
References	257
Bibliography	265
Appendix A: External Assessment Tool (EAT)	268
Appendix B: Buildings visited during Stage 1 of the research programme	274
Appendix C: Training and publications	275

Figures

2.1	The sign.	29
2.2	Myth (Barthes, 1993, 115).	30
3.1	Convergence and non-convergence of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1994, 93).	66
4.1	Extracts from field journal about visit to Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham.	83
4.2	Extracts from field journal about visit to Gloucester Docks.	85
4.3	Extracts from field journal about visit to Castlefield, Manchester.	88
4.4	Extracts from field journal about visit to Albert Dock, Liverpool.	91
4.5	Extracts from field journal about visit to West India Quay, London.	93
4.6	Extracts from field journal about visit to Great Western Railway, Swindon.	94
5.1	Basic elements in a domain (Spradley, 1979, 102).	108
5.2	Some attributes and semantic relationships of the folk term 'empty building(s)'.	111
5.3	Bathes' approach to semiological analysis of myth.	113
8.1	Number of empty buildings in an area.	157
8.2	Number of sites where environmental improvements have been carried out.	158
8.3	ACORN profiles of neighbourhood types.	159
9.1	The possible semantic relationships and cultural themes for the cover terms 'quality', 'people' and 'image'.	168
9.2	Taxonomy: Quality 'is an attribute of' sense of place.	170
9.3	Taxonomy: People 'are a cause of' sense of place.	171
9.4	Taxonomy: Image 'is a result of' sense of place.	172
9.5	Ethnographic domains of 'sense of place'.	173
9.6	The possible semantic relationships and cultural themes for the cover terms 'investment', 'knowledge' and 'sustainability'.	175
9.7	Taxonomy: Investment 'is a way to do' sense of place.	176

9.8	Taxonomy: Knowledge ‘is a reason for doing’ sense of place.	177
9.9	Taxonomy: Sustainability ‘is a way to do’ sense of place.	178
9.10	The six ethnographic domains of ‘sense of place’.	179
9.11	Myth: Sense of place.	191
9.12	Myth: Domain analysis.	191
9.13	Myth: Ethnography.	191
10.1	Domain: Community cohesion.	199
10.2	Stages in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.	204

Tables

1.1	Initial aims of research programme.	3
1.2	Thesis statement and supporting research aims.	3-4
1.3	Research objectives.	4
3.1	Claimed features of qualitative and quantitative methods (Halfpenny, 1979, 799).	43
3.2	Preferences of qualitative researchers (Silverman, 2000, 8).	44
3.3	Criteria for the evaluation of research (adapted by Silverman, 2000, 12).	47
3.4	Standards for site visits.	68
4.1	Key questions asked by EAT.	78
4.2	Questions C2.3 and C2.4 of EAT.	82
5.1	The Development Research Sequence (DRS) used in the research programme (Spradley, 1979).	103
5.2	The universal semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979, 111).	109
6.1	Kinds of descriptive questions (Spradley, 1979, 86).	122
6.2	Kinds of structural questions (Spradley, 1979, 126).	124
6.3	Kinds of contrast questions (Spradley, 1979, 160).	126
6.4	Examples of early ethnographic questions.	127
6.5	Primary ethnographic hypotheses.	130
6.6	Second series of ethnographic hypotheses.	131
6.7	The domain ‘sense of place’.	132
6.8	Third series of ethnographic hypotheses.	132
6.9	What are all the attributes of ‘quality’?	133
6.10	What are all the causes of ‘people’?	134
6.11	What are all the parts of ‘image’?	134
6.12	What are all the ways to do ‘investment’?	135
6.13	What are all the reasons for doing ‘knowledge’?	135
6.14	What are all the ways to do ‘sustainability’?	136

7.1	In defence of ethnographic case-study design.	143
8.1	Features of EAT.	146
8.2	A selection of the questions asked by EAT.	150
8.3	The representation of different uses.	161
8.4	The representation of different uses.	162
9.1	Initial domains of 'sense of place'.	167
9.2	Paradigm worksheet: Quality is an attribute of 'sense of place'.	182
9.3	Paradigm worksheet: Image is a part of 'sense of place'.	182
9.4	Paradigm worksheet: Knowledge is a reason for doing 'sense of place'.	183
9.5	Semiotic analytical framework adapted from Thwaites <i>et al.</i> (1994).	184-5
10.1	Initial cultural themes.	198
10.2	Further possible domains.	199
10.3	List of domains.	201
10.4	List of cultural themes of the domain 'sense of place'.	206
10.5	Cultural themes of the domain 'Quality is an attribute of sense of place'.	207
10.6	Cultural themes of the domain 'People are a cause of sense of place'.	208
10.7	Cultural themes of the domain 'Image is a part of sense of place'.	208
10.8	Cultural themes of the domain 'Investment is a way to do sense of place'.	209
10.9	Cultural themes of the domain 'Knowledge is a reason for doing sense of place'.	209
10.10	Cultural themes of the domain 'Sustainability is a way to do sense of place'.	210

Preface

When I enrolled as a research student at De Montfort University in 1999 I worked as a Conservation Scientist at Ridout Associates, a private timber decay and damp consultancy. Our clients, amongst others, included English Heritage, the National Trust, local authorities, the Office of Public Works, Dublin, and many private property owners. During the early 2000s there was a notable increase in the number of warehouses and mill buildings across England that we were being asked to inspect and carry out detailed condition surveys on. As these buildings came forward, I was in a unique position to be able to visit some of England's most famous industrial areas. This provided an opportunity to examine a range of vacant and re-used industrial buildings, and to consider the wider issues involved in regenerating these areas. These visits lead to the overall development of this research programme.

In 2002 I joined the Conservation Team at Wolverhampton City Council as a Project Officer to manage conservation area grant schemes. The Council had been successful in securing funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund for a Townscape Heritage Initiative. Under the Initiative grants may be offered towards the cost of building repairs, the reinstatement of architectural details, and bringing vacant historic floorspace back into use. Financial assistance with repairs is helping to bring these buildings back into productive use, enhance the physical environment, and have a positive effect on those that live and work in the area. Below are two examples of completed projects.



6 & 8 Mount Pleasant, Bilston



Robin 2 Club, 28 Mount Pleasant, Bilston

During the past three years I have become more involved in the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC). I am the West Midlands Branch Representative and the National Consultations Secretary for the Institute. Taking on these roles has been a great experience, and has broadened my conservation knowledge, practice and understanding of the historic environment. This has been particularly so at a policy level as the Consultations Secretary and at a time when a fundamental reform of the heritage protection system in England has been initiated by the Government.

The emphasis of this research programme has been guided by my work at Ridout Associates and the opportunity I had to experience the broader picture of heritage-led urban regeneration across England. More recently I have been able to appreciate regeneration at a grass-roots level, and the impact investment in the historic fabric can have in raising the profile of an area and attracting further inward investment.

The following figure provides an overview of this research programme. It summarises the research process undertaken and shows Stage 1 and Stage 2 data collection and analysis with key dates.

Research Programme

Stage 1

The Culture of Conservation: An Ethnographic Interpretation of the Re-use of Historic Urban Industrial Buildings

Epistemology: Post-structuralist
Methodology: Ethnographic

Aims

- Explore the discourses associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and urban regeneration.
- Identify and evaluate the themes and meanings attached to the social and cultural issues that relate to past and present re-use schemes.

Key Dates

Stage 1

Employed as Senior Conservation Scientist (Oct 1997 – Nov 2002)

Oct 1999 Registered

Jun 2000 Development of EAT

Jun 2001 Writing and Oral skills courses at DMU

Sept 2002 COBRA Presentation

Employed as Conservation Project Officer at Wolverhampton City Council (Nov 2002 – present)

Nov 2002 Ethical approval

Mar 2003 Transfer report approved by HDC

Stage 2

Mar 2003 Change to supervisory team

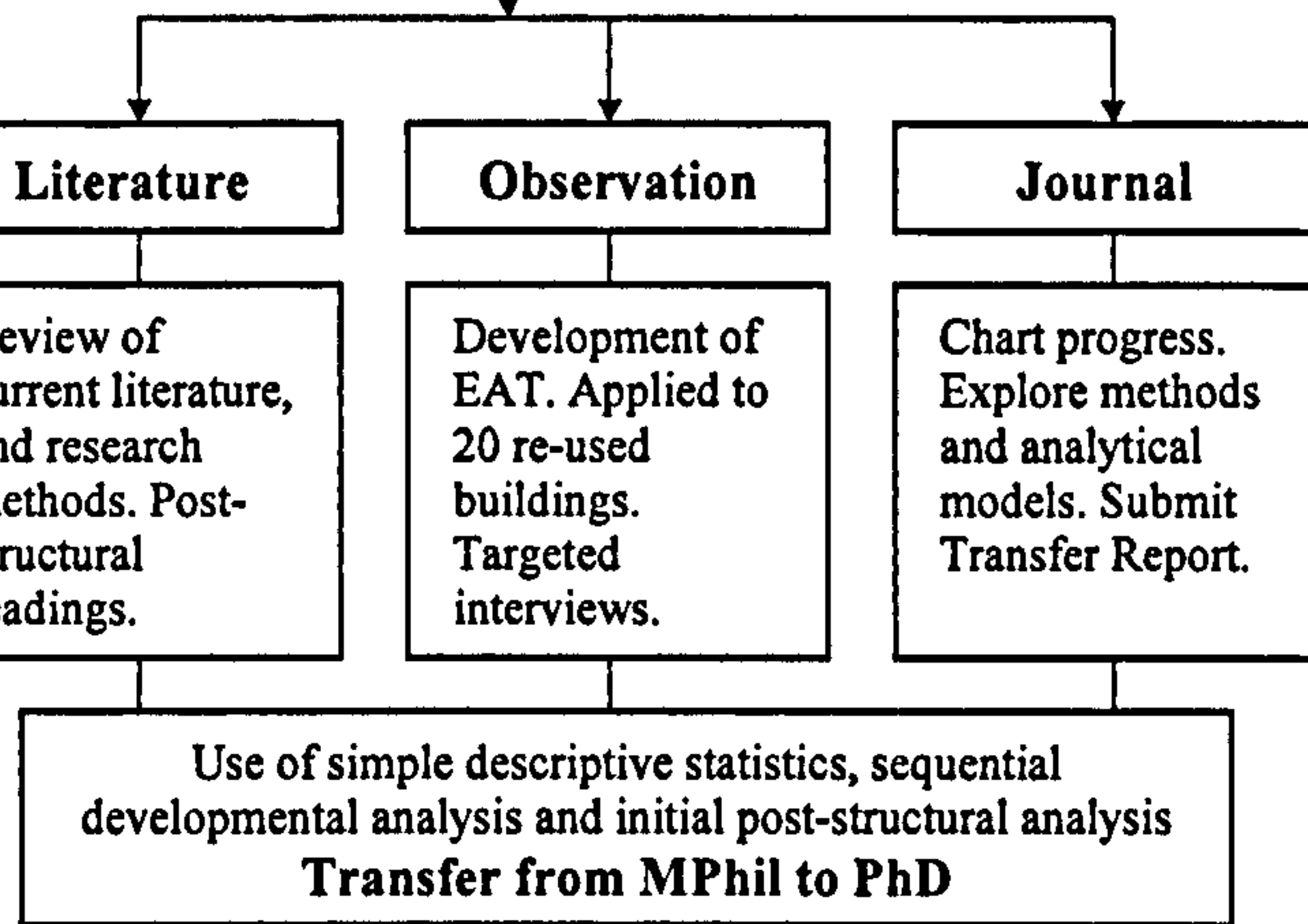
Apr 2003 Case Study One

Nov 2003 Case Study Two

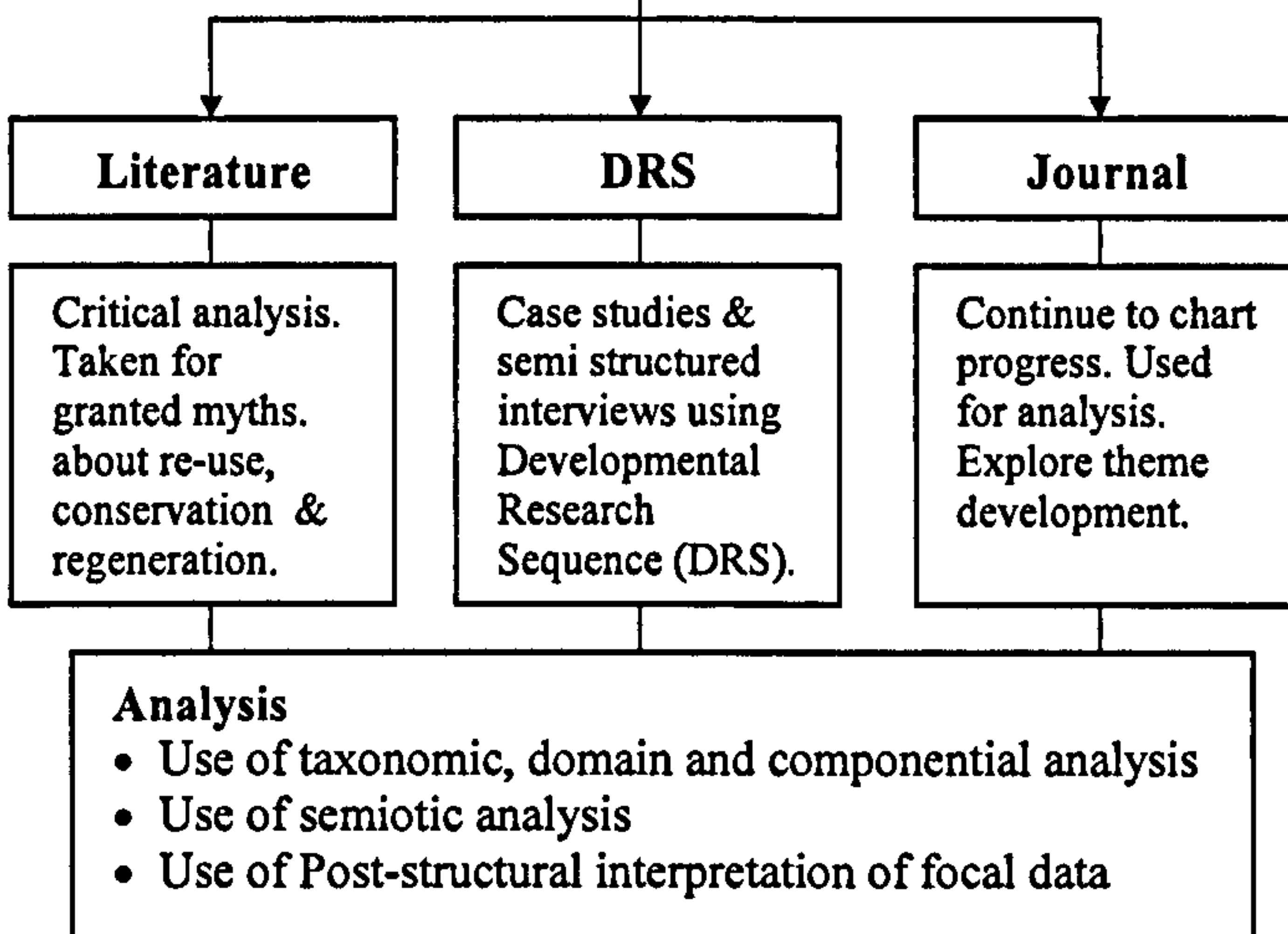
May 2004 Case Study Three

Analysis from Apr 2003 onwards

Mar 2005 Finishing Your Thesis & Preparing for the Viva course at DMU



Stage 2



Domains: Quality is an attribute of sense of place. People are a cause of sense of place. Image is a part of sense of place. Investment is a way to do sense of place. Knowledge is a reason for doing sense of place. Sustainability is a way to do sense of place.

Themes: Quality public realms; friendly places; business development; tourism; repopulation of urban areas; leisure facilities; local distinctiveness; regeneration; investment; social inclusion; education; responsibility; sustainability; selective redevelopment; and cultural, social and economic diversity.

Acknowledgements

My research experience has been like running a marathon. During the number of years of this research programme I have hit the wall on many occasions. It was Dr Dean Holyoake who would pick me up, dust me down and convince me to keep going. Dean's understanding of what it meant to be a long distance researcher gave me strength when I needed it most, which was always a huge comfort, as were the endless cups of tea and tolerance. I can't thank him enough.

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Dr David Watt, who has been supportive and provided moral and practical assistance throughout. David has been my academic tour guide, offering helpful research tips and advice, and provided information on heritage-led regeneration attractions.

The unconditional and unfaltering love and encouragement of my Mum and Dad since primary school has been the best a girl could ever ask for. They are a true inspiration, and have taught me that anything is possible if you believe in yourself and work hard.

When I registered as a research student I worked for three Doctors of Philosophy, Liz and Brian Ridout, and John Chapman, who have become great friends. They were motivating, and my research benefited enormously from our chats.

I am grateful to the help and support of my work colleagues in the Conservation and Urban Design team at Wolverhampton City Council, who have been a source of information.

Lastly, to everyone who has good-naturedly allowed me to question them about re-use and heritage-led regeneration activities. You gave up your time to talk to me, and for that I am thankful.

Section 1.0

Introduction

Industrial architecture is, indeed, a part of our patrimony as much as castles or cathedrals or Georgian squares.

Binney *et al.* (1990, 38)

The aim of this section is to introduce the research programme, present clear aims and objectives, define the research methodology adopted, the methods used, and the proposed research outcomes.

1.1 Historic urban industrial places

Historic urban industrial areas are at the heart of the challenges and opportunities facing the regeneration of many towns and cities across England. It is the aim of this thesis to analyse the social and cultural issues associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. It argues that heritage-led regeneration is an approach that is gaining momentum, interest and understanding, and it is changing the perception and image of historic urban industrial areas.

This research explores the impact ‘people’, ‘image’ and ‘quality’ have on the regeneration process in the delivery of sustainable communities and the creation of places where people positively choose to live, work and spend leisure time. It considers the culture of historic environment professionals involved in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

Historic buildings and places play an increasingly central role in the delivery of a range of public policy objectives. These include urban regeneration, economic and sustainable growth and the repopulation of inner city areas. It is not a coincidence that areas with extensive and well-maintained historic environments have the most prosperous economies and are able to attract high-quality investment, well-designed new

development and high value jobs (Chetwyn, 2003). This thesis builds on post-structural theory by arguing that 'sense of place' is 'a way to do' re-use and heritage-led regeneration, and is a position from which all historic environment professionals are subjected to ensure that the places people value are protected for present and future generations to enjoy.

This research has been carried out in two stages. Stage 1 of the research programme involved the development of a tool to examine past and present re-use schemes. The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) based on ethnographic methodology was used in Stage 2 to explore the cultural meanings of historic environment professionals involved in re-use. This approach examines the world from the point of view of the people studied and involved hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis testing (Section 6.0).

Current literature (Section 2.0) suggests that case-study method is the predominant research technique employed in the examination of re-used historic buildings. The main focus of key studies, in particular work by Latham (2000) and Stratton (2000), relates to realising the most appropriate new use(s) for old buildings. This research explores the re-use of urban historic (i.e. 1800-1914) industrial buildings in England. It has a focus on England rather than the United Kingdom due to the work being carried out by English Heritage and the Urban Task Force (1999) in England's towns and cities towards identifying the causes of urban decline and the role of heritage as a catalyst for better social and economic regeneration.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

The overall aim of this research programme is to explore the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

The initial research aims were developed to explore the notion of re-use, conservation and urban regeneration. However, this position reflected the assumptions promoted in

contemporary literature on the principles and practice that surround the re-use of our industrial heritage. It was soon discovered that the research aims were too broad and too rigid in their expectations to elicit observations, categorise results and reinforce the ordinary notions of re-use and the historic environment *per se*. The initial aims of the research are given in Table 1.1.

Initial aims

- Explore the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.
- Identify and evaluate the social, cultural, economic and environmental conditions that relate to past and present re-use schemes.
- Describe the impact of successful re-use projects within urban regeneration.
- Develop practical indicators to assess the long-term sustainability of re-use schemes.

Table 1.1 Initial aims of research programme.

Since the beginning of the research programme, it has been acknowledged that the research process would need to respond to the nature of the focal data collected, and hence inform the overall research development. The initial four aims were adapted to provide a clearly focused thesis statement, with supporting research aims, to focus the research and these are given in Table 1.2.

Thesis statement and supporting research aims

The aim of this research is to explore and describe the culture of re-used historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration, and to apply an ethnographic approach to discovering the cultural meanings that historic environment professionals use to organise their behaviour and interpret their experience.

This provides a clearly focused thesis statement to

- Explore the discourses associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

- Examine the meanings attached to heritage-led regeneration by those professionals actively engaged in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.
- Identify the themes attached to the social and cultural issues that relate to past and present re-use schemes.

Table 1.2 Thesis statement and supporting research aims.

The primary objectives of this research programme are presented in Table 1.3.

Objectives

In order to address the key aims, the research has three objectives.

- Explore re-use and heritage-led regeneration to establish new paradigms based on the relationship between the social and cultural issues that relate to the historic urban environment.
- Examine the social and cultural meanings attached to re-use in order to understand the values and significance of place.
- Make an original contribution to the body of knowledge by applying post-structuralist theory to the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

Table 1.3 Research objectives.

1.3 Research methodology and methods

This qualitative research programme focuses on the ‘meanings’ attached to the social and cultural issues as they relate to the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration. At a theoretical level, this research programme benefits from an understanding of post-structural theory (Section 3.0), an interdisciplinary movement popular from the late 1970s as an attempt to challenge many of the assumptions made by structuralism.

Conservation is not a natural occurrence, but rather a socially derived set of categories dependent on cultural knowledge as well as historic knowledge. For English Heritage (2005) the historic environment lies at the heart of our 'sense of place' and that heritage is a catalyst for better social and economic regeneration.

In order to explore meaning, the study of signs through the application of semiotic analysis can be used to examine the historic environment as a discourse. The use of discourse analysis and semiology benefits the chosen post-structuralist epistemology and has provided the necessary theoretical basis for the research to progress. According to Potter and Wetherall (1994) decisions concerning the built environment are constructed out of a limited number of competing discourses. Examples of discourses, possibly associated with the re-use of buildings, highlighted during the early stages of this research programme include 're-using old buildings is good'; 're-use is conserving our built heritage'; and 'the cultural significance of historic buildings is important'. By identifying and analysing such discourses, this research programme has explored and shown the re-use process as a system.

Case-study methodology was considered the most appropriate for Stage 1 of this research programme. The focal data collected during Stage 1 involved the development of a questionnaire tool used by the researcher, which asked a series of questions about re-used industrial buildings. The tool produced rich data concerning the buildings and their surrounding area, and assisted in identifying new questions and themes about re-use. Issues of re-use are as much about how people view their built environment as how we make sense of it. It is interesting that, in Faulk's opinion (2000), people now generally see the value of old buildings that they once were keen to see demolished. Stratton (2000) argues that regeneration is an international cause that should combine the conservation of buildings with improvements to living conditions. The idea that people care about the historic environment is evident (English Heritage, 2000), yet it is likely that there are many differing reasons why this is so.

During Stage 2 of the research programme the methodological approach was ethnographic. The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) (Spradley, 1979) was used to look at the culture of bringing old industrial buildings back into use as a framework of signs and symbols that have contextual meaning for historic environment professionals.

The case-study method, as advocated by Yin (1994), provided an approach to observe and explore the everyday and mundane experiences of historic environment professionals. As a research method it enabled the collection of a large amount of data in the form of field journals, interview and observation notes, from which early themes emerged using ethnographic domain and taxonomic analysis (Section 9.0).

1.4 Research outcomes

The research outcomes from the project include an understanding of the cultural themes associated with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, and the impact of heritage-led regeneration in creating attractive, vibrant, sustainable communities. It identifies that historic environment professionals simulate particular responses in order to represent a culturally constituted identity that only has meaning due to the cultural knowledge of the historic environment. By applying post-structuralist theory to the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings this has enabled a new type of synthesis and interpretation that historic environment professionals actively produce 'sense of place'. In addition, that the image of a re-used historic urban industrial building or a regenerated inner city area is determined by cultural discourse.

This exploration of heritage-led regeneration is considered relevant and timely when there are many high-profile regeneration schemes that are based on the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, together with high-quality new development with a strong emphasis on the quality of the public realm. However, there are still opportunities that are being missed through a simple lack of awareness.

1.5 Summary

This thesis is presented within the remit of social scientific research and adheres to the usual format consisting of sections. The sections start with this introduction and a literature review in Section 2.0. The literature review identifies the work of historic environment professionals and social science theorists, which helps to clarify the boundaries of the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led urban regeneration in the context of this research.

Section 3.0 describes the research methodology employed. This provided an opportunity for new interpretations of re-use and heritage-led regeneration. The development of the tool used to examine re-used industrial buildings during Stage 1 of the research programme is given in Section 4.0. Section 5.0 provides an introduction to the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) used during Stage 2 of the research programme. Section 6.0 provides an overview of the ethnographic interview technique. The use of ethnographic interviews as a method of data collection enabled the depth and breadth of focal data to be considered.

Analysis of the ethnographic case-study design and tool are given in Sections 7.0, 8.0 and 9.0. The use of the tool during Stage 1 identified a type of re-use movement and the role of heritage in driving regeneration. People assign meaning via cultural knowledge. The Developmental Research Sequence enabled the researcher to explore the culture of historic environment professionals involved in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. The cultural themes discovered as a result of this research programme are presented in Section 10.0. Section 11.0 discusses the working of the ethnographic themes and the overall thesis development. Section 12.0 provides the overall conclusion to the research and notes relevant limitations.

Section 2.0

Literature review

We are using the past to create the opportunities for the next millennium. So perhaps our motto from now on ought to be 'Back to the Future'!

Taggart (1999, 37)

Buildings have been used for different functions other than their intended built use throughout history. During the last 25 years the concept of re-use has changed. Re-used historic urban industrial buildings have played an increasingly central role in the delivery of a range of public policy objectives and improved the quality of life of previously failing areas. Re-use can mean something special, unique and often expensive.

This section has two aims:

- To explore the relevant literature about theories of re-use related to this research.
- To establish the relationship between contemporary background theory and the limits of the focal data produced as a result of this research programme.

2.1 Re-using historic buildings: finding a focus

The re-use of old buildings has been a growing area of interest since the last quarter of the twentieth century. It is encouraging to see the re-use of existing building stock at a time when both greenfield and brownfield developments are placed under close scrutiny. Re-use has already played a significant part in enhancing many of our towns and cities. The pioneering work of Cantacuzino (1989) lead the way in adapting old buildings for new uses and was perhaps at the forefront of a new type of conservation. There have been many studies concerning the re-use of buildings and most are categorised by reference to the building's function. What is interesting about

Cantacuzino's work is the shift from the accurate restoration of churches and palaces, to the new and exciting adaptations of industrial and commercial buildings. During the late 1970s it was slowly being recognised that by giving a new lease of life to an old building was bringing about the social and economic regeneration of whole areas. However, it would seem that the relationship between the historic environment and regeneration was not considered as being one that would ultimately re-define many famous urban sites.

Recent published works examine the re-use of historic buildings from different perspectives such as innovative conversions (e.g. Latham, 2000) and buildings as community icons (e.g. Stratton, 2000). It is, however, apparent that major gaps exist in our understanding of the processes that contribute to re-use and the impact bringing old buildings back into use has in different environments.

This research sets out to explore the meanings attached to re-use and the cultural themes associated with re-using industrial buildings. It is relevant and timely as there has been a growing trend towards the re-use of industrial buildings as part of wider regeneration activities. In early 2005 the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS), English Heritage and the British Property Federation combined forces to study the case for heritage-led regeneration, bringing historic buildings back into use and how to kick-start the long term revitalisation of urban areas. The results of this research *Heritage Works* (2006) have been published as a toolkit of good practice to provide a practical guide on how to bring forward a heritage-led regeneration project, identifying common pitfalls and ways to overcoming or avoiding these. It will be interesting to observe over the next few years how the key messages of *Heritage Works* are applied by those involved in conservation-led regeneration.

Many towns and cities have begun to realise the value of their past in the buildings that survive. From this position, this research programme has sought to understand the systems associated with harnessing the re-use potential and explore the expectations placed on these buildings to bring run-down urban areas back to life.

As previously mentioned, even though there have been a number of noteworthy publications on the re-use of industrial buildings during the past six years (i.e. Latham, 2000, Stratton, 2000) there remains a gap in the study of the meanings attached to re-use. It would appear that when browsing through either journals specific to the built environment or everyday literature to do with our homes and lifestyle there is a desire to entice people back into our urban areas to live and work. And if a town or city cannot provide this new type of studio apartment or office accommodation, the urban area is thought to be slow on the uptake of modern trends. This opens up a multitude of possibilities for exploring the curious nature of this type of 'returning to the cities' phenomena. What is it about studio apartments, canal side cafés and consumer imagery that has impacted upon our sense of re-use and conservation? The attraction of an 'urban lifestyle' is created by the way the new use or concept is sold. The label given to the 'type of re-use' will create an identity. For example, accommodation advertised as luxury studio apartments will attract a certain type of person, which will in turn draw specific types of commercial uses. The meanings attached to such a scheme exist without an artist's impression of the development or visiting the building.

Literature on the topic of re-using industrial buildings is mostly concerned with the issue of fitting a new use into an old building, yet there are many related and seemingly complex issues. These include the relationships between local politicians and property developers, and the availability of funding from urban renewal initiatives. This has proved useful in qualifying the direction of the research and identifying new questions. For example, how can the 'meanings' attached to re-use be explored? In what way can the 'representation' (what re-use represents and how it is perceived) of historic industrial buildings be examined? How do the social and cultural concepts of locality affect the potential for urban regeneration?

2.1.1 Urban historic industrial buildings

The view of England's industrial heritage has changed over the past 25 years. As noted by Binney *et al.* (1990) people have tended until recently to judge industrial buildings

by what they represent, rather than what they are. And it is the notion of representation that is central to this research.

Generally occupying large areas of land (in rural and urban settings) the buildings demonstrate a sense of importance and represent a bygone time when Britain was thriving and 'Great'. The English landscape changed with the appearance of textile mills, steam engines, potbanks and canals (Stratton and Trinder, 1997). However, these often oppressive structures fostered harsh working conditions and poor standards of living.

As industry declined in England during the twentieth century the majority of these buildings were abandoned by the 1960s, and many demolished. With no considered future many towns and cities turned their backs on these structures. However, as noted by Binney *et al.* (1990) the exhibition *Satanic Mills* in 1979 by SAVE Britain's Heritage (a charity organisation) showed that industrial buildings in industrial areas were a matter of great interest and often passionate concern, not only to industrial archaeologists and conservationists, but to a very large number of people who lived in these towns, and indeed had often worked in the mills.

Most industrial buildings are local landmarks, some with distinctive architectural elements. They stand as icons at the heart of communities that once swelled around them. Industrial buildings are well built, many to the highest architectural standards of their day, and were well proportioned with an enjoyable rhythm of windows usually over many storeys. Many industrial buildings were built to last (Binney *et al.*, 1990). The setting of industrial buildings often has tremendous potential. Some structures are by water whilst others are surrounded by a large amount of open space. The treatment of this space using hard and soft landscaping is an opportunity to greatly enhance the context within which the industrial fabric is given a new lease of life.

The Industrial Revolution saw the factories overtake the farms as a source of employment, and it was the factories that changed the face of Britain. Even though there

were considerable social problems as a result of the rapid population growth during the mid-1880s, there was a sense of pride that Britain was the industrial capital of the world. Many of these buildings are now considered national monuments but without forgetting the very different circumstances under which the structures first existed. The scale and number of warehouses, factories and mills throughout the country represented growth, wealth and ambition for Britain, but those that worked in the buildings suffered torturous conditions and long days usually for very little reward.

Even though many of the great industries have left re-useable buildings, the majority of the structures associated with coal mining, iron and steel making have disappeared leaving only large items of machinery as exhibition pieces. The exhibition of such items has, for instance, been successfully achieved at the Great Western Railway Works in Swindon. Now a designer outlet village, shoppers meander amongst the machinery in spaces that workers once heaved and toiled.

Derelict mills, breweries and maltings, warehouses and factories throughout the country represent a considerable amount of vacant floor space. The large spaces of most industrial buildings are flexible to subdivision. Given the quality and appeal of such buildings, one might ask why the challenge of re-use has not been more frequently taken up (Binney *et al.*, 1990). Re-using industrial buildings has gained in popularity since the early 1990s - most cities with an industrial past have seen the conversion of the associated buildings or there is a scheme on the horizon due to come forward in the near future. The current activity in Ancoats, Manchester is having a huge impact on the image of the city, just as the regeneration of the docks has done for Liverpool.

We have been adapting old buildings to suit new uses for centuries. However, in the 1980s it was recognised that if industrial buildings were to be re-used new kinds of developer were needed to take on the more complex issues associated with the social and economic aspects of re-use, as well as the physical conversions. This meant considering the wider context by promoting awareness of the potential which heritage industrial buildings offer, including their ability to assist community based groups to develop sustainable proposals for new uses. It would seem that the challenge is to

ensure that there is a place in today's society for our industrial heritage and to grasp the opportunity they offer in helping regenerate communities. There is a trend for cities to re-brand their industrial areas. The way in which this is done is critical. Through the equivalent of a rehabilitation programme the buildings that have stood empty for so long are now giving something back society. As noted by Binney *et al.* (1990) restored industrial buildings and industrial areas that have been transformed can develop an enormous cachet. Residential accommodation in warehouses now sell at a premium, not only in London's docklands but also in towns and cities throughout the country. The focus of this research programme is on the re-use of urban historic industrial buildings and their role in large scale urban regeneration. Understanding the potential of industrial buildings is key to their survival, but also in the analysis of their basic form to understand potential and limitations within policy making and practice.

Identifying future users for redundant industrial buildings is an art in itself. As noted by Stratton (2000) consultants suggest the most ludicrous combinations of science or eco centres, web cafés and IMAX theatres in almost any area of urban dereliction. Whatever the new use, it has to be financially sustainable. According to Binney *et al.* (1990) what has been achieved in Britain in terms of conversion and re-use so far is extremely encouraging, but the potential remains enormous.

2.2 Urban regeneration: its purpose and role

Many towns and cities across England, such as Newcastle's Grainger Town, Nottingham's Lace Market and Borough Market in south east London, are engaged in various public and private sector regeneration partnerships. The aim of this section is to provide an overview of urban regeneration as this all-embracing process that tackles the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of problem urban areas.

Urban regeneration is a highly specialised area of study. As long ago as 1974, Hall examined the problems of communities scarred by industrial or urban dereliction, the growth and spread of urban populations, the need to provide new jobs, and the

conservation of a threatened heritage. In the previous decade Jacobs (1964) was making interesting observations that we reflect on even today. Her work involved looking closely at the 'mysterious' and 'perverse' behaviour of cities in an attempt to see what the most ordinary scenes and events meant. When considering old buildings Jacobs (1964, 207) made the following observation over 40 years ago:

Among the most admirable and enjoyable sights to be found along the sidewalks of big cities are the ingenious adaptations of old quarters to new uses.

Urban areas are in a constant state of change. According to Lally (2002), policies, advice and initiatives at national, regional and local level exert a complex series of influences on the shaping of the English urban landscape. Tied to this landscape is the relationship between people and the historic environment. It is the belief of Kaempfer (1999) that buildings define and drive a community (i.e. size, design, quality and purpose), and shape individuals and societies alike. Certainly the Industrial Revolution influenced the internal geographies of many cities. Physical connections between the cities were made, and economic and political links were also established. The collapse of the country's manufacturing base in the twentieth century saw the decline of large urban areas.

The process of urban regeneration is about long term investment. Urban areas are complex and dynamic systems (Roberts, 2003). Every town and city has to cope with external and internal forces relating to the needs of its people, and growth or decline. Urban regeneration is a response to the state of our towns and cities. Roberts and Sykes (2003) state that little written material is available that combines coverage of all the fundamental topics, such as the physical, economic, social and environmental dimensions of regeneration, with the implementation, management and evaluation of the urban regeneration process. The regeneration agenda has grown during recent years and certainly this is reflected in the material that is available. Urban regeneration is practice driven and what is unique about the approach taken by Roberts and Sykes in providing an introduction to urban regeneration theory is that they admit it is just that, an introduction from which future work can develop. They also offer guidance and

advice where lessons have been learnt, and help stimulate the exchange of regeneration experiences and information.

Since the 1950s urban policy has reflected and responded to the urban milieu. This is described by Roberts and Sykes (2003) as the reconstruction of older areas of towns and cities in the 1950s which extended to a period of revitalisation as suburban and peripheral growth occurred in the 1960s. The 1970s was a time of *in situ* renewal and neighbourhood schemes leading to major schemes of development and redevelopment in the 1980s and talk of flagship projects. Regeneration in the 1990s was a move towards a more comprehensive and integrated approach to policy and practice involving partnerships, strategic perspectives with greater emphasis between private, public and voluntary sector funding with more community involvement and greater recognition and appreciation of the historic environment.

The current research considers industrial buildings constructed during 1800-1914, an era recognised for significant urban change and population growth unlike any other. The decline of industry in England, post Second World War, resulted in many towns and cities thick with landmark buildings that had no use, and it was the urban policy of subsequent decades that did not know what to do with these buildings. Attention was focused elsewhere. Many remarkable historic buildings were demolished to make way for what has been described as 'comprehensive redevelopment'. One such example is Ellenroad Ring Mill, near Rochdale. This was one of the largest spinning mills in south-west Lancashire and the last big mill to be run on steam. It was demolished in 1985. Even though similar industrial buildings were lost this raised awareness about the value of these properties and brought the significance of our industrial past into the present. As stated by Binney *et al.* (1990) the final achievement of those demolished buildings may be to create a greater appreciation of those that survive.

In 1996 Regeneration Through Heritage (RTH) was established by Business in the Community at the request of HRH The Prince of Wales. The main concern of RTH is with promoting the re-use of heritage buildings. There are mills, canal-side warehouses,

factories and other former industrial building throughout Britain which represent an important legacy of architectural and historic interest. Many are currently redundant or underused, but offer enormous potential for conversion, re-use and heritage-led regeneration. RTH assists community based groups and not-for-profit partnerships to regenerate vacant or under-used historic buildings. It is the holistic approach of RTH that is of interest. They are not just concerned with the conversion of a building. Their work provides support on the methodology needed to achieve best practice by seeing the opportunities in retaining historic properties. At the 1999 conference *Making Heritage Industrial Buildings Work* Taggart set out the mission of RTH:

Any heritage industrial building anywhere can be regenerated, given the ideas and will.

Urban regeneration activities bring together a broad cross-section from the public, private and voluntary sectors. Without such input from various groups there would not be the exchange of ideas, experience and information on urban regeneration. Roberts (2003, 10) identifies five major themes that have dominated previous eras of urban change and policy. These themes are:

- The relationship between the physical conditions evident in urban areas and the nature of the social and political responses.
- The need to attend to matters of housing and health in urban areas.
- The desirability of linking social improvement with economic progress.
- The containment of urban growth.
- The changing role and nature of urban policy.

But what is urban regeneration? The themes stated above are helpful in providing the basis from which urban problems and policy can be seen to have developed. Collectively these themes are what urban regeneration does, but alone they do not

provide a definition of urban regeneration. Urban regeneration, as a process, is both complex and challenging. The definition given by Roberts (2003, 17) is:

Urban regeneration is the comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change.

This definition captures the characteristics of urban regeneration. More simply, urban regeneration could be defined as the re-use or redevelopment of declining or run down parts of urban areas to bring them back to life and economic vitality. The British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA), formed in 1990, is an independent organisation concerned with the renewal of towns and cities. The Association aims to be at the forefront of new thinking on urban regeneration. According to BURA urban regeneration can mean almost anything; in fact, these days it seems to mean almost everything. The regeneration agenda has expanded through the many discussion documents, revised policy guidelines and some new initiatives, notably the New Deal for Communities. Even across Europe urban regeneration policies are variations of a common strategy. In any regeneration process it is important to understand the reasons behind the decline of an area and to have a clear picture of what can be achieved and how. As acknowledged by Taggart (2000), regeneration is about 'getting real' about 'what is do-able'.

Regeneration is not for the short term. There are no quick fixes to urban problems that span decades of neglect. An overall strategic framework for an urban area is critical if the regeneration process is not only to germinate but also to flourish. Urban problems are not unique to a particular town or cities; however it is likely that a specific response to a situation will be needed. As noted by Couch *et al.* (2003) one significant trend that emerged from their research on urban regeneration in Europe is the process of rediscovery that many of the communities have had to go through as a result of the regeneration process. By recognising the importance of their (often neglected) built heritage, and by taking an innovative approach to regeneration, they have been successful in stimulating economic activity, encouraging social inclusion, and restoring

environmental quality. There are many public and private sector groups involved in regenerating urban areas, each with their own agenda and set of ideals. It is the constantly changing social, cultural, economic and environmental dynamics of our cities that makes regenerating urban areas so intensely fascinating. Regeneration involves economic and funding issues, physical improvements and environmental aspects, the need for partnerships, social and community inclusion, employment, education and training. Providing evidence that investment in our urban historic environment plays an integral part in reshaping the future of our major cities fundamentally emphasises the importance of connecting people and places.

In recent years, English Heritage has contributed to large-scale regeneration initiatives, targeting the worn-out parts of our inner cities. Over the last decade this approach has been reflected in the engagement of English Heritage in Conservation Area Partnership Schemes (CAPS) and Heritage Economic Regeneration Schemes (HERS), and the Heritage Lottery Fund through its Townscape Heritage Initiatives (THI) in delivering substantial funding to assist conservation-led regeneration (Beacham, 2001). These initiatives can raise the profile of an area and change the perception of a place. Such schemes assist in re-building confidence and can provide the vehicle that kick starts the regeneration process and attracts further inward investment.

Re-using industrial buildings is more than just considering the present in order to overcome inner city dereliction. The viability of each scheme should be considered both for the medium and long terms. Using the historic environment to encourage urban regeneration goes some way to unlocking the potential desirability of an area and the meaning of re-use. The historic environment represents the investment of centuries and gives places a unique competitive advantage (English Heritage, 2000). Current central and local government planning and fiscal policies are increasingly directed towards re-using such sites and buildings (Nugent, 2002). Conservation-led regeneration, according to English Heritage (2000), generates jobs, attracts people to live in an area, businesses to invest, and tourists to visit. For example, the redevelopment of docklands or the re-use of old factory buildings has created a new image for many cities. This wave of regeneration is also seemingly having a significant effect on urban living and the urban

image. Hall (2001) believes that local authorities have sought to re-invent the urban environment through 'positive environmental images', using 'flagship projects of urban regeneration' that suggests 'a progressive, dynamic city on the move'. More than ever imagery is used to create identity. Urban areas want to be seen as desirable and enticing, projecting images of success, wealth, lifestyle, leisure and fashion. These images are as much about people as they are about the place. In today's society lifestyle is about life choices. It is about a city that attracts you for what that city characterises. Also, a city can provide the image of a type of person you want to be seen as. The image of Oxford, for example, is of a place steeped in academic history, of eminence and stature, honour, heritage and classic cars. Oxford attracts certain types of people because of what it represents.

Over a decade ago, Harvey (1989) observed that many cities were becoming alike and success in one location diffused to other places. But is it the 'concept' or the 'image' that is permeable? One such example is waterfront revitalisation schemes. Although such a concept is limited practically, the idea of using existing urban features to regenerate an area should be promoted. The factors that stimulate the development and application of urban regeneration programmes vary from place to place. However, in general, the primary reason for urban regeneration is to respond to urban changes that have detrimental effects, either traumatic such as an industrial closure, or gradual such as the economic and physical decay of an area (Lichfield, 1992).

In summary, it would seem that there is a commonality between the approaches to urban regeneration. It is recognised by both Roberts (2003) and Hall (2001) that further development in respect of regeneration theory and practice is important. Urban regeneration is not an isolated activity carried out by a single profession. An integrated and comprehensive approach is deemed critical if regeneration is to be successful. If regeneration previously meant property development, waterfront improvements, business parks and expensive housing, such activities did little for local communities. Regeneration is continuously being re-defined. Regeneration activities must fit into the politics concerned with social inclusion, recognising that there is such a thing as communities, and that these communities, damaged by de-industrialisation and neglect,

need help. This research explores the relationship between the practice of urban regeneration, conservation and re-use, and the impact our historic environment can have in helping facilitate the aspirations of an area.

2.3 Re-use and conservation-led urban regeneration

Historic buildings survive because they are, amongst other things, familiar. Old properties, whether urban or rural, have had to respond to the everyday needs of the generations within which they have existed. Conservation is not preservation. Conservation is part of the solution (English Heritage, 1998) in giving areas in decline a new lease of life. Conservation-led change has a vital role in the social and economic regeneration of our towns and cities and the creation of safe, stable and sustainable communities (English Heritage, 1998). It is about recognising the potential of the historic environment and its ability to respond and adapt to social and economic conditions. The creative adaptation and re-use of historic buildings is at the heart of conservation-led regeneration. Buildings become redundant or fall into a state of disrepair for a variety of reasons. Often it is not just the building that is affected, but the value of the area, the local community and the image of the place are also damaged.

Urban areas are in a constant state of change. According to Lally (2002), policies, advice, and initiatives at a national, regional, and local level exert a complex series of influences on the shaping of the English urban landscape. Tied to this landscape is the relationship between people and the historic environment. It is the belief of Kaempfer (1999) that buildings define and drive a community (i.e. size, design, quality and purpose), and shape individuals and societies alike. Certainly the Industrial Revolution influenced the internal geographies of many cities. Physical connections between cities were made, and economic and political links were also established. The demise of the country's great manufacturing base left many urban and rural areas in a state of instability, communities in shock and buildings abandoned. In recent years, English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and Regional Development Agencies (RDA) have contributed to large regeneration initiatives, targeting the worn-out parts of our

inner cities by delivering substantial funding to assist conservation-led regeneration. There exists powerful evidence of the role played by the historic environment in making better places. The English Heritage publication *Capital Solutions* (2004) gives more than twenty successful examples of the integration of the old and the new in London which have created dynamic and exciting places. The synergy between conservation and regeneration is not just about the historic environment. Places like Gloucester Docks and the former Great Western Railway in Swindon show how investing in our heritage creates business confidence, gives local communities a sense of pride and improves the quality of their environment. At a policy level, conservation-led regeneration contributes significantly to delivering Government's urban agenda of positive brownfield development, the re-use of existing buildings, the delivery of mixed-use and mixed-tenure housing, high quality public spaces and community cohesion, all of which ensure sustainability. Conservation-led change is central to such activities.

According to the English Heritage publication *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* (2000) it would appear that the whole notion of what constitutes re-use and the importance we, as a nation, attach to our built heritage is now more definitive than ever. So much so that this review of policies (relating to the historic environment of England) reads almost like a charter from which all considered professional opinion should take stock. Conservation *per se* has received increased media coverage during recent years and it would seem that saving old buildings has become a national pastime with a succession of building restoration television programmes and everyday literature. This passion for our built environment is based on the high value most people place on the historic environment and the concern that people have for their immediate surroundings (English Heritage, 2000). It is evident from key publications on re-using historic buildings (e.g. Latham, 2000 and Stratton, 2000) that urban issues are important when re-using buildings in our towns and cities. *Heritage Dividend* (English Heritage, 2002) identifies a number of conditions for successful conservation-led regeneration. These include:

- Foster community cohesion.
- Assist local entrepreneurs.
- Enhance local distinctiveness and attract new investment.
- Deliver new homes through adaptation and renovation.
- Develop liveable towns and cities.
- Contribute to social, environmental and economic sustainability.

These conditions are essential to creating a sense of place and giving broken areas a new lease of life and, in some cases, identity. But each condition is fundamentally about people and their relationship with their area.

Many towns and cities have a number of vacant buildings, some more tired and unloved than in a serious state of decay. Often these areas are inner city districts and redundant industrial sites (the focus of this research programme), dwindling sea-side towns and declining rural settlements. Where places suffer from severe social and economic deprivation, the lack of investment is usually reflected in the quality of the environment. Frequently conservation provides the catalyst for the regeneration of an area by bringing back into use a locally cherished building. Certainly this is reflected in the genre of television programmes about building restoration that seem to be more popular than ever. In 2003 the BBC2 television programme 'Restoration' promised to rescue much-loved old buildings from obscurity. It focused on vacant buildings of various types, styles and ages; properties that to the local community were as familiar and cherished as family elders. This programme raised awareness about the common and unfortunate plight of such structures up and down the country. It also provided an insight into the determined efforts of local groups in restoring old buildings, but just as importantly the communities that wanted such buildings to be used again.

In some places the focus of activity has been the result of area based grant schemes and in other areas landmark buildings are the focus of activity. The impact of conservation area schemes should not be underestimated. As mentioned previously, the English Heritage 'Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme' (HERS) and the Heritage Lottery Fund 'Townscape Heritage Initiative' (THI) have provided the kick start that many local economies have needed. These initiatives are similar, but have some key differences, such as the ability of THIs to contribute towards the cost of new development in instances where the land value is so low that, left to the market, no development would take place (Antram, 1999). Grant schemes for historic places focus on problems in commercial and mixed use areas, and provide financial assistance with building repairs and reinstatement works, and bringing vacant floorspace back into use. By raising the quality of the townscape, such schemes aspire to ensure continued local employment, encourage inward investment, promote secure sustainable communities and generate a vibrant mix of uses.

Building conservation is not just about preserving historic fabric and stopping people doing irreparable damage to old buildings. It is about good design, sympathetic alterations, and repairs that are in keeping with the age and character of the building and townscape. Conservation also plays an important role in regenerating urban areas, helping maintain the identity of a place that people care for. The re-use and refurbishment of historic buildings can raise the profile of an area by creating a perception of success and vitality and perhaps provide the kick-start a local economy has been waiting for.

The majority of these initiatives are measured by outputs relating to the amount of floorspace brought back into use, the number of jobs created and safeguarded, the number of businesses assisted and attracted to the area, and the amount of private sector leverage. But it is far more difficult to have measurable outputs that understand a change in perception, describe a sense of vibrancy and appreciate the local character and distinctiveness that was there all along, just hidden.

2.4 The social and cultural impact of re-use

This research programme focuses on the social and cultural issues that re-use inspires of our industrial buildings. These issues will have certain economic and environmental implications, and it would be naive to suggest otherwise. The important point, relative to an understanding of economics and its relationship to re-use, can be focused towards the political, in particular, the allocation of funds (nationally, regionally, and locally) for re-use schemes, and the criteria used to determine which schemes are important enough and for what reasons. English Heritage (2000) makes a series of recommendations concerning economic issues. They suggest that 'most historic buildings are fully capable of economic use'. Other possible policy issues identified by English Heritage include conservation-led regeneration encouraging private-sector investment, tourism being a great catalyst for regeneration, and conservation and regular building maintenance creating long term, sustainable jobs. In addition there is a serious shortage of traditional building skills in many parts of the country (English Heritage, 2000).

The most serious environmental concerns are climate change, the depletion of the ozone layer, consumption of materials, water and fossil fuels, emission of pollutants and waste, and the researcher has an appreciation of such matters. At a more practical level, efficient use of energy is generally acknowledged to be one of the most significant environmental topics relating to buildings (Watts, 1998). Energy efficiency can be improved in many ways with greater thermal insulation, efficient lighting, efficient services, building management systems, making use of solar gain, use of soft landscaping, and specification of appropriate building materials (i.e. locally sources materials with a long-life expectancy). According to Turner *et al.* (1994), environmental efforts are loosely co-ordinated and directed at specific issues and problems. Clients, design teams, planners and developers increasingly have to consider the environmental implications and sustainable performance of new developments and in bringing existing buildings back into use. It is about complying with environmental requirements, supporting a wider strategy, creating better places for people to live and work, measuring the performance of buildings, developing action plans and increasing building efficiency. These environmental aspects of sustainability will increase in

significance and importance as awareness of these issues means that there is no going back.

The researcher does not believe economic and environmental concerns to be less worthy of enquiry than social and cultural issues of re-use, conservation and urban regeneration. The decision to focus on these perspectives is based on the adapted research aims (Table 1.2). Exploring the meaning of re-use for historic industrial buildings and contextualising the research in relation to urban regeneration became the primary objectives of this research programme.

2.4.1 Social and cultural perspectives

What are social perspectives? To be more precise, what are the social perspectives that can be said to have significance in regard to re-use, conservation and urban regeneration? The answer to these questions can be as broad and varied as the concepts and theories that sociologists have developed over the past 100 years. However, it is possible to attempt a more precise analysis when considering that most sociological concepts concern people in the same way that the built environment concerns people. This tenuous link brings to light issues such as economics, politics, law, liberty, status and social order. All of these provide foundations for dominant strains of sociological concern throughout the twentieth century. It can be seen how these issues overlap, weaving in and out of the built environment to provide a fabric that can not be ignored when considering the function, symbolism and impact of our heritage on the everyday lives of people. It is with these concepts that the prestigious first generation sociologists such as Marx (including post-Marx sociology: Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1971), Durkheim (1967) and Parsons (1951) concerned themselves (Edgar and Sedgwick, 1999).

Having highlighted the broad sociological issues the researcher explored the issues of urban sociology and urban geography which has greatly benefited and enriched the research.

Urban sociology is a major area of study and the relationship between urban geography and urban sociology has traditionally been close (Hall, 2001). Developed in the 1960s urban sociology has been greatly influenced by the sociologist Max Weber and the body of work is referred to as 'neo-Weberian'. This offered a perspective on the city as a site of regulation and allocation for scarce resources (Hall, 2001). Extensive studies have been carried out relating to key urban issues, namely housing, employment, and ethnicity. During more recent times Ley (1983) believes that urban sociology has highlighted the importance of the role of public and private 'gatekeepers' such as local authority, estate agents and building societies, and the role of consumption rather than production in the creation of social divisions. From this point it is now feasible to begin defining in more detail what is meant by the term 'culture', for the issue of culture is important in the development of Stage 2 of this research programme.

Edgar and Sedgwick (1999) note that culture is 'polyvocal'. By this they mean it is contextual and difficult to define. Yet, for the purpose of this programme, the term culture can be understood as a 'circuit' of 'shared meanings' (Hall *et al.*, 1997). This denotes that, via language, everything that is human is cultural. The way in which meaning is attached to activities, objects and buildings provides a representation of a culture at any given time. Within this notion and remembering the issues relating to sociological theory, there are many perspectives that can be applied to exploring re-use from an unusual perspective. For example, Woodward (1997) identifies a sense of 'belonging' as being an important cultural issue for future research, whilst others highlight tradition (Benjamin, 1991), identity (Du Gay, 1997), media (Thompson, 1997) and consumption (Mackay, 1997).

It is important to make clear that this research programme does not focus on the multicultural and multi-ethnic dimension of urban regeneration. Social inclusion is an important part of the heritage agenda, championed by English Heritage and about promoting and celebrating cultural diversity, identifying ways to increase the accessibility of the historic environment and explore more inclusive educational

opportunities. This research is concerned with the exploration of the representations and lived experiences of everyday life (cultural knowledge) and identifying the patterns of culture within the re-use of industrial buildings. Culture expresses the structure (relationships) of a social group and should be analysed, clarified, and valued in terms of the meanings and values of ordinary behaviour and social institutions. For example, the culture of English football and the culture of the Women's Institute (WI) are particular social groups. The image of English football has changed over recent decades but every football supporter has an unfaltering dedication, regardless of division or league, to his/her team. Switching loyalties is a not an option. Once perceived as being a white male, drinking, sometimes violent culture, families now fill terraces. As a football fan you reserve the right to moan about your team's performance and draw fellow supporters into conversations about 'the game plan', 'the manager' or more frequently 'the referee'. It is a foreign land with its own language to those outside the world of football. There are the same unspoken rules when seeking to understand the culture of the WI. In the same way that there exists an image of a football fan, the image of the WI is also very strong. Retired, cardigan wearing, flower arranging, jam making, busy-bodies with the best of intentions. Understanding what it is like to be a member of the WI in today's society is as complicated as trying to appreciate what it means to be a football fan. Culture is what connects the WI and football. These social groups, these worlds, are not exclusive but in order to be accepted you have to learn the behaviour of the culture.

Taking into account the above, it can be seen that there are numerous possibilities for synthesising cultural focus into that which is re-use. This research programme is concerned with the culture of re-use, the people involved in conservation-led regeneration and engaged in bringing industrial buildings back into use.

It can therefore be seen that there are numerous possibilities for synthesising a cultural focus into that which is re-use. Buildings do not exist in isolation, but represent the action and interaction between people and their surroundings (Watt, 1999). In the same way that re-use and conservation are innately human activities, it comes as no surprise that there have been many papers written by eminent post-structural philosophers

regarding the built environment and culture. These include the construction of space (Kracauer, 1990), the art of thinking about buildings (Heidegger, 1971), the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991), and an understanding of semiology and the urban. Even more specific (in relation to the development of this research programme), much post-structural work has focused on how culture is inseparable from the function of the sign and the semiotics of architecture (Eco, 1986), modern and post-modern architecture (Habermas, 1982), and the overexposed city (Virilio, 1991).

Cultural analysis of these types of perspective focuses not only on the people involved in urban issues, but the ideas that are relative to a specific time and place. For example, the cultural issues of the 1960s are likely to be quite different from those that exist today. Smith (2000) states that 'cultural analysis ...attempts to identify the extraordinary in the ordinary experiences of a social group or community' (remembering the work of Jacobs, 1964). The sources show many great thinkers to acknowledge that it is impossible to take the built environment out of the cultural and vice versa. Their attempt to identify the everyday assumptions associated with re-use and conservation provides an established theoretical perspective from which this research programme has developed.

2.5 Semiotics, myths and discourse

The underlying argument behind the semiotic approach is that since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs. The semiotic approach is amenable to an analysis which makes use of Saussure's linguistic concepts of the sign (i.e. signifier + signified = sign) (Hall, 1997). Barthes (1993) uses Saussure's model and applies it to cultural themes, concepts and meanings. Barthes uses the terms 'denotation' and 'connotation' to refer to cultural signifiers of cultural themes. Denotation refers to the basic and simple meaning that, for example, a historic environment professional protects our heritage assets. Connotation refers to the more complex level of meaning which needs de-coding. Using the example just given, it is a historic environment professional's job to protect our heritage assets, it makes them

feel valuable, they are conserving the past for future generations, reinforcing the importance of our historic environment, and its value in today's society in creating pleasant environments and job opportunities. All cultural signs will have both denotation and connotation to form a complete sign. An understanding of both is necessary to analyse the realms of social ideology, conceptual frameworks and value systems of a particular culture, in this instance the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

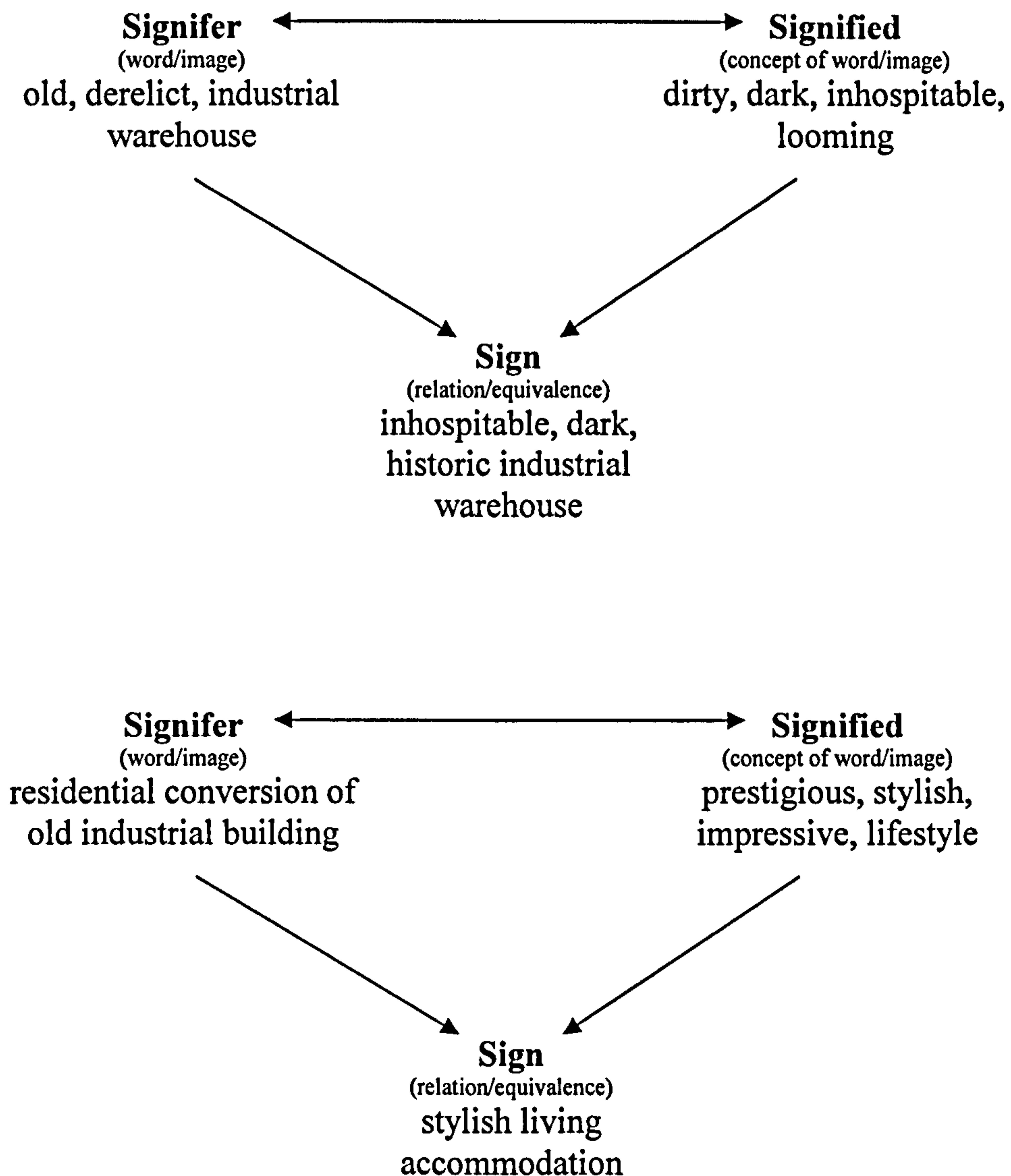


Figure 2.1 The sign.

The language studied by Saussure is a first-order system: it involves a signifier, a signified and their combination in a sign (Allen, 2003). Barthes' model proposes the

notion of ‘myth’. Myth acts on already existent signs. For a proper semiotic analysis to be carried out it is important to outline precisely the different steps by which this broader meaning has been produced. This research utilised domain and taxonomic analysis. In myth, representation takes place through two separate, but linked, processes. For example, in the first place the signifiers and the signifieds unite to form a sign with a simple denoted message: a historic environment professional talking to the owner of a vacant, listed warehouse. At the second stage, this completed message is linked to a second set of signifieds, a broader ideological theme about working with property owners, caring for the historic environment, conveying the value and significance of our heritage. This second level of signification is the level of the myth. An example is given in Figure 2.2.

Language	{	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. Signifier old, vacant industrial warehouse</td> <td>2. Signified bring warehouse back into use</td> </tr> </table>	1. Signifier old, vacant industrial warehouse	2. Signified bring warehouse back into use			
		1. Signifier old, vacant industrial warehouse	2. Signified bring warehouse back into use				
<table border="1"> <tr> <td> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>3. Sign convert old industrial warehouse for residential I SIGNIFIER convert old industrial warehouse for residential</td> <td>II SIGNIFIED stylish, impressive, apartment living</td> </tr> </table> </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">III SIGN residential living that is trendy, has status, independence, convenient for socialising, convenient for work, substitute urban family, low maintenance</td> </tr> </table>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>3. Sign convert old industrial warehouse for residential I SIGNIFIER convert old industrial warehouse for residential</td> <td>II SIGNIFIED stylish, impressive, apartment living</td> </tr> </table>	3. Sign convert old industrial warehouse for residential I SIGNIFIER convert old industrial warehouse for residential	II SIGNIFIED stylish, impressive, apartment living		III SIGN residential living that is trendy, has status, independence, convenient for socialising, convenient for work, substitute urban family, low maintenance		
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III SIGN residential living that is trendy, has status, independence, convenient for socialising, convenient for work, substitute urban family, low maintenance							

Figure 2.2 Myth (Barthes, 1993, 115).

It would seem reasonable to question what benefit lies in this type of cultural analysis and how useful is the idea of myth for analysing culture, in particular the culture of re-use and conservation-led regeneration? To answer such questions, it is important to first consider the definition of culture, which was touched on in Section 2.4. Within the anthropological perspective it is defined as ‘a way of life’, about which differences can be studied (binary oppositions and difference give signs their meaning). For this programme the definition is extended from this ‘way of life’ position to include a focus on the production and exchange of meaning. Therefore, referring to the two questions, it can be argued that the work of Barthes has provided a systematic and scientific method of analysing the everyday occurrences in the culture of conservation-led urban

regeneration. Indeed, Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) (1979) concerns itself with a more intricate examination of the denotation due to the attention given to creating taxonomies of folk terms, which not only indicate the sign and therefore the possible semantic relationship between all signs. The DRS provides a research sequence which, as a model, searches the signifieds by linking all the possible signifiers.

Although Spradley is more concerned with the non-translation of ethnography, the usefulness of Barthes provides this research programme with the tools to explore the connotations of the ethnographic domains and taxonomies. The search for the broader cultural themes made use of Barthes' model, the main cultural theme being 'sense of place'. In practice, this meant understanding how historic environment professionals use language to represent their world, meaningfully, to other people. Thus, the essential part of the process by which 'meaning' is produced, consumed and exchanged between members of the historic environment culture can be thought of as shared knowledge. Such knowledge utilizes mental representations to make use of the similarity and contrast principles (Spradley, 1979) to enable concepts to be distinguished from one another. Concepts are organised into relationships with each other and 'meaning' is dependent upon the relationship between them.

Understanding culture is to understand the shared meaning of relationships between concepts. Concepts are signs and symbols which are assigned 'meaning', being constructed by the system of representation. Therefore culture can be thought of as shared conceptual maps, shared language systems and codes which govern the relationship of translation between them (Hall, 1997). Representation uses material objects, but the meaning depends not on the material quality of the sign, but on its symbolic function. Cultural analysis of the symbolic function can therefore be used as a means of decoding signs and the signification process (the process of assigning meaning to signs). Cultural analysis of this kind has also been the interest of other theorists including Lévi-Strauss, Lacan and Derrida (Smith, 2000).

Durkheim (1967) saw culture largely in terms of its contribution to social order and an opportunity for collectives to share emotional as well as ideological beliefs. Durkheim

focused on culture rather than individual agency in most of his theoretical analysis. What concerned Foucault was the production of knowledge (rather than just meaning) through what he called 'discourse' (rather than just language) (Hall, 1997). Foucault analysed how human beings understand themselves in a culture and how knowledge about the social, the embodied individual and shared meanings come to be produced in different periods. Foucault's work, with its emphasis on cultural understanding and shared meanings, is indebted to Saussure and Barthes.

The concept of discourse, the issue of power and knowledge, and the question of identity were Foucault's major areas of interest. Discourse defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that subject matter can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned. It influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Meaning and meaningful practice are constructed within discourse. Foucault (1980) argues that since we can only have knowledge of things if they have meaning, it is discourse, not the things in themselves, which produces knowledge. For example, there has been a shift in the meaning of historic industrial buildings and it is this meaning, the discourse of bringing old buildings back into use, that produces knowledge, not the structures themselves.

2.6 The cultural meaning of the historic environment

There has been increasing interest in the study of meaning in a number of disciplines since the mid-1970s, including the meaning of the built environment. As noted by Rapoport (1990) it appears that people react to environments in terms of the meanings such environments have for them. This could therefore be said of the historic environment, and the meanings people attached to their heritage; meanings that are more latent than obvious.

Meanings are in people, not in objects or things. However, things do elicit meanings. The question is how meanings can be encoded in things in such a way that they can be decoded by the intended users. The historic environment to those involved in building

conservation is broadly concerned with the contribution the past can make to the present and future environments. Historic buildings and places provide a link to the past, and create friendly places, legible townscapes, a greater variety of urban forms and superior public realms. A vacant industrial building can hold that potential. To a local community, a derelict industrial building could be considered as giving an area a bad name, regardless of the historic value.

The study of meaning involves issues of representation and, in the context of this research, it is the representation of the historic environment which is being explored. This involves considering the ways in which meanings of places are constructed, and understanding how meaning impacts upon the culture of the historic environment. Dovey (1999) states that such theory stems largely from the realisation that language is not a transparent medium through which we view the world. Rather, language constructs the subjectivity of those who use it.

Representation, as defined by Hall (1997), is one of the central practices which produces cultural meaning and a key moment in what has been called the 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay, 1997). The idea that culture can be thought of as a circuit rather than a historical linear evolution is an idea which has been considered by post-structural and postmodern thinkers during the past 35 years. It is argued that culture is about 'shared meanings' - without a shared meaning there is no culture. Language is the privileged medium in which we make sense of things, in which meanings are produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language. That is, meaning is constructed in and through language, rather than being a simple reflection of meaning which already exists or as an expression of what a person wants to say. The study of meaning (using structural and post-structural models) makes use of the semiotic approach, which was greatly influenced by Saussure (1959), the work of Barthes (1993) on myth, and Foucault (1980) on the concept of discourse. For Barthes, many signs are not as simple or clear as they may appear. Barthes' concerns are the ways that society produced self-effacing signs that do not look like signs and linked together sustain authority and which he calls 'mythologies' (Dovey, 1999).

Linguistics is the study of language. Semiotics is used to refer to all signs, not just language. The work of Spradley (1979) on the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) is firmly rooted in the principles of Saussure who said that language is a closed system with no universally fixed concepts. Signs are assigned meaning and we understand what they mean because they are different from other signs. Neither the material object nor the individual users of language can affix meaning in language to a sign. Meaning is constructed using representational systems which involves concepts and signs (Hall, 1997). People generally regard historic urban industrial areas to be dirty, dark, noisy, forbidding, unhealthy and at one time very smoky. These meanings exist because of what such an area was not - quiet and gentle, friendly, healthy and pleasant. Regenerating such areas is about new signs and meanings, about image and ideals. Rapoport (1990) states that the meaning aspects of the environment are critical and central, so that the physical environment - clothes, furnishings, buildings, gardens, streets - is used in the presentation of self and to establish group identity. The focus of this research is on the meanings elicited by re-used old industrial buildings. It considers how new signs are encoded during the refurbishment of such properties and decoded by potential users generating new meanings.

This research programme utilises the earlier structuralist work of Saussure as the primary philosophical foundation in its methodology. It also uses semiotics and discourse (post-structural) to analyse the impact of 'sense of place' as a system of representation in the culture of the historic environment. Both sounds (language) and material objects can function as signs. As mentioned previously, signs are made up of two parts, the signifier and the signified, considered as form and content, or image and meaning. The signifier is the form (i.e. word, behaviour, object) which triggers the mental concepts, the signified (content). Signifiers have to be organised into systems of difference (contrast sets) for them to operate. Thus, language has a distinctive way of organising the world into concepts and categories. What is true of sound is true of ideas, as ideas do not exist before words.

All of the historic environment professionals who participated in the research said that they had complete autonomy as individuals, that they were individual practitioners

working as historic environment professionals. In addition, the cultural myths indicate that the cultural meaning goes to reinforce the notion of the individual practitioner. However, if there is no cultural meaning without language, and that language is the medium used to think, all individuals are therefore part of a system. Historic environment professionals are part of a system or a culture.

The study of culture, within post-structural theory, was developed from Saussure's original encoding/decoding linguistics model (1959). In particular, it emphasises the ability to divide the sign into its two components, the signifier and the signified. The development of post-structuralism occurred as theorists applied this principle to unspoken signs. For example, the observations and symbols that occur when people interact or when they interact with their (historic) environment. But it is important to note that (unlike the symbolic interactionist and functionalist perspective) post-structural theory is concerned with the larger structures which have meaning, rather than the study of specific interactions between individuals. That is not to say that these types of interactions cannot be analysed; it is just that the emphasis is placed upon what Barthes (1993) terms the connotation of a sign and the larger structures which Foucault (1980) called discourse. Discourse embraces all of the practices through which - as with meanings are communicated (not just speech and writings). The built environment like food, fashion or film - is a primary form of discourse (Dovey, 1999).

2.7 Place imagery: communicating and selling an image

In the 1980s there was renewed interest in the promotion and marketing of urban areas to encourage people to want to live in cities. This became an important feature in urban management planning. The process of 'place imagery' or 'city marketing' is gaining increasing attention, not just through the tourism industry (by selling the city as a product to consumers), but to those who live and work in urban areas. Cities have images at national and international levels. Manchester is defined by its industrial past in the same way Liverpool and other urban areas are. However, this is just one image of Manchester. Manchester over the last 20 years has developed this ever-so-cool image,

possibly music related, but certainly whether you are 20 or 50 years old and are looking to live the urban lifestyle then Manchester is the place. It is not possible to mention Manchester without mentioning football. Manchester United is a brand; it is not just a football club in the same way that CocaCola is not just a drink. There are children in Africa who support Manchester United, and places like Liverpool have similar international recognition. Shared meanings and cultural understanding exist whether relating to football or re-used historic industrial buildings.

In response to creeping globalisation, local identity and distinctiveness are now of greater significance and value. It is therefore important that local authorities consider the market context and competitive position of their town or city. The image of a place can affect the economics of an area (with regards to business investment and development), but also assist in attracting people to live and work there.

According to Page (1995) the purpose of place marketing can be examined through how cities differ from other products which are marketed. Place marketing encompasses a range of activities targeted at improving the competitive advantage of a town or a city, including the creation of a new geo-image. Such activities are about making a town or city more attractive than others, to retain existing and attract new private sector investment, promote public sector funding, and entice people to live, work or visit the area. It is not feasible to carry out a detailed review of place imagery within the confines of the present research, but the key issues of place imagery will be considered and the relationship between conservation-led regeneration in city marketing explored. Image and identity are common themes throughout this research programme, together with the ways that such images are transmitted and consumed by people.

Selling places in an urban context is based on the principle that the city is a place-product which can be marketed and promoted to potential customers (Page, 1995). As with economics, the ultimate regulator of 'demand' is the consumers' demand (the price which consumers are willing to pay). Kotler *et al.* (1993) argues that place marketing at its core embraces four activities:

- Designing the right mix of community features and services.
- Setting attractive incentives for the current and potential buyers and users of its goods and services.
- Delivering a place's products and services in an efficient, accessible way.
- Promoting the place's values and image so that potential users are fully aware of the place's distinctive advantages.

Perception is fundamental to the above activities. Local authorities are more aware than ever of the impact that their image can have on how their area is portrayed and viewed regionally and nationally. As noted by English Heritage (2005), an attractive environment can help to draw in external investment as well as sustain existing businesses of all types, not just tourism-related. Conservation-led regeneration activities, when carried out with sensitivity, create better places and help reinforce a sense of place. Key to place imagery is understanding how places change and recognising the importance of the past.

Kotler *et al.* (1993) go further in their analysis of place marketing and believe that the following criteria must be met if a place image is to be effective:

- It must be valid and not based in fantasy.
- It must be realistic.
- It needs to be believable.
- It should be simple.
- About all it should have appeal.

- It should be distinctive to differentiate the city from other destinations while emphasising the unique characteristics of the place.

Slogans, themes and life positions, including visual symbols and events, are used in the marketing of everything from Levi jeans to Boddingtons beer. As noted by Page (1995), slogans are also used to embody the overall vision of a place, in contrast with themes, which are more versatile, flexible and able to create a new image of an area. Life positions are perhaps the most targeted in combining the social and media in branding cities, thus highlighting the complexities involved in place imagery. Straplines such as 'Sheffield - City on the Move', 'Bradford's Bouncing Back' (which more recently has become 'Bradford, A Surprising Place'), and 'Coventry Inspires' reflect the generality of marketing but also the aspirations that these statements bear. It would seem that most urban areas are keen to brand, to promote local pride and attract inward investment, but underlying all of this must be a sense of authenticity. Where heritage is concerned there is also the issue of realism - should the past speak for itself or is a fuller context needed so as to facilitate the learning experience.

With regard to visual symbols, prominent features in the urban landscape are used to create an image of a city (e.g. St Paul's Cathedral in London, the Liver Building in Liverpool, and the Rotunda (or perhaps now the Selfridges Building) in Birmingham). This approach to place imagery has been used on the side of coaches by means of a picture of Birmingham's skyline and merging it with the skyline of London. A few of the meanings attached to this image could be of closeness, ease, accessibility, on the doorstep, and familiarity. The cities of London and Paris are used in the recent television advertisement for Renault cars. As a mode of transport the car, in this instance a Renault, can get you from London to Paris and back. Renault is obviously in the business of selling cars, but it also sells lifestyles (depending on the car and target consumer). In the London to Paris advertisement the image is one of a sophisticated, urban, stylish, and leisurely lifestyle.

Events can be used to influence people's view of an urban area over time. Glasgow - through urban regeneration, imaginative marketing and its role in harnessing the arts as a European City of Culture in 1990 - has transformed itself into a desirable place to visit (Neill, 1993). Glasgow's official tourist guide uses the strapline 'Glasgow - Scotland with Style'. This strapline is interesting as at one level it suggests chic, classy and cultural. At another level it can be interpreted as implying that the rest of Scotland is style-less, with the exception of Glasgow, which is all-style. According to Neill (1993) examples of re-imagining cities, through the mobilisation of the arts and cultural industries, local heritage and physical renewal centred on the city centre are not hard to find. During recent years Sheffield has had a variety of straplines focusing on the city's past including its cultural and regeneration activities as follows: 'Sheffield City of Steel', 'Sheffield Shines', 'Sheffield - City of Culture' and 'Sheffield 24 Hour City'.

It would seem therefore that our urban areas now need to be marketed, and marketed well. As market forces keep changing, and towns and cities vie to be more attractive than others, there is no room for complacency. In order for a city to bring prosperity and a competitive edge it is important that place buyers - investors, residents and visitors - identify the right locality for their needs.

How re-used industrial buildings signify the past is an important consideration in the representation of a town or city. It is not just a question of whether such heritage is represented, but how it is represented (McGuigan, 1996). Museum curators used to be complacent about the meaning of their collections and rarely asked visitors what they thought of them. Marketing a venue or a city brings other concerns. As noted by McGuigan (1996), an important consideration is whether the museum visitor is conceived as a customer to be persuaded or as a citizen with a voice in the representation of the past. English Heritage (2005) recognises that there needs to be a respect for what already exists by making sure that places that people value are kept for the future. Understanding and appreciating what exists and what people think about their heritage is critical in defining a sense of place.

If this consideration is extended to the re-use of historic industrial buildings, is the intention to convince people to look again at their industrial past by re-packaging it as fashionable urban living or is approval being sought for the decision to re-use warehouses and mill buildings to regenerate large parts of urban areas?

As mentioned in previous sections many industrial cities have experienced hard times and most are now engaged in various strategies to meet the challenge of being (and being perceived as) a thriving, vibrant city. It would seem that those urban areas that have adopted a strategic marketing plan to build a better future and bring prosperity to their communities are engaged in successful regeneration initiatives.

Place imagery is a sophisticated process that is interpreted in different ways by different people. It is important that a holistic view to city marketing is taken and that it is seen as an ongoing process. Such an approach offers a new way to view a city. It also creates opportunities for public-private sector partnerships to promote the brand of a city.

2.8 Summary

The significance of specific literature has been essential for the development of this research programme. On the one hand, it would appear that there is limited published work related to the specific questions encompassing the re-use of industrial buildings. On the other, it can be seen that there is an extensive amount of theory that relates to the broader view of this research programme. This is certainly true of the topic areas of social and cultural perspectives. One important consideration relates to the epistemological strain of post-structural theory and its interest in the built environment.

Although current literature would suggest that there is an increasing trend towards re-use, there are gaps that can account for the need to pursue a particular post-structuralist approach to exploring the 'hidden assumptions' of re-use. The literature review has identified a number of considerations for this research programme. Each of the sections brings together many competing themes about what re-use, conservation-led

regeneration and place imagery are. It can be seen that the theories associated with cultural understanding, shared meaning and discourse are all relevant for an interpretation of the focal data to be made.

Section 3.0

Research methodology

Methodology can require you to grapple with a whole range of philosophical, theoretical, empirical and experimental problems, and it can require a major effort to try and identify, tackle, and resolve these, particularly when you are really itching to undertake the substantive research.

Taylor (1996, 76)

This section presents the methodology used in this research programme and has three aims:

- To provide a summary of the overall methodology for the research programme.
- To provide an account of the sampling methods used during the study.
- To provide an account of ethical considerations, reliability and validity of results, triangulation and data management methods.

3.1 Qualitative research

The most basic definition of qualitative data would be that it is typically, but not necessarily, in the form of words. In contrast, quantitative data is characteristically in alpha-numeric form. This simplest of meanings is worthy of note, as in the field of research there are no set rules that state one approach must be used over another. When a research strategy has been developed it can inevitably be undertaken from more than one theoretical perspective or by a range of methods; and may combine methods that produce both quantitative data and qualitative data.

There is still, however, a view that qualitative research lacks the rigour of quantitative research, and that a qualitative researcher is not as scholarly as a quantitative researcher.

For any research programme it is important to consider the various methods, including the strengths and weaknesses of each approach, and apply the most fitting for what the researcher is trying to find out.

Within the social sciences there is a range of dominant comparable research approaches, commonly referred to as qualitative research, as opposed to the quantitative research typical of the positivist tradition. The subject matter of this social science research programme is people and their relationship with re-used historic urban industrial buildings. People, unlike the objects of the natural world, are conscious, purposive actors who have ideas about their world and attach meaning to what is going on around them (Robson, 2002). In particular, their behaviour depends crucially on these ideas and meanings.

As Hammersley (1992) argues, the process of enquiry in science is the same whatever method is used, and retreat into paradigms effectively stultifies debate and hampers progress. The features of qualitative and quantitative research can be described as follows:

Qualitative	Quantitative
Soft	Hard
Flexible	Fixed
Subjective	Objective
Political	Value-free
Case study	Survey
Speculative	Hypothesis testing
Grounded	Abstract

Table 3.1 Claimed features of qualitative and quantitative methods (Halfpenny, 1979, 799).

It is interesting to note that these descriptions might suggest that quantitative research is superior because, for example, it is 'value-free' (Silverman, 2000), although such value freedom in social research is neither desirable nor possible.

Qualitative research is an approach that seeks to describe and explore everyday life events. Often qualitative researchers assume that a dependence on purely quantitative methods may neglect the social and cultural construction of the 'variables' which quantitative research seeks to correlate (Silverman, 2000).

There is a view that the only way of achieving validity of results is by using quantitative methods and this is a genuine concern for social researchers. These methods may simply be inappropriate for some types of social investigations. Fortunately there are many examples where quantifying results may sometimes be useful, but it should also be recognised that there are areas of social reality which statistics cannot measure (Silverman, 2000). It is important that those quantitative researchers holding such beliefs consider further the role and benefits of social studies.

The preferences of qualitative research are detailed in Table 3.2 and have been adapted by Silverman (2000). These features have assisted in focusing the nature of this research.

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. A preference for qualitative data - understood simply as the analysis of words and images rather than numbers.2. A preference for naturally-occurring data - observation rather than experiment, unstructured rather than structured interviews.3. A preference for meanings rather than behaviour - attempting 'to document the world from the point of view of the people studied' (Hammersley, 1992).4. A rejection of the natural science as a model.5. A preference for inductive, hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis testing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).
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Table 3.2 Preferences of qualitative researchers (Silverman, 2000, 8).

There has been much criticism of qualitative research from quantitatively led investigations and a view that 'statistical analysis' should be the very foundation of any research to ensure that it is more focused and rigorous (seeming more proper). As noted by Silverman (2000), these reservations have some basis given the fact that qualitative research is, by definition, stronger on long descriptive narratives than on statistical tables. He continues, that the problem then arises as to how such a researcher goes about categorising the events or activities described. This is sometimes known as the problem of 'reliability', which, as Hammersley (1992) puts it, refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions. Reliability is discussed in more detail in Section 3.7.

A further criticism of qualitative research relates to how sound the explanations are that it offers (Silverman, 2000). This is referred to as a problem of 'anecdotalism', where qualitative research reports tell of a few 'well-chosen' examples to illustrate findings, avoiding less clear focal data. Bryman (1988, 77) gives his view of this issue:

There is a tendency towards an anecdotal approach to the use of data in relation to conclusions or explanations in qualitative research. Brief conversations, snippets from unstructured interviews...are used to provide evidence of a particular contention. There are grounds for disquiet in that the representativeness or generality of these fragments is rarely addressed.

Giving a limited account of a particular event raises questions about the validity of the research. There is a concern that the validity of a piece of research is pulled into question if the researcher avoids contrary cases and becomes precious about the interpretations of people activities. Validity of qualitative research, with particular reference to this study is given in Section 3.7.

It is also evident that during initial investigations, many research texts ignore qualitative data analysis. In *Analyzing Qualitative Data*, Bryman and Burgess (1994) bring together a range of contributors who have worked with qualitative data and demonstrate a range of approaches involved in qualitative data analysis. The 'generation of concepts' is one

of the most frequently mentioned aspects of qualitative data analysis (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). In order to explore such concepts, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) recommend immersing oneself in the data and then searching out patterns, identifying possibly surprising phenomena, and being sensitive to inconsistencies, such as divergent views offered by different groups of individuals. Spradley (1979) mentions the building of typologies and taxonomies as an important component of analysis. This involves depicting sub-groups within a category. According to Bryman and Burgess (1994) this approach can become helpful in the identification of differences in the data and can assist with the explanation of relationships among concepts. Spradley provides a framework for social and cultural investigations within which he identifies over 30 different kinds of ethnographic questions, each of which can be used to elicit cultural knowledge. The application of Spradley's model and the use of ethnographic questions formed the basis of the semi-structured interview method carried out in Stage 2 of the current research programme.

As mentioned previously, the most important decision when embarking on formal research is selecting the most appropriate approach for the line of enquiry, having considered the various research approaches available. This was taken on board early in this research programme. From the outset the researcher ensured that she was aware of the range of approaches so as to make an informed decision as to the methods of investigation that best suited her work. Also, the researcher quickly became aware that, in relation to the comments made earlier about the varying perceptions of qualitative research, there is greater emphasis and scrutiny in arguing and defending the qualitative research process employed. If a piece of good qualitative research used simple quantitative methods to assist the research then so be it. There is no reason to prefer any form of data (Silverman, 2000). The following table (Table 3.3) was prepared as a set of criteria for the evaluation of qualitative research papers (Silverman, 2000) and has guided this research study.

1. Are the methods of research appropriate to the nature of the question being asked?
2. Is the connection to an existing body of knowledge or theory clear?
3. Are there clear accounts of the criteria used for the selection of cases for study, and of the data collection and analysis?
4. Does the sensitivity of the method match the needs of the research question?
5. Was the data collection and record-keeping systematic?
6. Is reference made to accepted procedures for analysis?
7. How systematic is the analysis?
8. Is there adequate discussion of how themes, concepts and categories were derived from the data?
9. Is there adequate discussion of the evidence for and against the researcher's arguments?
10. Is a clear distinction made between the data and their interpretation?

Table 3.3 Criteria for the evaluation of research (adapted from Silverman, 2000, 12).

This qualitative research programme utilises simple quantitative methods to assist the line of enquiry. The theoretical framework for this research is considered in the sections on epistemology and methodology that follow.

3.2 Epistemology

Sociologists theorise about the most appropriate way to produce knowledge, this being referred to as epistemology. There are many different epistemologies (theoretical frameworks) about how best to produce knowledge. To name but a few these include literary theory in classical times and the assumptions of Greek philosophers Plato, Aristotle, and others; the rise and fall of neo-classicism from the fourteenth into the fifteenth centuries; romantic literary theory during the eighteenth century; naturalism, symbolism and modernism (mid-1800s); new developments in theory through the work of Nietzsche, Freud, Saussure, and Marx at the end of the nineteenth and start of the

twentieth centuries; phenomenological criticism; and moving towards more recent theories of structuralism, post-structuralism, and postmodernism.

During the early stages of the current research programme various twentieth-century theoretical frameworks (social research strategies) were explored to examine the social and cultural perspectives of re-use. The following were considered:

- **Functionalism** is based on the theory of design where the form of a thing should be determined by its use. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) argued that it is possible to make a direct analogy between the way in which our bodies work and the way society should function. This perspective also assumes that there is agreement about what is important in a society. The American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902-79) developed Durkheim's ideas further. His view of society was that it is a system into which people are socialised, creating a system of interlocking parts that all have a function in sustaining society, and this is the essence of structural functionalism.
- **Phenomenology** assumes that the study of the social world is fundamentally different to the study of the natural world and concentrates on the detailed description of conscious experience. The main focus of phenomenology is on meaning and interpretation. Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) was particularly important in the development of phenomenological philosophy where the main idea is that people are conscious beings. The roots of phenomenology have two main strands, interpretive sociology and interactionism.
- **Critical social research** is the term used to describe an approach to sociological enquiry that attempts to go beneath surface appearances, locating social processes or phenomena in a wide social and historical context. Key concepts of critical social research include structuralism (Claude Lévi-Strauss, b.1908), semiology (Roland Barthes, 1915-80), structural linguistics (Ferdinand de Saussure, 1857-1913), and critical theory (Jugen Habermas, b.1929).

By considering the above epistemologies (ways to produce knowledge) the researcher was able to focus more closely on the theories and strategies most relevant to her study. Sociology, structuralism, post-structuralism, and semiotics are explored further in the following sections.

3.2.1 Sociology

Since classical times people have theorised about the nature of society. Sociology is the study of society; more specifically it is the study of the relationship between society and the individuals that make up society. According to Harvey *et al.* (2000) if you want to understand society then it is important that you develop theories about how society works.

As mentioned previously, sociologists need to make decisions about the most appropriate way to produce knowledge and about the groups that they are studying (Harvey *et al.*, 2000). These decisions are called epistemological decisions, a grand way of talking about 'theories of knowledge'. Early sociology assumed that there was only one way to produce knowledge (one epistemology) and that was to produce knowledge the way used by natural scientists and the research approach called 'positivism'. There are a variety of levels of theorising: specific theories, general theories of social action, and broader sociological research traditions. A specific theory will deal with a particular aspect of sociology, whereas a sociological theory, known as sociological perspective, attempts to cover all social activity. An example of this would be functionalism. By the maintenance of order and a belief that society is external to the individual, functionalists avoid the problem of involvement and unauthentic objectivity. Harvey *et al.* (2000) describe sociological research traditions as the different ways sociologists define their subject matter, and the ways in which they choose to produce knowledge about the social world. There are many epistemologies as sociologists have pursued different ways of producing knowledge about society. The epistemology (theory of knowledge) that best suited this research study is post-structuralism.

Sociology is a complicated subject where there is no agreed viewpoint, nor is there any one unified approach. The individual and society, social structure, social change, and social consciousness are generally considered as the central issues of sociological analysis. The researcher is aware that to attempt to provide a detailed examination of these main headings would be over-ambitious. However, the researcher would be negligent in her line of enquiry if she did not show recognition or take on board the key social themes and issues that are prevalent when exploring the social milieu in which regeneration and re-use can be found. A theme that will become more evident later in this thesis is that the subject matter of sociology is real - the behaviour of people in societies over time (Coulson and Riddell, 1970).

As the focus of this current research is on urban areas in England, the researcher, having considered the fundamental elements of sociology, has explored the broad aspects of the specialist field of urban sociology. There are many approaches to urban sociology, yet most texts start with a history of cities, provide a guide to social policy, and end with social change and the city. It is the sociological perspective of urban places that is of interest to the researcher and what meanings we attach to use as a society in the (urban) places we live and work. Cities are supposed to be places of culture and society (Hamnett, 1999). Urbanism can be considered as a relationship between people and the physical environment, the aspects of social structure for which urban society is significant and the way of thinking that typifies urban living. It involves the analysis of ideology, culture and power, a field that has directed much of twentieth century social theory.

A review of current literature (see Section 2.0) presents an account of the position from which this research programme has approached the city and urban regeneration. In order to understand the context within which post-structuralist theory has developed an overview of structuralist thought is necessary.

3.2.2 Structuralism

Structuralism increased in legitimacy in the 1950s and '60s, inspired by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. Modernist critics kept a distance from the social sciences, and postmodernism had not yet been recognised. The connection between the work of structural linguist Saussure and the structural anthropologist and ethnographer Claude Lévi-Strauss developed an approach (structuralism) that grew to become one of the most widely used methods of analysing language, culture and society in the second half of the twentieth century.

Structuralism rejected existentialism's notion of radical human freedom, such as that practiced by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-80), the dominant mood in the 1940s and 1950s, and focused instead on the way that human behaviour is determined by cultural, social and psychological structures. Structures and relationships took priority. By the early 1960s the definition of structuralism shifted as a result of its popularity. Some authors considered themselves 'structuralists' only to later reject the label. Also, the term has slightly different meanings in French and English. In the United States of America Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) is considered post-structuralist, whilst in France he is labelled structuralist. And authors wrote in different styles. Roland Bathes wrote some books that are clearly structuralist whilst others are not.

The main theme of structuralism is that something can only be understood if related to the wider structures within which it operates. As noted by Thompson (2003), things are defined primarily in terms of their relationship with others. Structuralism was an important and influential school of thought, but it was the movements it spawned, such as post-structuralism and deconstruction, that generate further interest.

3.2.3 Post-structuralism

Post-structuralism refers to an interdisciplinary movement from the late 1970s, which could be seen as an attempt to challenge and progress many of the assumptions made by

structuralism. This theory of knowledge involves a critique of the principles and assumptions underlying an enquiry, the concepts of causality (the relationship of cause and effect), of identity, of the subject, and of the truth (Sarup, 1993). Key post-structuralists are the philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), the historian Michel Foucault (1926-84), and the later works of Roland Bathes (1915-80). Within the discipline of post-structuralism there are few theories in agreement, but all take as their starting point a critique of structuralism.

Saussure's structuralist concerns were with words as 'signs' and it was his desire to understand the underlying systems that have cultural meaning. Saussure claimed that linguistic units must be defined, not in themselves, but by their structural relations with other units, a relation which keeps words distinct by their differences: thus 'hot' fixes a distinct semantic concept by virtue of the contrast against 'cold', 'rise' by virtue of a contrast against 'fall' – binary opposites (Harland, 1999). This view was overthrown in the 1960s by the post-structuralists Bathes and Derrida who believed that the world we inhabit is merely a social construct with different ideologies pushing for supremacy (Harland, 1999).

Jacques Lacan (1900-80) argued that we do not first become fully formed individuals and then start to express our individuality through language, but we become individuals (we develop our personalities) through the use of language (Thompson, 2003). We inherit language and are therefore defined by it. In order to understand anything from a post-structuralist viewpoint, it is necessary to look at its relationships and the structure within which it is set. Moreover it is important to understand that there is no subject that exists prior to language. Thompson (2003) provides an example of this and states that even if you think of something before writing it down, the act of thinking borrows from a whole tradition of language and thought.

This research programme has made use of a number of primary post-structural themes when analysing the data collected during Stage 1 and Stage 2 of the study. These themes are listed below with their principal theorists:

- **Myths (Roland Barthes):** the analysis of ideological connotations in culture using an extension of Saussurean semiotic discipline to question and interrogate meaning.
- **Discourse (Michel Foucault):** an analysis that attempts to identify discourses (large groups of statements) and explain how power and knowledge maintains particular cultural meaning.
- **Deconstruction (Jacques Derrida):** analysing the metaphysical reliance placed on meaning to expose the binary polarities that underpin post-structuralist assumptions.

The use of a post-structuralist perspective as the chosen epistemology of this research study was adopted because it provided the most appropriate vehicle by which the researcher could explore and examine the social meanings attached to the re-use of historic buildings. That is not to ignore the possibility of applying alternative theoretical perspectives. For example, if a phenomenological approach were taken the research would focus on the analysis of how things appear to the consciousness, the independent 'self'. In this instance the impact of re-use on the regeneration from a phenomenological perspective would be that re-use cannot be considered independently of human consciousness, but would seek to get back to concrete reality through our experience of it (Hawthorn, 1998). A post-structuralist perspective would argue that everything has meaning. For example, studio apartments are becoming more attractive because such accommodation symbolises achievement.

3.2.4 Semiotics

Structuralism and post-structuralism has obvious links to the world of architecture through the discipline of semiology (Leach, 1997). These perspectives offer a mechanism by which the built environment can be 'read' and 'decoded', focusing not on how a city functions but readings of the city.

As mentioned previously, culture is taken to be the collection of social processes by which meanings are created, exchanged, and understood through social relations among groups of people. If culture produces meaning, according to Thwaites *et al.* (1994), a sign is anything which produces meanings. The authors recognise that this definition is broad and offer the following ways in which signs can be considered:

- Signs are not just comments on the world, but are themselves things in the world, specifically, in the social world.
- Signs do not just convey meanings, they produce them.
- Signs produce many meanings, not just one meaning per sign.

Developed in the 1950s within sociology, semiology is the study of sign systems and meanings within society. A principal belief of semiotics is that signs, like words, are not significant in themselves, but instead have meaning only in relation to other signs. The core of sociological semiology is to uncover the myths of ideology that underlies examples of sign systems (Harvey and MacDonald, 1993). Semiotics is a framework within which questions can be raised about how signs work.

When something is perceived as a sign, two things happen. First, a mental impression is generated and, second, a general abstract concept of the sign is invoked (as illustrated in Figure 2.1). The mental image is referred to as the signifier, and the general concept invoked is the signified. The relationship between the two is called signification. The signifier and signified are inseparable and simultaneous, and are necessary for a sign to behave as a sign. The underlying argument behind this semiotic analytical approach, as noted by Hall (1997), is that since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs. The approach of Barthes (1993) to semiotic analysis is to uncover the myths or beliefs that underlie cultural systems. This model is discussed in more detail when analysing the focal data.

3.3 Methodology

The researcher recognised early on that it was important to distinguish methodology from method. Participant observations, interviewing, questionnaires, and analysis of official statistics are examples of the methods used in sociology to collect evidence to support or challenge theories. According to Harvey *et al.* (2000, 27) methodology can be summarised as follows:

- The key to social research is to obtain a balance between data and theory.
- Observation does not provide us with self-evident facts, it provides us with bits of data or evidence and they make sense in relation to theories we have about the world.
- It is important to distinguish methodology from method. Method is a tool and methodology is an approach that involves specifying not just how you intend to collect evidence but why.

Fundamentally, methodology is about the whole approach to an area of study. It is the relationship between theories and methods. Initially the aim of the present research programme was to explore the feasibility of using data on re-used industrial buildings to identify cultural meaning.

Case-study methodology was considered the most appropriate for Stage 1 of this research programme, and in Stage 2 the methodological approach was ethnographic. In general the approach to the overall study used social science methodologies to demonstrate that the objectives of the research were viable and open to investigation. Guba and Lincoln (1981) support the need for methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for selecting the approach to an area of study rather than methodological orthodoxy. Yin (1994) has wide experience of this relationship between theories and methods, and has developed robust procedures. By following these procedures the researcher pursued a well-developed and tested methodology. Case

studies are designed to bring out details by using multiple sources of data and this is considered further in Section 4.0.

In Stage 2 of this study the researcher explored the use of an ethnographic methodology. The strength of an ethnographic methodology based upon post-structuralist epistemology is that the research is informant-led (sequential) and relates to contextual issues through the exploration of cultural meaning. It is the question of meaning that has led the research programme in exploring re-use and urban regeneration through relationships, and what they represent. For example, studio apartments are becoming more attractive because such accommodation symbolises achievement. Post-structuralists argue that we may shape and speak through language, but it also shapes and speaks through us (Conrad, 1996).

3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues have to be understood in relation to research (Marshall, 1998). Stage 1 of this study involved the researcher visiting past re-use schemes to carry out an external assessment of the properties. This did not involve any engagement with the public and private lives of individuals associated with the schemes. There was an opportunity during Stage 1 to discuss key issues associated with heritage-led regeneration with professionals in the field. This was made possible by the nature of the researcher's then employment. The contacts made at that time helped guide and focus the research process.

Ethical approval was sought via the Faculty of Art and Design Human Research Ethics Committee in November 2002. The Committee agreed that approval be given for the research subject to the following action:

The applicant is to ensure that all data is treated as confidential and anonymous and all participants have the opportunity to withdraw at any stage.

This action has been adhered to. All focal data collected is treated as confidential and is kept secure and in confidence by the researcher. Also, when used to illustrate findings, the informants' names have been changed and any necessary descriptions modified to ensure that confidentiality is ensured.

Stage 2 of the research programme involved the identification of key informants who were involved in bringing old buildings back into use, regenerating urban areas, and interested in being involved in this study. These informants were built environment professionals actively engaged in the conservation of the historic environment, with the sample including conservation architects, local authority conservation officers and planners involved in the historic environment, and individuals from English Heritage and amenity groups concerned with the re-use of industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration. The researcher contacted each informant by telephone to arrange a suitable time to carry out an interview. It was explained to the informant that the semi-structured interview would be quite informal. This was because the aim of Stage 2 was to explore cultural meanings by eliciting information from the informants that would be unlikely to come to the fore if a formal, structured, closed-question, scaled interview was undertaken.

It is recognised that there is a greater potential with ethnographic research than with most other approaches to face ethical problems associated with the intrusion upon privacy and with gaining informed consent from research subjects (Denscombe, 2002).

Data collection during Stage 2 of the study did not require the researcher to go undercover and carry out research in a covert manner. The researcher was open with the informants about the role of the research and data was collected overtly. In addition, it was never the researcher's intention to cause harm, or profit from the process or outcomes of the study; rather, to promote a better understanding of the topic area and abide by the ethical frameworks adopted by credible researchers.

As noted by Thompson (2003), ethics is a huge subject, both in terms of the range of ethical theories and the way in which these may be applied to moral and social issues. The particular characteristics of sociological studies (in this instance the characteristics of an ethnography) can be considered under the following five headings: informed consent, privacy, harm, exploitation, and the consequences for future research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). In practice this had the following outcomes:

- **Informed consent** was obtained by giving the informants information about the research so they were able to make a decision about whether to participate. Also, it was important to ensure that the informants understood the information provided by the researcher and that they were aware that participation was entirely voluntary. There was no covert research. Every informant was able to refuse to participate prior, during, and after data had been collected.
- The concept of **privacy** is complex (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) and what is public and what is private is not always clear. Ownership of data is closely related to privacy. Informants were told that all focal data collected would be treated as confidential, how the results would be presented, and the informants' names changed when used to illustrate findings.
- Ethnographic research rarely involves the sorts of damaging consequences that may be involved in, for example, animal testing. The researcher was, however, aware that there might be consequences both for the people interviewed and for others. The informants may feel anxious about being interviewed and also be concerned about the publication of results. In a similar way to obtaining informed consent and the reassurance that focal data would be treated as confidential, the researcher made it clear that the study intends no **harm**.
- There are claims that research involves the **exploitation** of those studied. It is difficult to measure the benefits and costs of social research and it is likely to be a matter of judgement as to whether or not exploitation is taking place. Recommendations to attempt to avoid this involve the researcher giving

something back. The study intends no harm for informants or institutions and intends to promote positive benefits for others through publication.

- There is the potential for people to refuse to be involved in subsequent studies, which would have **consequences for future research**. As stated by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) what is at issue here is the negative reaction of people to research and its findings, rather than ethics *per se*. In this study the investigations are not intrusive or exploitative, and informed consent was obtained from each informant before the semi-structured interviews were carried out. The researcher believes that the informants would be willing and interested in future research and that is the most the researcher could aim for.

Being ethical also involves ensuring that others can replicate the research. The researcher is aware of this condition and has fully disclosed the methodology and methods used.

3.5 Sampling

This section describes the underlying sampling principles adopted by the researcher during this study.

3.5.1 Sampling approaches

There are two basic approaches to sampling: random (probability) and purposive (non-probability). The randomness of probability sampling offers the advantages of being the most representative where each person or thing in a population has a known chance of being chosen (Marshall, 1998). Non-probability sampling has the advantage of being less expensive and more time efficient.

Probability sampling was not appropriate for this research as it was not feasible to include a sufficiently large number of examples and it would have proved difficult to

contact a sample selected through conventional probability sampling techniques. Research on heritage-led regeneration issues would not lend itself to normal forms of probability sampling for the above reasons.

According to Silverman (2000), purposive (non-probability) sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested. Silverman continues 'Purposive sampling demands that we think critically about the parameters of the research and choose our sample case carefully on this basis'. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) identify that many qualitative researchers use purposive, and not random, sampling methods in order to seek out groups, settings and individuals where the processes being studied are most likely to occur. Purposive sampling is the term applied to those situations where the researcher already knows something about the specific people or events and deliberately selects particular ones because they are seen as instances that are likely to produce the most valuable data (Denscombe, 2002).

The researcher therefore turned to non-probability sampling as the basis for selecting the sample. According to Denscombe (2002), with non-probability sampling a different set of criteria come into play, in terms of how and why people or events get included in the study. The crucial and defining characteristic of non-probability sampling, whatever form it takes, is that the choice of people or events to be included in the sample is definitely not a random selection. Thus the research process is one of discovery rather than the testing of hypotheses. The sample emerges as a sequence of decisions based on the outcomes of the earlier research and can be described as emergent and sequential. To ensure that the research was credible the use of purposive sampling in this study had its roots in the work of key qualitative researchers and ethnographers such as Glaser and Strauss (1967), Denzin and Lincoln (1994), and Hammersley (1992).

Purposive sampling suited the nature of this research programme for the following reasons:

- Such samples can provide better descriptive data and this is certainly a necessary requirement of the research.
- The researcher was exposed to haphazard purposive samples in her work during Stage 1 of the research programme.
- The researcher is currently involved in a heritage-led urban regeneration initiative and this has led to an understanding and appreciation of the dynamics involved at a professional level with such schemes.

The decision to use a non-random sample (purposive sampling) for the study required that a number of specific sampling procedures were adhered to.

3.5.2 Data collection: Stage 1

The research programme was undertaken in two stages to allow the sequential nature of the work to be developed in response to the literature review. The researcher began by examining re-used historic urban industrial buildings within the context of broader regeneration initiatives. This had the intention of exploring the types of questions and issues associated with bringing old buildings back into use and became the focus of this research. These included issues relating to social cohesion, economic indicators, sustainability, environmental improvements, and cultural identity.

The tool used in Stage 1 of the research was applied to a purposive sample of 20 industrial buildings. The sample is sufficiently large to cross tabulate one set of data against another. Many of the buildings were familiar to the researcher in her then position as a conservation specialist in timber decay and damp. The other buildings visited were all within a fixed geographic region to allow the researcher to make return visits to site as required in the future. This staged approach provided an opportunity to clarify the research aims and demonstrate that there was sufficient scope for the study to progress.

Stage 1 was an important part of the research programme and allowed the work to develop in a coherent and valid manner. The re-use of industrial buildings for residential accommodation has been of particular interest through the ways in which people are attracted back into cities to live and spend their leisure time. It provided the basis from which Stage 2 data collection advanced.

3.5.3 Data collection: Stage 2

Strategic informant sampling as described by Marshall (1998) is selecting (hand-picking) people who are considered to give the most information. A population refers to a group whose members possess specific attributes. In research, two populations are described, the target population and the accessible population. For this research programme the target population was professionals working within an urban setting and involved in conservation-led regeneration. The accessible population (informants) was that group of target population which were willing to work together with the researcher to produce cultural descriptions. The term 'informant' is used in a specific way. Spradley (1979) clarifies the concept and role of the informant. He states that informants are first and foremost native speakers engaged by the researcher to speak in their own language. Informants are a source of information; they become the teachers for the researcher.

This approach provided an opportunity for 'snowballing', where those selected by the researcher inform her of others involved in re-using old building, therefore increasing the number of informants (Marshall, 1998). That is, according to Denscombe (2002), the sample emerges through a process of reference from one person to the next. The snowballing technique is informant driven and is compatible with purposive sampling.

The issues of parameter, random sampling, and representation in the sampling process were considered in terms of the underlying social science methodologies. For the purpose of the study random selection as a process of choosing a representative sample of the target population was not the main concern. The case-study sites were familiar to

the researcher and were chosen for their perceived ability to provide data. Each one was selected after the previous case study had been completed.

The issue of representation, which is how well the sample represents the variables of interest in the target population, was considered to be attained by collecting in-depth data, which reflects one of the greatest differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches (Patton, 1987). That is, the different logics that underlie sampling methods where qualitative enquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even in single cases. The technique of using purposefully selected informants suited the aims of the study and can be seen as typical of ethnographic methodological design (Hammersley, 1992).

The sampling process of the study required the researcher to consider who or what is likely to provide the base information and how. The study followed the work of Spradley (1979) using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS), which, as its title suggests, is a development sequence with the following characteristics:

- The sample design is flexible and evolves as the research programme progresses.
- Sample units are selected in succession. Who and what comes next depends on who and what came before.
- The sample is adjusted continuously by the concurrent development of theory.
- Selection continues to a point of redundancy.
- Sampling includes a search for negative causes (disconfirming evidence) in order to give developing theory greater breadth and strength.

The 12 steps of the DRS are described in detail in Section 5.0. According to Spradley (1979) all sample data is useful and promotes the early identification of ethnographic

hypotheses about the culture being studied. Ethnographic hypotheses are used to discover cultural meaning and patterns of behaviour and not to test a particular premise. Initial hypotheses are typically broad. Domain analysis, building up taxonomies, identifying cover terms, exploring semantic relationships, and carrying out componential analysis provided the analytical tools used to apply the informants' responses to the development of more advanced hypotheses. These assisted in the overall progression of the research. Ethnographic hypotheses are discussed in Section 6.4.

The results from Stage 1 develop an understanding of the potential of industrial buildings, from dereliction to sustainable re-use. This supports the themes of this thesis by considering the cultural knowledge and relationships that underpin historic environment professionals involved in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. The results reveal that there is rarely a single right new use. It is important that the reasons underlying the decisions about a new use strike a balance between the significance of place and the benefits of the proposed re-use.

3.6 Triangulation

Triangulation is the application of different methods, theories, investigators, samples, conditions of occurrence, and levels of analysis to the study of phenomena (Marshall, 1998). Each method has strengths and weaknesses, and provides its own perspective on the social world. As noted by Yin (1994), a major strength of case-study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. In support of this statement Yin describes experiments as being largely limited to the measurement and recording of behaviour in a laboratory, and generally not including the use of survey or verbal information; where the emphasis is on surveys and verbal information this is often at the neglect of the measurement or recording of actual behaviour. Yin goes on to mention histories, which are limited to events in the 'dead' past with a lack of direct observations or interviews with key informants.

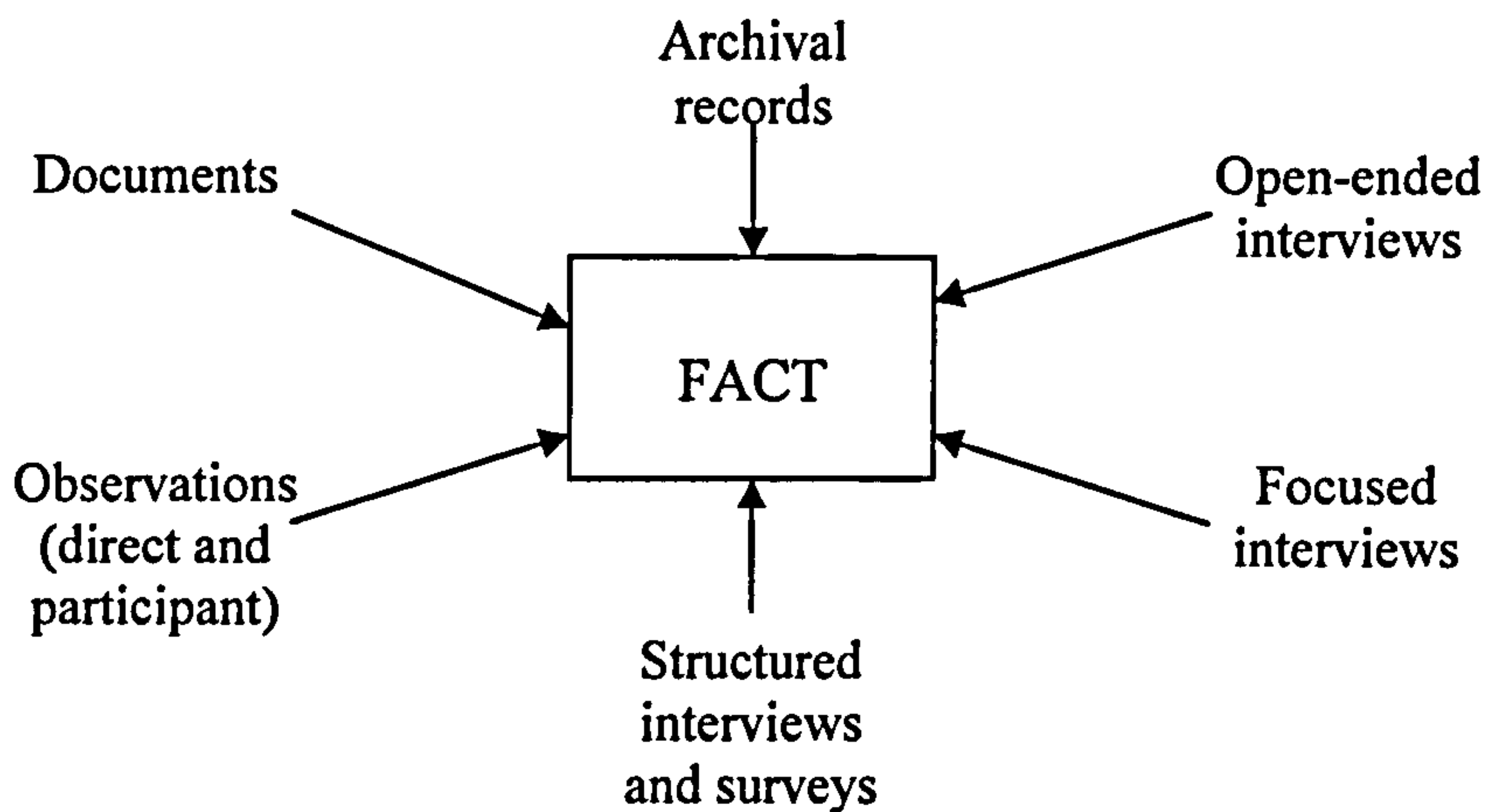
The use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows the researcher to investigate a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues (Yin, 1994). By generating different kinds of data on the same topic, the researcher could see things from different perspectives. According to Denscombe (2002) the obvious benefit of this is that it will involve more data, thus being likely to improve the quality of the research. The development of converging lines of enquiry (Yin 1994), a process know as triangulation, can be used by the researcher as a means of comparison, and contrast the different perspectives. This approach enhances the validity of the data. It does not prove anything, but gives any finding or conclusion in a case study more credibility and accuracy if it is based on several different sources of information. Triangulation ensures that results are not method bound.

Patton (1987) discusses four types of triangulation: data triangulation (triangulation of data sources), investigator triangulation (triangulation among different investigators), perspective triangulation (triangulation of perspectives on the same data set), and methodological triangulation (triangulation of methods).

Yin (1994) distinguishes between two conditions where data is triangulated (convergence of multiple sources of evidence) and when multiple sources address different facts (non-convergence of multiple sources of evidence) (Figure 3.1).

CONVERGENCE OF MULTIPLE SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Single study



NON-CONVERGENCE OF MULTIPLE SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Separate sub-studies

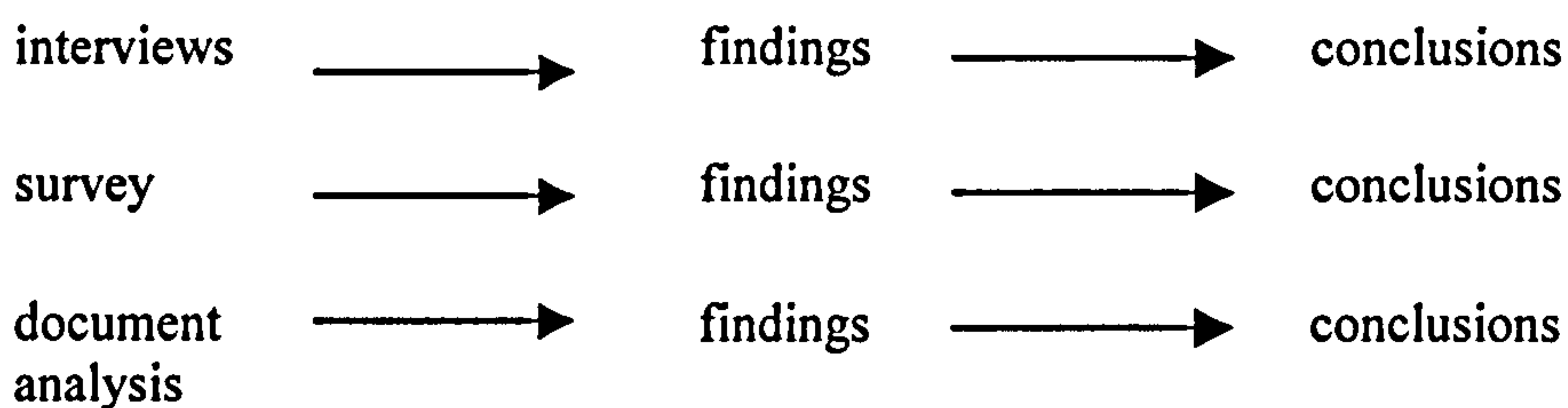


Figure 3.1 Convergence and non-convergence of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1994, 93).

In this research programme the issues of re-use have been explored from several directions to ensure the reliability of the conclusions drawn from focal and background data. The methods chosen have been influenced by the study itself, but also reflect preferences about the kind of data the researcher wanted to obtain and practical considerations related to time, resources, and access to the sources of data (Denscombe, 2002).

During Stage 1 of the research programme the researcher was aware that, by completing the External Assessment Tool (EAT) herself, she could be prone to investigator bias,

since the tool contains some open-ended questions. Also, during Stage 2 the researcher acknowledges that when carrying out an interview, the interpretation of the interviewee's experiences and the interpretation by the researcher may be distorted. The researcher recognises that these are real issues. During Stage 1 and Stage 2 of the research programme there were practical situations where further verification of results was possible and pursued. This enabled focal data to be further explored and interpreted, and hence triangulated by means of comparison. Triangulation can occur naturally in conversation as easily as in intensive investigatory work, but it is about identifying it in subtle contexts (Fetterman, 1989). Based on Patton's four types of triangulation the researcher has carried out the following triangulation of focal and background data as follows:

- **Triangulation of data sources**

Different data sources on the re-use of industrial buildings were used.

- **Triangulation among different investigators**

The use of different data collector (others who have investigated the re-use of industrial buildings) compensate for interviewer bias.

- **Triangulation of perspectives on the same data set**

Using different levels of analysis explored whether the theoretical standpoint supports the focal data produced by EAT and the semi-structured interviews.

- **Triangulation of methods**

The use of different methods (i.e. EAT, postcode matrix, and semi-structured interviews) to study the re-use of industrial buildings in an urban area.

3.7 Reliability of methods and validity of results

Every attempt to ensure the reliability of the methods used and the validity of the results has been made to avoid the problem of reduced credibility. As noted by Silverman

(2000), reliability is one of two criteria through which we can assess any research study; the other key criterion is validity.

3.7.1 Reliability of methods

In any study the researcher needs to feel confident that the research tool does not affect the results by giving one reading on the first occasion and a different reading on the next occasion, when nothing has changed. This concern is about the reliability of a research tool. A good level of reliability means that the research tool will produce the same data time after time on each occasion, and that any variation in the results obtained through using the tool is due to fluctuations caused by the volatile nature of the research tool itself (Denscombe, 2002).

The development of the External Assessment Tool (EAT) consisted of a number of key stages. In the first instance, a categorised tool was developed that focused on the four key perspectives of social, economic, cultural and environmental. This model remained at the core of EAT, yet developed from the initial tool that was piloted using a small sample of opportunist buildings. The primary considerations that were taken into account revolved around the reliability of the tool to produce a standardisation of results between buildings. Piloting the tool involved expanding and extending the nature and range of questions presented by the tool. Also a set of standards was developed for the visits, as follows:

- EAT to be completed by the researcher.
- EAT to be completed for each building visited.
- Maximum of 20-30 minutes to be spent at each building.
- External assessment of building only.
- Photographs to be taken of external elevations and building context.
- Visual survey of surrounding area of each building visited.

Table 3.4 Standards for site visits.

The development (including the piloting) of EAT represented the first stage of data collection, and a modest and useful amount of data was generated which informed the future development of the study.

The second stage of data collection involved carrying out semi-structured interviews. Reliability or credibility of ethnographic data is ensured in a number of ways. The first principle is the establishment of a good rapport with the informants, which means they are more likely to co-operate and be truthful. A second approach involves making use of structured questions by checking what the group thinks by asking the informants what they think and then what they believe the group thinks. Also, by repeating the questions with different informants the responses can be compared. The use of repeated observations and interviews by the researcher enabled credible data to be collected. The following criteria were applied to ensure that the collected data was trustworthy by maintaining that the informants were:

- Familiar with the culture of heritage-led regeneration.
- Fully involved in that setting.
- Could give time for the interviews.
- Representative of the group.

All of the informants (historic environment professionals) who participated in the case studies fulfilled these criteria.

The disadvantages associated with this method of data collection are the impact of the interviewer and of the context, which means that consistency and objectivity are hard to achieve. The data collected are, to an extent, unique owing to the specific context and the specific individuals involved.

3.7.2 Validity of results

Validity is another word for truth (Marshall, 1998). There are a number of ways of critically investigating qualitative data to elicit more valid findings, seeing things from a different perspective, and by seeking to corroborate findings that can enhance the validity of data. This does not set out to prove that something is right, but that such an approach gives confidence that the meaning of the data has some consistency across methods and that the findings are not too closely tied up with a particular method used to collect the data (Denscombe, 2002). Method and data triangulation will assist this process.

All case studies assessed by EAT have been included in the research programme, and the results are not based on a few well-chosen examples (Silverman, 2000). The pilot of EAT resulted in the expansion of the tool, which was used to compare other case studies. This is known as the constant comparative method (Silverman, 2000) and involved moving from a small to larger sample of case studies.

In order to establish that the informant is telling the truth during the semi-structured interviews the transcripts were checked with the informants to ensure the accuracy of the statements and by checking the data with other sources using triangulation. Also, by looking for emerging themes across a number of interviews assesses the truthfulness of the data collected.

The issues of reliability and validity remained an integral part of Stage 2 data collection to ensure that the research is consistent and that the results are credible. The advantages of carrying out semi-structured interviews are that there is direct contact at the point of the interview and that data can be checked for accuracy and relevance as they are collected (Denscombe, 2002).

The methodological and epistemological issues of ethics, sampling, and credibility as applied in this study all have strengths and limitations that the researcher has acknowledged.

3.8 Summary

This section has set out the theoretical assumptions and factors that assisted in the development of the research approach to exploring the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. It has described how this research programme has combined qualitative with quantitative methods and why certain design techniques were used and not others. Sections 4.0-6.0 will discuss the methods adopted during Stage 1 and Stage 2 of the research in detail.

Section 4.0

Case-study design

Although each case is in some respects unique, it is also a single example of a broader class of things.

Denscombe (2002, 36)

This section discusses the development of a tool used to examine re-used industrial buildings within an urban setting. Application of this tool provided the initial method of data collection and analysis, and is referred to as Stage 1 of the research programme.

The three objectives of this section are as follows:

- To provide a description of case-study methodology and methods used during Stage 1 of the research.
- To explore the nature of the results in terms of the methods employed and the analytical process.
- To explain the advantages and limitations of the tool used during Stage 1 in the research.

4.1 Background and aims

This research programme began by exploring the types of questions and issues associated with bringing old buildings back into use, in the context of larger regeneration programmes. Issues relating to social cohesion, economic indicators, sustainability, environmental improvements, and cultural identity were considered.

As mentioned in the literature review (Section 2.0), one of the most significant documents of recent times, which has provided a unique review of our historic

environment, is *Power of Place* (English Heritage, 2000). This publication, even though it is now six years old, stands above many of the reports produced by English Heritage and other bodies. It has relevance to all involved with the historic environment, whether as a property owner, amenity society, local conservation officer, developer or councillor. The report not only provides a framework from which further research can develop, but it also places emphasis on the values that people attach to the historic environment of England. We live, work and enjoy leisure time in and around our historic environment and the importance of the meanings we attach to these places is recognised in *Power of Place*. The key issues presented in the report were considered and the approach taken by English Heritage was adapted for the purpose of this research programme, being to explore the power of re-used industrial buildings on an urban place. More recently *Regeneration and the Historic Environment* (English Heritage, 2005) presents how successful regeneration transforms places, strengthens a community's self image, and re-creates viable, attractive places which encourage sustained inward investment. The overarching message from both publications is the role the historic environment plays in achieving successful and sustainable regeneration. Thus *Power of Place* was the starting point from which this research programme and data collection progressed, supported further by succeeding English Heritage publications.

The initial aim of Stage 1 of the research programme was to explore the economic, environmental, social and cultural issues associated with the re-use of urban industrial buildings. These four key perspectives are often cited when carrying out social research. For example, the work of Page (1995) when analysing the impact of urban tourism considers the varying degrees of emphasis on the economic, cultural, social and environmental perspectives. As noted in the Preface above, this research focuses on the social and cultural perspectives, or the meanings that re-use inspires of our industrial buildings. A more detailed discussion on the key perspectives is given in the literature review (Section 2.0).

The development of the tool used to examine re-used industrial buildings within an urban setting is given in Section 4.2. The tool was piloted to test the feasibility of the

method. Piloting was also used to identify limitations and detect any weaknesses prior to implementing the tool on a larger scale. This process was viewed as developmental and the data gathered during the early case studies as assisting in refining the tool. Section 4.3 describes using the tool in the field and includes a detailed account of the sampling techniques.

It was assumed that the tool would provide the framework for Stage 1 data collection and analysis. However, three issues developed during this time. First, the need to re-examine the focus of the research on re-using industrial buildings as it would seem that every town and city across the country was embarking on regeneration initiatives of one sort or another. The second issue was the actual collection of data, and third the storage and analysis of data.

4.2 Case-study method

In social science there are many methods that can be used to collect data including observation of events, interviewing people, and searching documents. These different methods can be used for a variety of purposes, each being dependent on the nature of the questions being asked. It is accepted that data collection can be divided into primary and secondary methods, where primary methods involve researchers collecting their own data and secondary methods involve re-analysing information that has already been used as part of a research study. Even though data was systematically collected during Stage 1 and Stage 2 (Section 5.0) of this research programme, the approach was occasionally reactive where primary methods involved asking questions. This occurred during Stage 1 when key informants were asked questions as part of intentionally casual conversations to gain some preliminary view of the extent of the activity or the perceptions of this area of research. Even though questions were asked during general discussions, as mentioned previously, these were with key informants, being individuals who are particularly well informed about the research area. This approach also involved informal group discussions, where at workshops, seminars or meetings the researcher was able to use a group situation to explore the issues of re-use and conservation-led

regeneration. Sometimes this approach was opportunistic and the researcher acknowledges this.

A case-study approach was the most suitable method for the proposed research aims. Also, as noted by Denscombe (2002), one of the strengths of the case-study approach is that it allows the researcher to use a variety of sources, a variety of types of data, and a variety of research methods as part of the investigation.

The first stage in the case-study method, as recommended by Yin (1994), is the development of the case-study protocol. The researcher must possess or acquire the following skills: the ability to ask good questions and to interpret the responses, be a good listener, be adaptive and flexible so as to react to various situations, have a firm grasp of issues being studied, and be unbiased by preconceived notions (Yin, 1994).

The unit of analysis is a critical factor in the case-study method. The 'case' can be some event or entity that is less well defined than a single individual (Yin, 1994) and it is important that case studies are selected so as to maximise what can be learned in a given period of time for a study. Case studies tend to be selective, focusing on one or two issues that are fundamental to understanding the system being examined.

A familiarity with a number of urban historic industrial buildings that had been re-used, and that were part of a wider regeneration strategy was acquired during Stage 1 of the research programme.

Using a technique suggested by Yin (1994) the researcher explained the research questions to a colleague and why particular case studies had been chosen. This approach helped assist and direct the research. One case study was eliminated as it was not part of a wider regeneration strategy. It therefore became apparent that locality was not the case study, but that a 're-used urban historic industrial building' was worthy of making the subject of a case study. Re-used urban historic industrial buildings would be contextualised by a description of localities.

Yin (1994, 15) presents at least four applications for a case-study model:

- To explain complex causal links in real-life interventions.
- To describe the real-life context in which the intervention has occurred.
- To describe the intervention itself.
- To explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear set of outcomes.

This research programme reports on applications one and two listed above. The aim is to examine re-used industrial buildings to seek to explain the complex causal links in real-life interventions, and to describe the real-life context in which the intervention has occurred. From this position a list of properties to visit was drafted and key informants identified.

By defining the case and unit of analysis as ‘re-used urban historic industrial building’ this provided an opportunity to compare findings with previous research. As noted by Yin (1994) each case study and unit of analysis should either be similar to those previously studied by others or deviate in clear, operationally defined ways. Recent literature on the re-use of buildings, in particular the conservation and regeneration of industrial buildings, became a guide for defining the case and unit of analysis.

4.2.1 Development of the tool

Data collection during Stage 1 involved the examination of re-used historic industrial buildings in an urban setting. This was to assess the impact that these properties have on their immediate surroundings. Also, how the original building, form and use of materials have been expressed in the re-use of the property. The re-use of industrial buildings for residential accommodation has been of particular interest from the beginning of this research programme. It would seem that the barn and church

conversions of the past two decades have been joined by a trend towards attracting people back into cities by offering not only a place to live but also a lifestyle.

These once menacing and ominous buildings that blackened our cityscapes in the nineteenth century were indeed icons of industry. It is likely that those who worked at the mills and warehouses lived within the looming shadows of these buildings, never letting them forget that before long they would have to return.

Many decades have passed since these buildings instilled fear in their local communities. Abandoned and largely derelict, cities turned their back on these properties and development and growth occurred elsewhere in the locality. However, in recent times the potential of such buildings has been recognised. It would seem that many of these properties are leading the way in creating a new image for a city. Considering re-use as a real-life event (with complex social and cultural issues), it became apparent that during the initial stages of the research programme one option was to develop a data-collecting tool that aimed to provide information about a 're-used urban historic industrial building' from its external features.

As discussed above, the need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena and to investigate real-life events (Yin, 1994). The rationale for the chosen unit of analysis (as opposed to the re-use of rural historic industrial buildings) was to explore re-use as a catalyst in the regeneration of urban areas. The direction of such explorations is based on the social and cultural issues that relate to past and present re-use schemes. According to Yin (1994), a degree of rationale and direction should underlie even an exploratory case study.

Culture, for the purpose of this research programme, concerns the everyday lives of a community, group or society. It is the nature of cultural studies to understand the meaning of the familiar. In this instance, it is the cultural knowledge and social perspectives that surround re-use. Recognising something, which we take for granted within everyday life, highlights the ordinary as extraordinary (Smith, 2000).

The initial questioning of the case-study method was to assess the degree of scientific rigour that this method might give to the research programme. The issue of scientific rigour is discussed in Section 3.0, where every attempt to ensure the reliability of methods and validity of results has been made to avoid the problem of reduced credibility.

The development of the External Assessment Tool (EAT) was undertaken to determine if it was possible to identify social, cultural, economic and environmental conditions associated with the re-use of industrial buildings from the exterior. That is without ever stepping inside the building. The reason for this was to explore the presumption that re-used buildings share a commonality that relates to their new use. Also, to standardise results as the researcher was unable to gain access and assess the internal environment of all properties. Some of the key questions considered by EAT are given in Table 4.1.

- Is there a residential population in the area/adjacent streets?
- Is there somewhere to sit outside the building?
- Does the new use include a public café/bar/restaurant?
- Does the new use include leisure facilities for the public?
- Has the building been extended to meet the needs of the new use?
- Are people employed as a result of the new use?
- Is there a mixture of uses in the area/adjacent streets?
- Are there any empty/derelict buildings in the area/adjacent streets?
- Is there evidence of vandalism/graffiti?
- Has the re-use helped improve the physical appearance of the immediate area?
- Is there soft landscaping?
- Is the building part of a larger urban regeneration scheme?
- Are adjacent buildings of similar age/type?
- Does the re-use give the area a new identity?

Table 4.1 Key questions asked by EAT.

The tool (Appendix A) is divided into sections under the headings of the four key perspectives (social, cultural, economic and environmental). The questions require a

'yes' or 'no' response. EAT is simple, unambiguous, and quick to complete. The covering page of EAT is for the researcher to record details on the building's new use, past use, location, listed grade, and context. The standards for the site visits are given in Table 3.4.

It was the intention that EAT would produce a large amount of rich data early in the programme that would inform the overall development of the research process. The use of closed questions and rating scales provided the researcher with a simple, coordinated, quick and standardised tool for data collection. In addition, the final draft of EAT accommodated an easy-fill topography and the use of coding for data analysis.

EAT was not designed to focus, in detail, on the history and adaptability of each building. This was because, firstly, such an in-depth study would produce more information than necessary early in the research and, secondly, it was not feasible to examine 20 buildings in this way. Future research may, however, benefit from focusing on selected re-used buildings and considering their historical perspective and nature of the re-use process in order to measure the success/effectiveness of the schemes. Primarily this research is concerned with the representation of the new use and the building, to people. Hence the association with *Power of Place* (English Heritage, 2000) and the values and meanings that professionals involved in the historic environment attach to conservation-led regeneration, which provided the focus for this research programme.

Stage 2 data collection is detailed in the following section. This work explores the impact of the meanings attached (by culture) to re-use upon successful urban regeneration initiatives.

4.2.2 Classification of location

A further addition to the research programme was to compare the environs within which an industrial building had been re-used (e.g. a warehouse within an area of Manchester

compared with that of a similar property in an area of Birmingham). Investigation of enumeration district and ward level census data as a basis for collecting social data was used. This method produced a large amount of detailed information about a specific area. The relevance of this cannot be ignored when examining social and cultural issues at a local level.

The notion of using a postal classification system based on location appeared to have some strategic benefits. First, the United Kingdom postcode system is fully established, widely known and accepted in much of the country's economic domains (e.g. insurance, business, marketing). Second, such a system is already in operation and therefore only required the researcher to make use of it. Third, the system goes some way to offering a means by which a study such as this can begin to explore how social and cultural issues (which are both key issues central to the study) can be categorised and understood.

ACORN (A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods) produces a profile of 54 types of neighbourhoods. The likely characteristics of the neighbourhood are given, including a demographic and socio-economic profile. Further data is provided on attitudes, housing, income and spending, and leisure activities of residents within a given ACORN type. Such information provides a profile of the adjacent residential areas to each case study and a comparison of the ACORN types is possible.

4.3 Stage 1 data collection

As explained in the previous section, the sampling procedure was purposive and appropriate for two reasons. First, it allowed the researcher to seek out settings that illustrate features in which she was interested and, second, the researcher was exposed to haphazard purposive samples in her work. Also, this approach was assisted with the timely publication of work by Latham (2000) and Stratton (2000). Latham (2000), in *Creative Re-use of Buildings* (Volumes 1 and 2), provides illustrated examples of re-used buildings, including industrial buildings and discusses the impact of a new use on an old building, the decision making involved in repair and restoration techniques, and

the importance of the relationship between the building and its context whether landscape or townscape. The work of Stratton (2000) in *Industrial Buildings Conservation and Regeneration* draws on the work of Regeneration Through Heritage (formed in 1996) and presents a range of projects in Britain and overseas that have considered industrial architecture, appropriate new uses and the focus of these projects to regenerate run-down areas. These key texts, in conjunction with *Power of Place* (English Heritage, 2000), aided the development of this research study and provided the researcher with an up-to-date account of re-used buildings nationally, which, as referred to by Yin (1994), assisted in the decision-making process when defining the case and unit of analysis. Case studies meet the following criteria:

- Industrial buildings within an urban setting.
- Buildings built between 1800-1914.
- Properties that have been re-used and are being used.
- Buildings that are part of wider regeneration initiatives.

EAT was piloted using a small sample of opportunist re-used industrial buildings. The pilot was an important learning opportunity for the researcher as it highlighted issues that had been overlooked when developing the tool. This helped the researcher to see how EAT could improve the presentation of collected data and identified the need to expand and extend the range of questions presented by the tool.

4.3.1 Using External Assessment Tool (EAT)

Initial visits were made to Birmingham, Gloucester, Stroud and Stoke-on-Trent in order to collect data using EAT. In this section the researcher has included extracts from her field journal. Notes were drafted on site and these were written up at a later time. Photographs have also been included in this section to support and illustrate these notes. Analysis of Stage 1 focal data that was collected using EAT is given in Section 7.0.

Birmingham

The history of the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter has been well documented, most recently in *The Birmingham Jewellery Quarter: An Architectural Survey of the Manufactories* by Cattell *et al.* (2002). The researcher was keen to understand the historical importance of each area and the changes in the social and economic status that occurred between then and now. The jewellery industry in Birmingham was originally a home industry, which grew taking over one room in the house, to building a workshop at the back, until by the mid-1800s many properties were being converted to support a thriving trade. There is no comparable urban industrial quarter in Britain still operating from historic buildings for their original purpose (Cattell *et al.*, 2002).

The researcher used the Jewellery Quarter to pilot EAT. Further questions were added following the piloting of the tool and these related to social cohesion (e.g. Is the new use for the public?), design implications (e.g. Has the building been extended to meet the needs of the new use?) and regeneration issues (e.g. Are there empty/derelict buildings in the area?). In addition, the format of the tool was expanded to include the use of rating scales for certain areas of investigation. An example of this is given in Table 4.2.

C2.3 Is there soft landscaping?		
C2.4 If yes, how would you rate the amount of soft landscaping? Circle 1, 2 or 3		
1	2	3
A few plants	Some trees and shrubs.	A landscaped area with trees, shrubs and planted areas.

Table 4.2 Questions C2.3 and C2.4 of EAT.

The questions asked by EAT focused on re-used industrial buildings (the unit of analysis) and the impact on the surrounding area by bringing the property back into use. This gave the researcher an overview of each property surveyed using EAT and allowed a comparison to be made between a re-used building in Birmingham with that of a warehouse in Manchester. Such comparisons have enabled the researcher to draw conclusions and offer a discussion (Section 11.0) about the nature of re-use, the

achievements of wider regeneration initiatives, and the overall confidence that can be derived from a successful re-use scheme.

Case study: Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham.

Field journal: I had visited the Jewellery Quarter in the late 1990s as part of my PG Diploma in Town and Country Planning. It truly is a fascinating place and architecturally rich. To a stranger it is the many jewellery shops that give the name to this part of Birmingham, but it is the history of the area that has significance. This place is steeped in character, and when you scratch the surface you realise the importance of the jewellery making trade to Birmingham. When I ventured away from the main jewellery retail core the place felt quite eerie, almost deserted. It was hard to believe that in times past the air would have been filled with the sound of machinery, and the sweet foundry odour that would cling to your hair and clothes.

Birmingham Jewellery Quarter is unique. Buildings have been re-used, some for their original purposes to provide live-work spaces for small businesses and graduates coming out of the School of Jewellery, University of Central England. Other properties have been restored and converted to office use, and there are new build elements to strengthen the residential population of the area. The Museum of the Jewellery Quarter is right for the area, and with an adjoining café provides somewhere to stop for a moment. I paused at the café to consider what it must have been like in the late nineteenth century for those that lived and worked in the area, and what it must be like now to either reside or be employed in the Jewellery Quarter?

November 2000



Figure 4.1 Extracts from field journal about visit to Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham.

Gloucester

Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter and the intimacy that urban streets can offer is in contrast to Gloucester Docks. Britain's most inland port is protected by 15 Victorian warehouses that stand big and tall over the waterway. A site steeped in over 200 years

of history, Gloucester Docks formed the gateway for waterborne traffic travelling into the Midlands. In the mid-1800s it was the longest and widest ship canal in Britain.

The redevelopment of Gloucester Docks commenced in the 1980s and following a quiet period in the 1990s the redevelopment of the Docks is underway again. In 2003 the South West Regional Development Agency, having acquired the lease of the core of the docks, prepared a masterplan for the future development of the area. To the south of the main docks area, Peel Developments and British Waterways are working on the Gloucester Quays project. Many of the refurbished and new buildings will have shops, cafés or business units on the ground floor with residential accommodation above. The proposals also include for considerable investment in the public areas with high quality surfacing, street furniture and visual arts features. In the past five years a number of residential conversions have been completed and planning permission has been granted for an amount of new development.

Today Gloucester Docks provides museums, attractions, shops and restaurants that create a unique and interesting tourist and leisure destination. As with many of the urban settings mentioned in this research study Gloucester Docks has provided the setting for numerous period films and television dramas.

Applying EAT to the converted dock buildings was encouraging because even though many of the responses were different to those discovered in the Jewellery Quarter, the tool allowed for these differences. This demonstrated that the tool could be applied to re-used industrial buildings regardless of scale or locality or historical standpoint.

Case study: Gloucester Docks.

Field journal: As I walked through the city centre I could see Gloucester Docks in the distance. The sheer size of the buildings soon became apparent. It was quite overwhelming and very impressive, breathtaking even. The repeated window openings and loading bays offer a rhythm that gives each warehouse a sense of superiority, and strangely, an individuality even though neighbouring buildings are similar. These properties stand respectfully defiant, and seemingly very comfortable with their new uses. I almost expected the buildings to come to life.

I spent a morning at Gloucester Docks. It was rather busy; it was a school holiday. The atmosphere was relaxed as people promenaded along this rather calm waterfront. It was difficult to image the mayhem of yesteryear when this area would have been absolutely bursting at the seams with people, cargo and ships. I liked the atmosphere of the docks. The mix of uses seemed right, and there are strong physical links to the city. Would I consider living in this regeneration initiative?

March 2001



Figure 4.2 Extracts from field journal about visit to Gloucester Docks.

Stroud

On the same day that the researcher visited Gloucester Docks, she also visited two re-used industrial buildings in Stroud. Ebley Mill, a well-documented building conversion, and a nearby warehouse that had been converted to office use. There are many large mills in the Stroud valley, which in the 1980s were slowly being vacated. In 1986, Stroud District Council purchased Ebley Mill for conversion to Council offices. The

Council has since played an important role in trying to find new uses for other empty mills in the area.

Even though it is difficult to compare the scale of Gloucester Docks with the many mill buildings in the Stroud valley, the impact on local people and the area when the industries started to decline would have been comparable. In trying to find a new use for these purpose-built structures it would seem that there is particular emphasis (and this was identified through the use of EAT) on the need to find not only appropriate new uses for these redundant industrial buildings, but to secure the long-term future of the properties.

Following these initial case studies, visits were made to the major industrial areas in the north of England. Time was spent in the run-down parts of these towns and cities exploring those industrial buildings that remained empty, and those that had been re-used and the areas regenerated. These visits are detailed in the next section.

4.3.2 Taking EAT North

Satisfied that EAT was proving to be a useful data collecting tool, EAT was used on a number of re-used industrial buildings in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Sheffield.

Manchester

Castlefield is situated to the south-west of Manchester city centre and is one of the largest conservation areas in Manchester. From the mid-1700s Castlefield was a bustling and successful industrial centre. It was the site of the first man-made canal, the Bridgewater Canal, and the first passenger railway station. The canal network was extensive and there were warehouses and railways supporting industrial activities at the heart of the city. However, due to the decline of industry during the 1950s, Castlefield suffered the same fate as many other urban areas. As properties were vacated this part of Manchester became a site of dereliction and neglect.

Since the early 1980s there has been a renewed interest in Castlefield. As much of the rich industrial heritage survived, many of the buildings have been restored and accommodate new uses. Warehouses have been converted to flats, offices, galleries and studios. The various buildings in the Liverpool Road Station complex have undergone extensive repair and modification to house the exhibits in the Museum of Science and Industry. The buildings are exhibits in themselves. Due to the many re-used buildings EAT was applied to a number of properties in Castlefield.

The regeneration of this area can be considered as a stunning achievement, based on the criteria provided by English Heritage (2005) for successful regeneration. Most, if not all, of the buildings have been brought back into use and with investment in the public realm this area has been given a new lease of life and a new identity grounded in its past. The right momentum generated local commitment and the enthusiasm needed to make it a success. The strong link with the past, and an understanding of the area enabled an integrated, sustainable approach to regeneration to be taken.

Case study: Great Northern Railway Company's Goods Warehouse, Museum of Science and Industry and National Electricity Gallery, Manchester.

Field journal: Having spent the last few days surveying the mill buildings in Ancoats I didn't know what to expect from Manchester. As with any major city you either respond to the intensity that such a place creates or you fight it, and I like the feeling of cities. I knew the general direction that I needed to head. When you're not exactly sure when you'll find what you're looking for...it's a rather fantastic experience when you turn a corner and come face to face with it. And this is what happened for me when I first saw the Great Northern Railway Company's Goods Warehouse. The building is awe-inspiring. As I slowly walked around Castlefield, being introduced to the buildings that I had read about before my visit, there is a kind of sadness about the place. It was April and raining, but the level of activity that this place would have once attracted is unlikely to happen again. It is more subdued, but still defined by the warehouse, canals, railways and viaducts, the symbols of a great industrial city. The treatment of this area has been respectful and sensitive.

April 2001



Castlefield, Manchester

Figure 4.3 Extracts from field journal about visit to Castlefield, Manchester.

As mentioned previously, time was also spent in parts of Manchester that had yet to be regenerated. Ancoats Mills, to the north-east of the city, provided a valuable insight into the context within which many of the urban areas visited as a result of this research programme had developed from. At Ancoats the principal buildings are the massive cotton spinning mills and with the links to adjacent manufacturing, transport and residential uses, this part of Manchester functioned as the first industrial estate in the

world. New plans are in hand for a significant regeneration of the area, and the creation of a new urban village in the district.

Ancoats regeneration strategy is intended to encourage development and to attract inward investment whilst paying attention to the special architectural and historic qualities of the area. Although this has been declining for many years, it is hoped that being designated a conservation area will bring about an awareness of the history and character of Ancoats, increase confidence in the area through the re-use of historic buildings, and complimentary new development. Ancoats has the potential to become an exciting and vibrant urban area that will attract businesses and a new residential population. The Ancoats Urban Village Company has recently been established to promote the district, and to foster the sympathetic development of the area's historic buildings and cultural heritage. As with Gloucester Docks, Ancoats Mill buildings have been used as a backdrop for many films requiring that (romantic) authentic scene of urban dereliction.

Castlefield in Manchester showed how heritage can act as a catalyst for better social and economic regeneration. Visits to Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield, to apply EAT to re-used industrial buildings followed shortly after the Manchester experience.

Leeds

Leeds was the centre of the British flax industry by the middle nineteenth century due to John Marshall and his new methods of spinning flax, which were developed by Matthew Murray in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Marshall built his factory first factory in 1790. By 1821 there were 19 mills, which rose to 37 by 1855. Murray's interest was in machinery and he set up his own business making steam engines, locomotives and textile machinery at Round Foundry, a site next to Marshall's Mill. Leeds at this time was a wealthy and thriving town, but like many of its neighbouring cities the slow decline of industry had devastating effects on the city. In the late 1980s Marshall's Mill was converted to office use and this use continues. The researcher was involved in surveying the buildings that make up the Round Foundry

complex in April 2001. Empty and neglected for decades, these buildings were being re-considered as part of a wider regeneration initiative for the area. The regeneration scheme has involved selective demolition of more recent structures, the conservation and adaptive re-use of a number of buildings on the site, and the construction of new buildings. The mixed-use development comprises residential accommodation, offices and retail units.

Liverpool

Travelling westwards the docks have been at the centre of Liverpool life since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Albert Dock is the largest group of grade I listed buildings in Britain and was built to the design of engineer/architect Jesse Hartley. Opened in 1846 by Prince Albert, Albert Dock was the first enclosed, non-combustible dock warehouse system in the world and the first structure in Britain to be built entirely of cast iron, brick and stone. Built to accommodate sailing ships, the decline in the use of these ships into the 1900s led to the eventual closure of the Docks in 1972.

The refurbishment of Albert Dock was and continues to be carried out by the Arrowcroft Investments Limited, through its subsidiary, the Albert Dock Co. Ltd. Plans for the Docks were prepared in 1982, work began in 1983, and the first phase was opened in 1984 in time for the arrival of the Tall Ships Race and the International Garden Festival. Key to the regeneration of the Docks in the early stages was the proposed maritime museum and art gallery. Tate Liverpool is the region's major centre for contemporary art and the Merseyside Maritime Museum is the largest of its kind in Europe.

Case study: Albert Dock, Liverpool.

Field journal: Like many during the 1980s I would watch Fred the *Good Morning* television programme weatherman, jump around on a floating British Isles in Albert Dock in the name of broadcasting. We thought this approach to weather forecasting original and new, and it was. Subconsciously Liverpool, through our association with Albert Dock, entered the homes and hearts of the country.

Liverpool's skyline is quite stunning, and as you walk through the city the quality of the townscape is apparent. When you reach the famous waterfront the architectural triumph that is Albert Dock is inspiring. The success of this area is tangible. From shopping to working-out, this place seamlessly combines office, residential, leisure and retail uses. Daytime activities merge into a buzzing evening scene. It is the atmosphere of this place that makes it hypnotic. Warehouse after warehouse has been converted. Stanley Dock warehouses stand 11 storeys high at the terminus of the Liverpool and Leeds Canal and are thought to be the largest in the world. The place is friendly and welcoming, and the industrial scenery provides a fascinating backdrop to the new uses that have been attracted to this part of Liverpool.

June 2001



Figure 4.4 Extracts from field journal about visit to Albert Dock, Liverpool.

Sheffield

Aizlewood's Mill in Sheffield is an attractive, brick-built Victorian mill that had been derelict for many years. In 1990 the property was refurbished to create a purpose-designed managed workspace. It offers both workshops and office space in varying size units that benefits small and growing businesses. The atmosphere is friendly and there is on site management. This splendid building and re-use is akin to the Jewellery Business

Centre in Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter. The most striking feature is that the many different uses operating internally have not had a detrimental impact on the external building fabric, in particular the front elevation and where services have had to puncture the building envelope this has been done sensitively and neatly. Aizlewood's Mill is a wonderfully successful project that has responded to the business needs of an area by providing a mix of workshop and office accommodation.

4.3.3 Further use of EAT

London

The conversion of Warehouse No. 1 into the Museum in Docklands was underway when a visit to London Docklands was made. It has provided the opportunity to bring together a large amount of historic archives and artefacts under one roof. Museum in Docklands is an important educational resource, and continues to play a central role in the physical and cultural regeneration of the Docklands area.

Warehouse No 1 was part of a range of warehouses completed in the early 1800s for the handling of sugar, rum and coffee. These buildings suffered extensive bomb damage during the Second World War and seven of the nine warehouses were demolished.

Since the 1980s this part of London had been regenerated from a derelict industrial wasteland to a stylish urban landscape. Many of the warehouses have been re-used and there has been some new development. There is high-specification city living and office accommodation supported by the various restaurants and café bars, gyms, shops, and a multi-screen cinema complex. The new museum, which has since opened, is an important educational resource that brings together a large amount of historic archives and artefacts. It also plays a significant role in the physical and cultural regeneration of the Docklands area, forming a focal point for East London.

Other re-used industrial buildings in London included the Michelin Building, Bankside Power Station (Tate Modern) and Oxo Tower. The re-use of these buildings provided

further evidence that securing a new use for an old industrial building can successfully change people's perspective of such iconic structures. Also, if environmental improvements are carried out as a result of a new use, it can potentially provide an area with the kick-start needed to attract further investment and improve the quality of the townscape.

Case study: West India Quay, London Docklands.

Field journal: It is hard to imagine this place jam-packed with people working, hauling, loading, and unloading day in/day out. The atmosphere would have been thick with industry. People would have been at the Docklands because that had to be at the Docklands. Today it is far more relaxed as people choose to spend time here.

West India Quay did not disappoint. The restoration of the warehouses has been done well retaining much of the original historic fabric. The buildings now sit in a more refined and serene open space that provides places to stop and linger for a moment or longer. Used by office workers during their lunch break or by those that have chosen to live here, London Docklands provides a cocktail of uses that makes it an attractive, busy place. It has its own scene and a strong identity. If you like urban living this place has it all, the waterside location, accommodation, gyms, café bars, space and views. It couldn't get much better.

July 2001



Figure 4.5 Extracts from field journal about visit to West India Quay, London.

Swindon

The small town of Swindon was not part of this industrial era until 1840 when the Great Western Railway built its main engineering works in fields near Swindon. From there train production boomed and this continued into the twentieth century. But by 1960 the

town had built its last steam locomotive and the work force had been significantly reduced. Closed in 1986, it was a huge blow for the town. However, a new lease of life was just round the corner.

In 2000 the site was redeveloped. The splendidly restored Victorian buildings of the Great Western Railway works provide the setting for the Great Western Designer Outlet Village. What is unique about this centre is the collection of railway machinery such as overhead cranes and presses that have been restored and are now focal points in the different shopping malls.

Case study: Great Western Railway, Swindon.

Field journal: I didn't know what to expect from the former train production heart of the country. But what makes the Great Western Designer Outlet Village unique is its setting in the splendidly-restored Victorian buildings of the Great Western Railway works.

The Great Western Designer Outlet Village has given this site a new lease of life. It is certainly a magnet for retail therapy. As I wandered through the designer label rich shopping malls, I heard accents from all over the country. Unlike the modern out-of-town-retail-parks, Swindon has a history, an identity on which the designer labels have been hung. What is fascinating is that the new use (because of the overhead cranes and the locomotive in the food court) appears to be hiring the space...for now, accepting that this site will house other uses and mean something different to the generations 50 or 100 years from now.

It was encouraging to see that the location was attracting a mix of uses that would benefit the site, the investment and confidence building on the success of the designer outlet village. People create places, whether as workers or shoppers, this place has been brought back to life.

July 2001



Figure 4.6 Extracts from field journal about visit to Great Western Railway, Swindon.

Bradford

Little Germany was the distribution heart of Bradford's textile trade. Built between 1855-75 by German and Eastern European merchants the Victorian warehouses are deemed to be one of the finest collections in this country. This part of Bradford prospered. However, as the textile industry declined the fate of Little Germany was the same as that of many other industrial areas by the 1980s many of the buildings had been vacated and some in a serious state of disrepair. URBED (The Urban and Economic Development Group) prepared a report on the regeneration of the area, which set out to make Little Germany a place to live, work and spend leisure time.

What was interesting when applying EAT to a number of re-used buildings in Little Germany was the investment in the public realm. The quality of the townscape, open spaces and the development of Festival Square was noticeable. In the regeneration of Little Germany it would seem that environmental improvements were as critical in raising the profile of the area as bringing the buildings back into use.

4.4 Summary

The focal data collected during Stage 1 provided evidence for the possibility of a type of re-use movement. Similarities between the buildings would suggest that there are particular patterns, both about the nature of the data and the nature of the inquiry made of the data.

It became apparent that EAT was asking the most usual questions asked of this topic area. Thus, the focal data is comparable to that presented in most contemporary literature. Why should this be the case? The analysis applied is just as interested in exploring why such questions (posed by EAT) are most frequently asked, as with the focal data from EAT and the postcode data.

Exploring such issues provides the rationale for applying an ethnographic methodology. For example, how issues to do with re-use and conservation hold a particular value and

use in society. Post-structural analysis therefore poses many new and different types of question related to the broader considerations of re-use. For example:

- Why is it necessary to understand the ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions within which conservation, re-use and urban issues relate?
- What is it about studio apartments, canal side café’s and consumer imagery that has impacted upon our approaches to re-use and conservation?
- How can social research help to improve our understanding of historic urban environment?

The following section focuses on the framework for Stage 2 of the research programme.

Section 5.0

The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)

The best way to learn to do ethnography is by doing it.

Spradley (1979, 42)

This section introduces the scientific application of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) (Spradley, 1979) as the framework for Stage 2 of the research programme.

5.1 What is ethnography?

Social science research has long been criticised for being a relatively minor methodology, and that the conclusions from such research can only be valid if based on quantitative research. It is still suggested in some texts that qualitative research should only be considered during the early stages of a study before the real research - the sampling and counting - begins. In recent decades, however, it has been recognised that quantitative research can exclude the observation of behaviour in every day situations and can conceal as well as reveal basic social processes. In offering a balanced perspective on the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy Silverman (2000) notes that, although some quantitative research can be properly criticised or found insufficient, the same may be said about some qualitative research and that doing qualitative research offers no protection from the rigorous, critical standards that should be applied to any research.

When embarking on this research programme the researcher was faced with a number of different options about the approach to take and it was necessary to make a decision early on about which social strategy to choose. As noted by Denscombe (2002) there is no 'one right' direction to take; there are, however, some strategies which are better suited than others for tackling specific issues. This is similarly reflected by Silverman (2000), who makes the point that there is no agreed doctrine underlying all qualitative

social research, as there are many alternatives each with a set of assumptions about the social world.

The researcher knew that the suitability of the approach chosen and the decision-making involved were critical if the research was to be rigorous and scientific. Stage 1 of the research programme (see Section 4.0) involved the development of a data-collecting tool that provided information about re-used industrial buildings within an urban setting. The case-study method connected the initial research questions to the data-collecting tool. Stage 2 of the research programme was guided by a social strategy that influenced the research process from data collection to data analysis with a framework provided by ethnographic case-study design.

Ethnography is the work of describing a culture (Spradley, 1979). However it would seem that there are different ends to the spectrum as to what constitutes ethnography. At one end its main purpose is to provide a detailed description of a real-life situation, whilst there are those at the other end of the spectrum that believe it is a means to develop, quite deliberately, some theory grounded in detailed observations undertaken (Denscombe, 2002):

Ethnography is directed towards producing what are referred to as ‘theoretical’, ‘analytical’, or ‘thick’ descriptions (whether of societies, small communities, organisations spatial locations, or social worlds). These descriptions must remain close to the concrete reality of particular events but at the same time reveal general features of human social life.

Hammersley (1990, 598)

For the purpose of this research programme the researcher has taken a middle ground by providing detailed descriptions based on first-hand observations, but recognising the need to locate her ethnography within a theoretical (post-structuralist) context. According to Denscombe (2002), for ethnography to have some theoretical basis the social researcher should give explicit consideration to the following:

- How the findings tie in with, or contradict, existing relevant theories and generalisations about human social behaviour.
- How the choice of setting might reflect social concerns in the researcher's culture and in the situation being studied (explanation of why the event or culture was selected for study).
- How the findings compare with those of other similar ethnographies (comparison with other descriptions).

These considerations helped the researcher anchor her ethnography in the real-life experience of professionals involved in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, and enabled her to recognise the need for theory within ethnography.

Ethnography is not just one approach; there are many affiliated qualitative approaches. This is due, in part, to the early social anthropologists, a tradition from which ethnography as a distinct branch has developed. For some, the anthropological or 'time in the field' approach is enough for the study to qualify as ethnographic. In this study the characteristics of ethnography can be defined as a journey of discovery observing routine and normal aspects of the everyday life of the people being studied by examining how they see their world. The ethnographer is concerned with how the people in a particular culture understand things, the meanings they attach to happenings, and the way they perceive their reality (Denscombe, 2002). Culture, as defined by Fetterman (1989), comprises the ideas, beliefs and knowledge that characterise a group of people. This definition is helpful, but it obscures the distinction between the researcher and the individual (native), because in ethnography the aim is to 'grasp the native's point of view' (Spradley, 1979). Culture, as used in this study, refers to the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour (Spradley, 1979). The ethnographer would ask individuals of a group how they define their reality, what the sub-categories of their existence are, and what their symbols mean (Fetterman, 1989) through a series of ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1979). In order to explore how groups of people think and behave, ethnography

provides a high degree of insight through the use of structured taxonomic formation and domain analysis. The ethnographer then connects meanings (culture) to observable action in the real world.

Ethnology has had to adapt and respond to the demands of the scientific world in order that such a framework has relevance in today's society. The work of Denzin (1997) on interpretative ethnography can be considered as one of the most useful applications of ethnography. He describes the progression of ethnography during the twentieth century as five historical moments: the traditional (1900 to World War II), modernist (World War II to the mid-1970s), blurred genres (1970-86), crisis of representation (1986 to present), and the fifth moment (the twilight years of the twentieth century) (Denzin, 1997). Denzin further suggests that ethnography's future is in the sixth moment of ethnography. He argues that ethnography needs to be reflexive to the needs of the ethnographer and research questions, and requests that ethnographers be creative, take risks, and approach the methodology as being distinct from positivism. It would seem that the sixth moment emphasises the post-structuralist concern for questioning 'truth' and 'reality'.

Just as ethnography as a social strategy has had to adjust to remain a valid research approach, we need to adapt and respond by seeking to understand the rapidly changing face and culture of our urban environment. Exploring the meanings attached to this era of city living and our relationship with old industrial buildings is critical if we are to engage in the development of the future.

As noted in the literature review (see Section 2.0) there is a gap in current knowledge about the ways and on what basis people react to the urban environment. The link between people and their environment has largely been process driven. Research concerned with the historic environment has tended to focus on the specifics of a particular problem (e.g. damp), a specific material (e.g. stone), or building type (e.g. timber-frame).

In recent years there appears to be greater emphasis towards understanding the role historic buildings play in bringing people back into our towns and cities. These studies have been pioneered by English Heritage (EH) and more recently by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), in addition to the many task groups engaged in urban regeneration. However, such research in the main is based on variables in order that statistical correlations can be made, ruling out interesting social phenomena relating to what people do in their day-to-day lives.

Rapoport (1980) recognises that human behaviour, including interaction and communication, is influenced by roles, contexts, and situations that in turn are frequently communicated by signs in the settings that make up the environment. Reference is again made to the bond between place and place users, whether it is rooms, buildings, streets, or cities. As noted by Dovey (1999) it is the bridge between theory and built forms, between academic dialect and public debate, and is crucial to the task of decoding meaning and changing the world.

In summary, ethnography as a qualitative approach provides a framework for data collection with distinct methods of analysis and is well suited to the post-structural paradigm of scientific enquiry. This approach has enabled the researcher to base her results and analysis on observations via fieldwork involving direct contact with relevant places and people. It has provided rich data that has enabled an examination of the processes and relationships that lie beneath the surface of those involved in bringing old buildings back into use. This approach explores the way individuals (or groups) of a culture see events. Ethnography as a social strategy has many strengths and these will be considered further in Section 7.0. As with any social strategy there are disadvantages and with this approach these largely relate to the fact that ethnographic research has a potential to produce stand-alone descriptions and give detailed accounts without being analytical or critical. To avoid this, the researcher has used a coherent framework in the form of the Developmental Research Sequence (Spradley, 1979) to collect and analyse data.

5.2 The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)

The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) (Table 5.1) is a series of twelve steps designed by Spradley (1979) to guide the researcher from the starting point of 'Locating an Informant' to the aim of 'Writing an Ethnography' and complements case-study design. As noted by Merriam (1988), the case-study is best suited for 'an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved', hence compatibility with ethnography and the DRS.

It was important to ensure that the philosophical and methodological assumptions of the research programme sat well together. This meant identifying a philosophical foundation, methodology and methods that were internally consistent. The philosophical basis of the research is post-structuralism (see Section 3.0). This approach lends itself to social science methodologies, in particular ethnography, which consists of a body of knowledge that includes research techniques, ethnographic theory, and hundreds of cultural descriptions (Spradley, 1979). In addition, the methods should be consistent with the research question: exploring the culture of urban regeneration in the re-use of historic industrial buildings. Ethical considerations, sampling, and credibility and trustworthiness are discussed in Section 3.0.

Ethnography, as a qualitative methodology, is more naturalistic than survey or experimentation (i.e. quantitative methodologies), as it is sensitive to the kind of data the researcher wanted. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also describe ethnography as a 'naturalistic' line of enquiry, a common term for this type of approach, which requires that certain principles be adhered to in order to be scientifically credible.

The DRS allows for the basic assumption that people assign meaning to their world via contact with cultural knowledge, through the eyes of others who live by different meaning systems. The aim of the ethnographer is to discover meaning and understanding about a specific culture, rather than verifying truth or predicting outcomes. The sequenced steps of the DRS provided the researcher with a robust

framework and structure. This was most helpful in recognising that some tasks are best carried out before others. The principal analytical stages of the DRS (methods of data collection, domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, and componential analysis) are shown in Table 5.1.

Step One	LOCATING AN INFORMANT Each case study and interview was purposely selected. Knowledge of a cultural scene and an ability to provide a rich source of data were a priority.
Step Two	INTERVIEWING AN INFORMANT Collecting data via semi-structured interviews to search for the mundane. Relationship building was central and it was about the process rather than outcomes.
Step Three	MAKING AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD The ethnographic record is the first point of analysis. The use of field journals, specific phrases, words and behaviours all contribute to this process.
Step Four	ASKING DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS There are 5 types of descriptive questions (see Section 6.3.1) and these were used to encourage informants and invite early generalisations.
Step Five	ANALYSING ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS The specific aim of ethnographic analysis is to discover how individuals organise cultural knowledge by employing the use of denotation and connotation, and preliminary domain searches.
Step Six	MAKING A DOMAIN ANALYSIS Domain analysis was used to search for semantic relationships to discover the relationship between cover terms and included terms. It enables the development of ethnographic hypotheses.
Step Seven	ASKING STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS There are 5 types of structural questions (see Section 6.3.2) and these were used to seek to explore the hypotheses about folk terms.
Step Eight	MAKING A TAXONOMIC ANALYSIS A folk taxonomy is a set of categories organised on the basis of a single semantic relationship. This approach was used to examine the internal relationships of a domain.
Step Nine	ASKING CONTRAST QUESTIONS There are seven types of contrast questions (see Section 6.3.3) and were used to discover the boundaries of semantic relationships in relation to cover terms in a domain.
Step Ten	MAKING A COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS This type of analysis seeks to discover the structural reality that does not necessarily coincide with the informants' perception.
Step Eleven	DISCOVERING CULTURAL THEMES Ethnography examines small details of culture and broader cultural issues. A recurrent theme in a number of domains means a relationship among sub-systems of cultural meaning.
Step Twelve	WRITING AN ETHNOGRAPHY Ethnographic writing is a translation process. There are different levels of ethnographic writing all of which form a process of theme analysis.

Table 5.1 The Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) used in the research programme (Spradley, 1979).

5.3 An overview of descriptive, structural and contrast questions

There are two major purposes of data analysis in qualitative research and these are to explore and describe, and to discover and explain. One important feature of well-collected qualitative data, as noted by Miles and Huberman (1994), is that the focus is on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, which gives a strong handle on what 'real-life' is like.

The DRS process follows 12 distinct steps as shown in Table 5.1. Descriptive questioning forms Step Four of the DRS and, as with all ethnographic questions, is used by the ethnographer when appropriate. The early use of descriptive questions is to elicit descriptive data from informants from which general included terms (see Section 5.4.1) and themes can be located.

Structural questions are used alongside descriptive questions to confirm the use of folk terms (see Section 5.4.1). Questions such as 'Are there different stages in re-use?' and 'What are all the ways to ensure high-quality design?' are examples of structural questions used during the semi-structured interviews (Stage 2). The answers to these types of questions in turn generated new questions such as 'What are all the kinds of re-use?' and 'What are all the ways quality is linked to conservation-led regeneration?'. As noted by Marshall (1998), ethnographic-style interviewing involves collecting data, trying to make some sort of sense out of it - some kind of naive theory - then collecting more data to test and extend that theory, and so the process goes on. This approach enabled the researcher to use the frames of reference of the informants, rather than seeking to understand their outlooks from the researcher's own belief system.

As one might expect, there is a considerable amount of overlap between the answers to these questions, but it is this complex web of semantics (the meaning of words) that can be engaged using contrast questions to distinguish between included terms and their sub-sets.

5.4 An overview of the analytic process

There are numerous approaches to analysing qualitative data, all with a different analytical focus. Tesch (1990) lists 26 distinct kinds of social research, which can fall under the term 'qualitative'. She goes on to indicate that there are some common elements to these approaches, namely a concern with meanings and the way people understand things, and a concern with patterns of behaviour. As Denscombe (2002, 207) points out, these two strands of interest are not enough to give qualitative research its distinctive character. The procedures listed by Denscombe (2002, 210-212) in analysing qualitative data are as follows:

- Coding and categorising the data.
- Reflection on the early coding and categories.
- Identification of themes and relationships.
- Return to the field to check out emerging explanations.
- Develop a set of generalisations.
- Use the new generalisations to improve any relevant existing theories.

These headings are quite broad, but on closer examination largely sit within the DRS framework. It is worthy of particular note that a vital part of qualitative data analysis is the reflection undertaken by the researcher in an attempt to identify patterns and processes, commonalities and differences (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This approach is to identify themes that recur between emerging categories and is repeated time and again in order to refine the explanation to which the researcher is working (Denscombe, 2002).

Bryman and Burgess (1994) make reference to the different approaches identified by Tesch (1990) to qualitative research analysis. First, are approaches based on language:

discourse analysis, symbolic interactionism, and ethnomethodology, in which the focus is on how language is employed. Second, there is a 'descriptive or interpretive approach', which seeks to establish a coherent and inclusive account of a culture from the point of view of those being researched. As noted by Bryman and Burgess (1994) 'classic ethnography and life history studies fall into this type'. This review of qualitative research analysis greatly assisted the researcher in establishing a clear understanding of the type of data analysis she would employ. Also, it provided evidence and support in favour of the DRS approach and the post-structural analysis proposed.

In considering the DRS framework Step Six (Domain analysis), Step Eight (Taxonomic analysis), and Step Ten (Componential analysis) are founded on structural epistemology. These three types of analysis rely on the premise that cultural knowledge is created by the use of symbols; a symbol being an object, behaviour or event that refers to something else. For example, 'heritage' is a symbol. All symbols have three elements: the symbol, one or more referents, and a relationship between the symbol and the referent. The symbols are named by the informants and are called folk terms (see Section 5.4.1). The symbol 'heritage' may have a universal meaning and/or a referential meaning, defining it as something that has tradition, culture, from the past and possibly of value. However, the symbol also has referred meanings such as something that is privileged, with historical importance, but most definitely something that is not modern. Symbols also carry with them a range of associations which spring to the minds of those who share a common culture. In the case of the symbol 'heritage', protected, exclusive, important and expensive are some of the connotations (the second-order level and post-structural analysis of myth).

The referent alone cannot decode the meaning of the symbol. It is necessary to identify the relationship between the referent and the symbol. These relationships are semantic. Referents are related to each other because they are linked with the symbol, and once linked, they are called categories. A category is a group of distinct things that are equivalent. Referents are all equally related to a symbol, although they may be related in different ways through the semantic relationship. Referents also act as symbols with referents of their own.

The following sections describe the proposed analytical approaches used by the researcher in more detail.

5.4.1 Domain analysis

A domain is a cultural symbol that includes other categories and is the most important unit of analysis in ethnographic research. There are three basic elements in a domain. The first element is a 'cover term'. Cover terms are names for a category of cultural knowledge (Spradley, 1979). For example 'quality' is one of the cover terms for this research programme.

The second element in a domain is the 'included term'. All domains have two or more included terms. These are folk terms (cultural symbols) that belong to the category of knowledge named by the cover term. During Stage 2 of this research programme at least 100 folk terms were collected. These folk terms were constantly checked with informants until six were purposefully chosen to form the six domains of 'sense of place'. These domains covered a broad theoretical interest while at the same time allowed the researcher to be concerned with achieving depth to her study.

The third element in a domain is a 'single semantic relationship', which links two folk terms together. In a domain the semantic relationship links a cover term to all included terms. Finally, every domain has a 'boundary' (Spradley, 1979). The informant is likely to bring to the attention of the researcher the boundary of a domain by defining what is inside and what is outside a domain.

Figure 5.1 shows the basic elements of a domain. For example, when asked 'What are all the attributes of quality in conservation-led regeneration?' an informant defined it by saying 'Attention to detail is an attribute of quality'. In this case the cover term, 'quality' has been linked by a semantic relationship 'is an attribute of' to the included term 'attention to detail'.

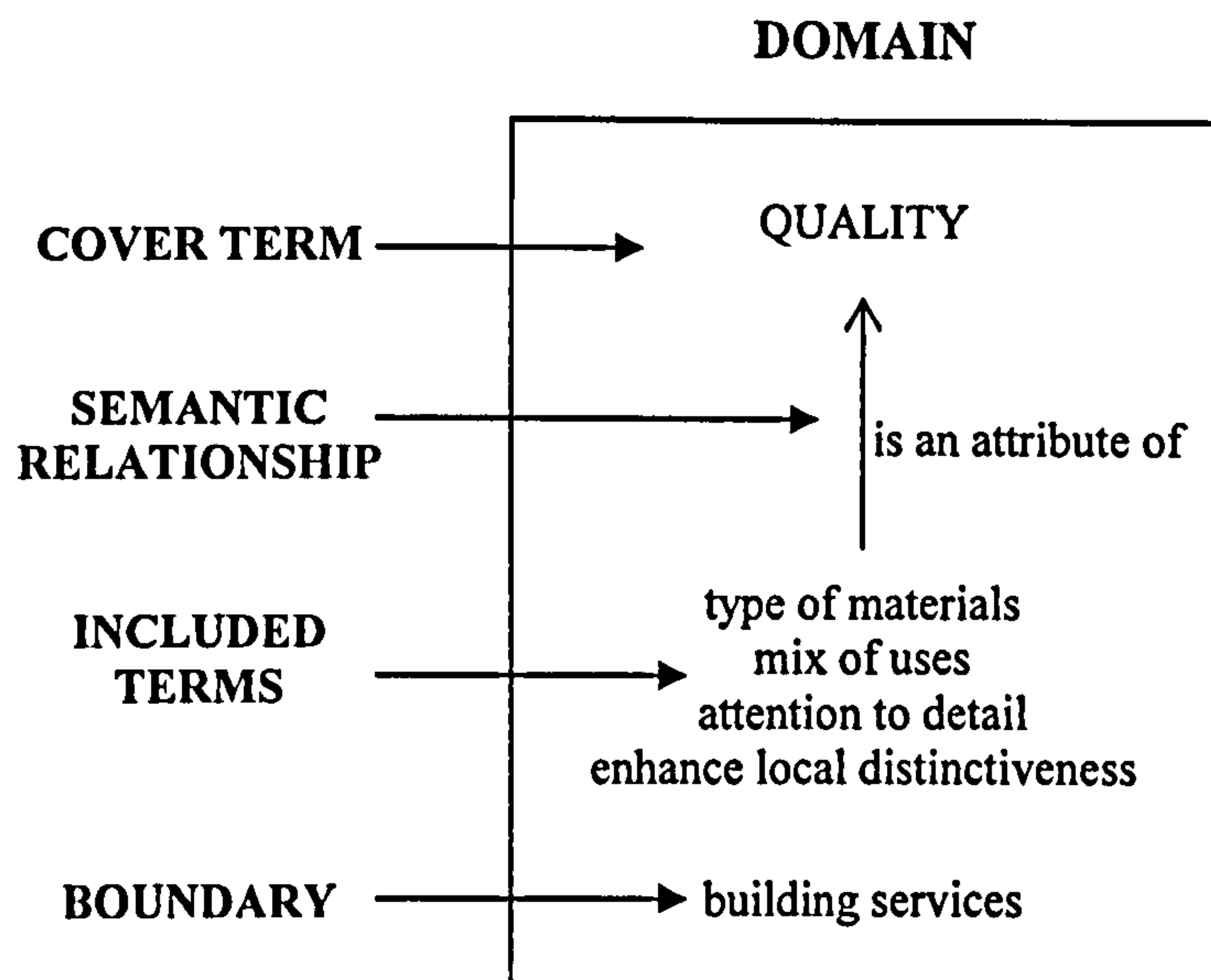


Figure 5.1 Basic elements in a domain (Spradley, 1979, 102).

The analysis of the domain 'sense of place' required the identification of included terms, common ideas and cultural symbols used by the informants. This was done by questioning informants and carrying out semi-structured interviews. The main cultural symbols were determined through the use of common phrases and by implication and inference within the interview transcripts. The full taxonomy for the domain 'sense of place' focuses on the six cover terms 'quality', 'people', 'image', 'investment', 'knowledge' and 'sustainability'.

5.4.2 Taxonomic analysis

The first kind of ethnographic analysis is domain analysis, which by using structured questions elicits folk terms from informants. A taxonomic analysis is an in-depth study of a domain and the many different folk terms arranged in a complex of relationships in it. Taxonomic analysis looks in detail at the meanings of each folk term within a limited number of domains. The aim of this type of analysis is to study a few selected domains in detail, while still attempting to gain a surface understanding of a culture or cultural scene as a whole (Spradley, 1979).

When selecting domains for such analysis Spradley (1979) suggests that whatever domains are selected, the choice of focus must be tentative as new domains or more important domains may emerge along the way. For example, 'conservation-led regeneration' is a large domain that organises most of the cultural knowledge an informant (a historic environment professional) has learnt when bringing vacant historic urban buildings back into use. After talking to an informant about re-use and regeneration in the context of the historic urban environment the researcher noted that one domain, 'sense of place', seemed to link all the other information together.

A folk taxonomy, like a domain, is a set of categories organised on the basis of a single semantic relationship (Spradley, 1979). An understanding of the semantic relationships (see Table 5.2) is therefore essential when making a taxonomic analysis (in-depth study of a domain).

1. Strict inclusion	X is a kind of Y
2. Spatial	X is a place in Y, X is a part of Y
3. Cause-effect	X is a result of Y, X is a cause of Y
4. Rationale	X is a reason for doing Y
5. Location for action	X is a place for doing Y
6. Function	X is used for Y
7. Means-end	X is a way to do Y
8. Sequence	X is a step (stage) in Y
9. Attribution	X is an attribute (characteristic) of Y

Table 5.2 The universal semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979, 111).

The domain 'sense of place' has six cover terms and each of these many included terms. These included terms represent cultural symbols which are organised through semantic relationships. 'Sense of place is a way to do conservation-led regeneration' is the primary ethnographic theme of this thesis. Within the research focus of 'sense of place' there are six central cover terms (in essence domains of 'sense of place'). Each of these has overlapping semantic relationships which organise the cultural meaning of symbols referring to aspects of 'sense of place'. For example, a selection of the included terms for the cover term 'image' are attractive place, mix of uses and quality buildings. These included terms all have a semantic relationship with the cover term 'image is a result of

sense of place'. For example, an attractive place is an attribute of image, mix of uses is a result of image, and quality buildings are part of image. These three different semantic relationships were identified through informants being asked specific structural questions. The aim of the taxonomic analysis in this research programme was to enable the compilation of taxonomies of included terms of 'sense of place' by the nature of their semantic relationship. By doing this, the researcher was able to begin to understand how informants perceived 'sense of place' as having cultural meaning.

5.4.3 Componential analysis

The aim of componential analysis is to re-affirm the understanding of the relationship between included terms and the cover term. It involves the search for the components of meaning (attributes) associated with cultural symbols.

The easiest way to expose components of meaning is to ask informants contrast questions. As a method of analysis, componential analysis enabled the researcher to qualify the difference between included terms, such as quality buildings and image in the first instance, and all the different ways people care about the historic environment towards the latter stages of data collection.

Attributes are always related to folk terms by additional semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979). Having placed folk terms within a particular domain and compiled taxonomies of included terms by nature of single semantic relationships, a componential analysis focuses on multiple relationships between folk terms. This approach assists in analysing the additional information (or attributes) provided by informants about the folk terms being studied. At the start of Stage 2 data collection the amount of information generated by each semi-structured interview was significant and many of the folk terms could not go into the developed taxonomies because they involved other (different) semantic relationships. Componential analysis provides a specific way to deal with this additional information. Figure 5.2 shows a single folk term (empty

building(s)) with some of its attributes in a diagram that shows how each attribute is related to the term by a semantic relationship.

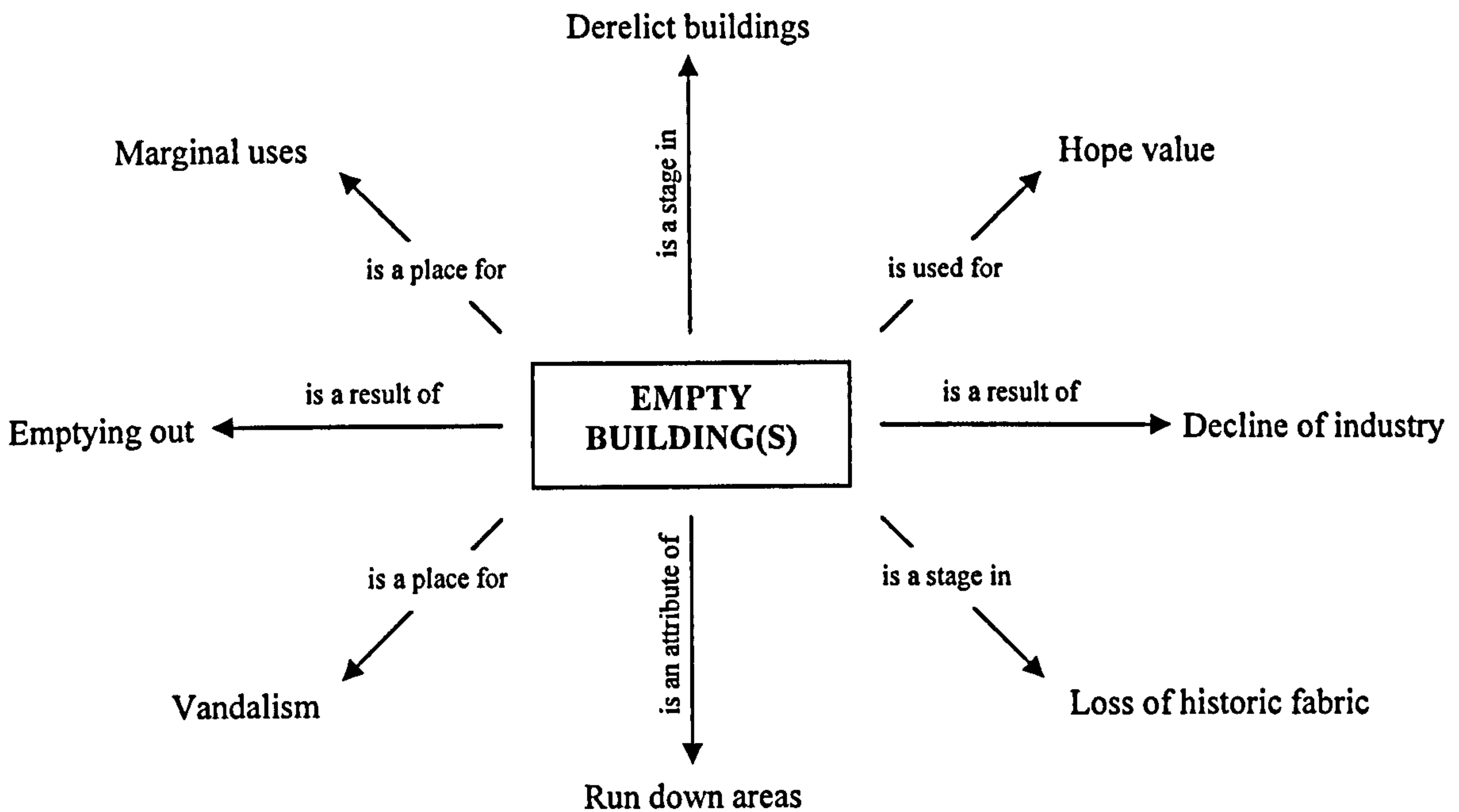


Figure 5.2 Some attributes and semantic relationships of the folk term ‘empty building(s)’.

In summary, a domain, included term and cover term can be described as follows:

Domain: The major symbolic category representing the overall idea addressed within an ethnographic research programme.

Included term: Those terms directly related to the domain or to a sub-set of included terms.

Cover term: The label given to any included term which is related to other included terms through a semantic relationship.

5.4.4 Post-structural analysis

The taxonomies of included terms presented in later sections allowed for the application of further theoretical exploration and analysis. Post-structural theory has been discussed in some detail in Section 3.0. A number of post-structural theoretical positions have been applied to the ethnographic themes in the analysis of this current research programme. Applying post-structural theory meant thinking about all events, meanings and observations as clusters of signs and symbols, to which must follow the same semiotic principles and have a similar functioning structure to produce meanings. To be precise, meanings which are not necessarily transposed via the spoken word.

Post-structural analysis made use of a number of primary post-structuralist themes. These are 'myths', 'discourse' and 'deconstruction'. An overview of each theme is given below, with their principal theorists.

Myths (Barthes, 1993)

Barthes' approach to semiological analysis of myth is as follows:

1. A sign comprises two elements: the signifier and the signified, and semiotic analysis is concerned with the relationship between the two; that is, the sign.
2. Barthes argues that a sign contains two meanings, the literal or face-value meaning, known as the denotation (a rose as a flower) and an underlying or interpreted message or symbolic meaning known as the connotation (a rose as symbolising romance). What is being signified is not always self-evident and we need to move from the (first level) denotation to the (second level) connotation.
3. The first stage of analysis is to examine the denoting sign through a deconstruction into signifiers and signifieds. The second stage involves a critique of these denoted signs in order to reveal the connoted symbolism. Finally, these connotations are examined and the myth (or ideology) that underpins these symbolic representations is elaborated.

Fundamentally, Barthes' approach involves a questioning and interrogation of meaning. Barthes' best-known example is a front-cover photograph for the magazine *Paris-Match* (c. 1955). It was published at the time of the Algerian crisis and showed a black soldier saluting the French flag. Barthes argues that at one level we see the signifier (the photograph) and the signified (the soldier saluting) combined into a first-order sign of black soldier saluting a flag. At this level of reading this has no political connotations. At a second level, the first-order sign 'black soldier saluting the French flag' becomes the signifier. The signified is 'French Imperialism'. This leads to a mythical level (or second level sign) of the greatness and impartiality of the French empire, in which all subjects irrespective of colour faithfully serve the French flag. Diagrammatically this can be shown as follows:

A. photograph	B. soldier saluting	
C. black soldier saluting flag		D. French imperialism
E. France is a great empire and all her 'sons' without colour discrimination faithfully serve under the flag		

A is the first-order signifier; B is signified; C is the sign.
A, B and C operate at the denotative level.
C then becomes the second-order signifier;
D is signified at the connotative level;
E is the connoted sign.

Figure 5.3 Barthes' approach to semiological analysis of myth.

Discourse (Foucault, 1980)

This approach attempts to locate the nature of 'subjectivization' of subject identity by discourse (powerful ideological structures), and explain how power and knowledge maintains particular cultural resonance. For Foucault, discourses are 'large groups of statements' that are ruled and defined by language (Hawthorn, 1998). At a given moment in time there will be a particular discourse for a subject area. For example, a set of rules, conventions and systems which govern the way the re-use of historic industrial

buildings and conservation-led regeneration activities are talked about: when, where and by whom. Essentially, discourse involves a questioning of identity.

Deconstruction (Derrida, 1976)

Deconstruction is generally taken to represent an important - even dominant - element in post-structuralism (Hawthorn, 1998). Derrida's deconstruction of the structural model of language uncovers possibilities that are foreclosed by the structuralist tradition, thus making possible the development of a post-structuralist theory of discourse understood as writing or text (Howarth, 2000). Deconstruction can be seen to be a careful teasing out of meaning within a text. However, Derrida believes that deconstruction interpretation can never arrive at a final and complete meaning for a text. Deconstruction involves the questioning of meaning. Meaning is always unfolding.

It can be seen in Sections 11.0 and 12.0 that by applying post-structural theory the researcher has been able to extend the originality of her research. The social strategies applied and the use of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) combined with the application of post-structural thought has provided a more complete and questioning study and thesis development.

5.5 Summary

The researcher made use of the DRS as a framework to study the cultural meaning of the domain 'sense of place' in conservation and urban regeneration culture. The DRS lends itself to the study of social structures and was flexible enough to allow the researcher to begin with the guiding question 'what is happening to our urban historic industrial areas?' and then more advanced questions using the initial data collected.

The DRS framework can be used to analyse and describe cultural symbols that are real, but it should be noted that one weakness of the DRS is its inability to provide a clear explanation of more ambiguous symbols. The phrases and expressions given, and recognised by the informants, may have more than one meaning, which the informants

may not necessarily agree on. Even in the best scientific endeavour it can be difficult to induce a collective meaning. However, it is possible by using all data to discover the 'cultural meaning' of these words. The development of domains, taxonomies and a specific framework of analysis ensured that the overall research sequence has been progressive and developmental.

Section 6.0

The ethnographic interview

Although almost anyone can become an informant, not everyone makes a good informant.
Spradley (1979, 45)

The aim of this section is to describe the nature and use of ethnographic interviews in this research programme.

6.1 Background and aims

The ethnographic interview is a research method with specific features. These features include peculiar types of questions, explanations and techniques that elicit cultural knowledge from informants. As noted by Spradley (1979, 58) it is best to think of ethnographic interviews as a series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants. Ethnographic interviews have three specific ethnographic elements, as follows:

- Explicit purpose and ethnographic explanations.
- Ethnographic questions.
- Ethnographic hypotheses.

The meaning and usefulness of the ethnographic interview became apparent during the early stages of data analysis. It would seem that the specific techniques of ethnographic interviewing were as important as the case-study method for the success of the overall research programme.

Each element of an ethnographic interview is now considered.

6.2 Explicit purpose and ethnographic explanations

The explicit purpose of this approach was to collect data on re-use and conservation-led regeneration, and continually make this the focus during interviews without disturbing the natural flow of conversation. It was important that each informant understood the direction and aim of the interview, so that they felt involved and useful in the overall process of exchange. This meant locating boundaries to provide a sense of containment for each individual interview. As a process the researcher had to make use of her interpersonal skills and ability to adequately use ethnographic explanations. It was the use of both explicit purpose and ethnographic explanations that facilitated the ethnographic process.

There are five types of ethnographic explanations described by Spradley (1979, 58-61) and these are described as follows.

6.2.1 Project explanations

When contact was made with each new informant, they were given an explanation of the research programme and the research methods used to obtain focal data. This was the project explanation and was restated in brief during subsequent conversations and meetings with the informants. In effect, this helped to focus the interview for informants, and allowed them to acknowledge that they could be of some use in the research programme. It soon became apparent that each informant initially felt as though they did not know enough to help. The project explanation was able to give confidence by emphasising that the researcher was keen to learn from the informant, referred to by Spradley (1979) as the informant becoming a teacher. As the interviews progressed the initial project explanation would be expanded upon as the informant became more comfortable with the area of study, and gained more confidence in the overall ethnographic research approach.

An example of the initial project explanation and later project explanations as follows:

Introduction type explanation: “I’m interested in your involvement in the re-use of historic buildings, in particular historic industrial buildings in an urban setting. I’d like to talk about what projects you’ve been involved in.”

Focusing type explanation: “I’d like to know what the relationship between the re-use of historic buildings and urban regeneration is like from your point of view.”

Theme specific explanation: “As you know many industrial towns and cities are now looking to re-use their industrial heritage...I’d like to know, from your experience, all the ways to regenerate these areas.”

These three types of project explanation provided the contained environment for each informant to feel that their opinion was significant and valued. Even the smallest of detail can be important and have real relevance for the research, and the informants after a while started to recognise and picked up on this. The process therefore became more enjoyable for the informants and the researcher as confidence grew.

6.2.2 Recording explanations

This explanation took the form of a simple request when meeting the informants for the first time. The informants were asked if they would mind having the interviews recorded in the form of hand-written notes. No informant declined. The initial request was usually responded to with uncertainty, but as the interviews progressed the informants realised the importance of the recording. It was explained to the informants that by taking notes during the interview this would help form the development of themes during data analysis. The informants were assured that all focal data obtained would be kept secure and in confidence, and when used to illustrate findings, the informants’ names would be changed.

6.2.3 Native language explanations

When it was explained to each informant that the research was concerned with the nature of cultural issues, there appeared to be a temptation by each of them to try and say the right things, to demonstrate knowledge of conservation-led regeneration. The idea that this research approach was about getting them to talk as they would in their cultural setting helped to emphasise the fact that they knew a lot, and could really help. The temptation for informants to 'translate' by saying things that would apparently make sense to the researcher was an issue throughout the data collection process. There were two distinct reasons for this that seemed to be connected to the idea that first, the researcher shared some of the cultural knowledge prior to being involved in the research due to her work, and second, the idea that a simple phrase would be so useful in an ethnography. The typical method for overcoming this sense of simplicity was humour and a good understanding. The native language explanation was "If you were talking to another historic environment professional about a vacant, non-listed, problem building in a conservation area, what would you say?"

6.2.4 Interview explanations

As with the explicit purpose interview explanations helped restate the aims of the research for the informants. Explanations would take the form of letting the informant know that talking about 'the values people attach to places', for example, during the interview would be beneficial to the research. The explanation would ask the informant of how they could assist the research process and impart knowledge about this particular theme. These theme-specific explanations would also include the sharing of experiences to help gain more data. As a process each of the informants was more than happy to participate.

6.3 Ethnographic questions

The ethnographic question is the tool for discovering data about an informant's cultural scene. Such questions are very specific in their appearance and can sometimes appear quite unusual. Therefore the use of question explanations prior to asking an ethnographic question proved useful.

Spradley (1979, 60) identifies over 30 different kinds of ethnographic questions. Each one can be used to elicit cultural knowledge. Unlike ethnographic explanations, ethnographic questions are concerned with obtaining data rather than the interview process *per se*. The use of particular questions, and to what intensity, depends upon the skill of the researcher (ethnographer), the understanding of both the informant and the researcher of the cultural scene, and the ethnographic procedure.

The following three primary ethnographic questions were used during the interviews:

- Descriptive questions.
- Structural questions.
- Contrast questions.

Ethnography assumes that questions and answers are just one single element in human thinking. In ethnography both questions and answers are best discovered from informants. The task of the ethnographer is to discover questions that seek the semantic relationship among folk terms. As noted by Spradley (1979) there are three strategies to finding useful questions about a particular cultural setting. First, to simply ask the informant "What is an interesting question about re-use?" Second, to ask the informant "What is a question to which the answer is re-use?" And third, to ask the informant "What are other questions-and-answers on the topic of re-use?"

The use of ethnographic questions can take the simple form of “Could you tell me something about what it is like to be a historic environment professional?” or a more complex contrast question could be asked, for example, “Could you list the activities that only historic environment professionals do?” Descriptive questions were always used first during the interviews. Structural questions were used to focus upon specific themes and to test ethnographic hypotheses (Section 6.4). Contrast questions enabled the boundaries of themes to be identified. These three primary ethnographic questions are described in more detail in the following sections.

6.3.1 Descriptive questions: Step Four in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)

Prior to an interview it was important to have an understanding of the informant’s experience of his/her particular cultural scene. These discussions were usually conducted by telephone which was how initial contact with the informant was made. After explaining the research aims the usual question with a new informant was “Could you describe a particular conservation-led regeneration project you have been involved in?” From this point the data gleaned from the conversations were used to evaluate the ability of an informant to process information, and at which level the interview rapport would function. Some informants were more detailed in their response, and some emphasised particular issues as opposed to others.

According to Spradley (1979, 85-91) there are five major types of descriptive questions and several sub-types (Table 6.1). The key principle in asking descriptive questions is that expanding the length of the question tends to expand the length of the response. For example, the following explanation would be used “I mentioned that I am interested in the relationship between re-using historic buildings and attracting people back to cities. Could you tell me some of the different ways re-use is drawing people to urban areas?” By expanding the question and providing an explanation the informant was able to gauge the nature of the answer required. In this way informants were actively encouraged to share their cultural knowledge.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grand Tour Questions <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1. Typical Grand Tour Questions 1.2. Specific Grand Tour Questions 1.3. Guided Grand Tour Questions 1.4. Task-Related Grand Tour Questions 2. Mini-Tour Questions <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1. Typical Mini-Tour Questions 2.2. Specific Mini-Tour Questions 2.3. Guided Mini-Tour Questions 2.4. Task-Related Mini-Tour Questions 3. Example Questions 4. Experience Questions 5. Native-Language Question <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5.1. Direct-Language Questions 5.2. Hypothetical-Interaction Questions 5.3. Typical-Sentence Questions |
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Table 6.1 Kinds of descriptive questions (Spradley, 1979, 86).

Spradley (1979) provides a framework that acts as a template for descriptive questions. The primary types of descriptive questions apply the use of typical, specific and task-related questions as sub-types. It is the degree of focus which distinguishes between the grand tour and mini-tour questions.

Typical Grand Tour Questions: These questions were used to invite the informants to talk generally about their particular culture. Questions included “Could you describe the re-use of historic buildings from your point of view?”

Specific Grand Tour Questions: “Could you tell me a bit more about one of the first re-use projects you were involved in?” Some informants found it easier to describe specific cases than typical events.

Guided Grand Tour Questions: This type of question was rarely used because it asks the informant to give a guided tour. On one occasion an informant offered to give a tour of an area, and this was accepted.

Mini-Tour Questions: Mini-tour questions are identical to grand tour questions except they deal with much smaller units of experience. “Could you describe what you talk about with interested developers wanting to re-use an industrial warehouse?”

Example Questions: Example questions are more specific still - they ask for a description of a single behaviour, issue or event. “Can you give me an example of how to engage the community in regeneration initiatives?”

Experience Questions: The informants were encouraged to give their experiences in relation to conservation-led regeneration during the interviews. Many of the informants were able to describe events that involved them and other colleagues, which were peculiar to re-use schemes. “What other experience related to community involvement have you had?”

Native-Language Questions: The informants would be encouraged to use the actual words and jargon that they would use in their everyday work (e.g. ‘loss of historic fabric’, ‘sense of place’ and ‘mix of uses’). This goes to reinforce that the aim of ‘researching the routine’ is a quality of sound research.

6.3.2 Structural questions: Step Seven in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)

Structural questions are used to elicit information about three parts of a domain. First, the cover term; second, the included terms; and third, the semantic relationship between terms. The use of structural questions is seen to complement rather than replace descriptive questions. This forms part of the concurrent principle, which involves alternating the types of ethnographic questioning in order to promote a sense of understanding and trust. During each interview the number of descriptive, structural and contrast questions would therefore vary depending on the data being shared. This meant that the interviews appeared to be conversations and proactive. The explanation principle was also utilised because most of the structural questions required that the informants were given indications on how to consider the questions. The explanation would therefore make use of the developing themes being discussed. For example, “We’ve been talking about the role of conservation in an urban setting. I’d like to ask a different type of question: what are all the ways to do conservation-led regeneration? This may take a little time but it would help me to start piecing together what we have been discussing.”

Explaining the nature of structural questions often took the form of giving examples such as, “So when you said ‘to create attractive places’, this is related to having an understanding of an area, protecting historic fabric and ensuring high quality design and materials, some of the key issues to ensure conservation-led regeneration is successful.”

The repeating of included terms such as ‘protecting historic fabric’ and ‘high-quality design and materials’ served to make clear to the informant what information was expected and this helped to stimulate the discussions. This repetitive principle was also utilised by asking structural questions more than once to make sure that the informants gave all of the included terms within a theme.

The context principle was used when a theme such as ‘loss of historic fabric is a result of lack of investment’, which had been discussed with other informants, was introduced to a new informant. It typically took the form “Others involved in the re-use of old buildings have said that the loss of historic fabric is a result of lack of investment. What are some of the other reasons for lack of investment in an area?”

Adding such contextual information enabled the structural questions to be expanded. Structural questions which needed to be focused using the cultural framework principle require each question to be considered as a tool adapted for each informant personally as well as culturally. For example, it was easier in the first instance for informants (historic environment professionals) to talk about their own personal experiences, but the same structural questions can be asked in relation to their cultural setting.

Spradley (1979, 126-131) gives five different kinds of structural questions in ethnographic research and these are given in Table 6.2 below.

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Verification Questions<ol style="list-style-type: none">1.1 Domain Verification Questions1.2 Included Term Verification Questions1.3 Semantic Term Verification Questions1.4 Native-Language Verification Questions2. Cover Term Questions3. Included Term Questions4. Substitution Frame Questions5. Card Sorting Structural Questions
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Table 6.2 Kinds of structural questions (Spradley, 1979, 126).

Examples of structural questions used during the semi-structured interviews are noted below:

Verification Questions: Verification questions ask the informant to confirm or reject ethnographic hypotheses (see Section 6.4) about a domain: “Is good design a way to do conservation?” or “Is a new owner of a vacant building a stage in re-use?”

Domain Verification Questions: For example, the question “Are there different stages in re-use?” was used. The responses confirmed that there were more included terms than first identified. It is the semantic relationship (see Table 5.2) that is important with domain verification (i.e. ‘stages in’, ‘kinds of’, ‘uses for’).

Included Term Verification Questions: For example, “Gap sites (which is an included term) is a characteristic of (the semantic relationship) run-down urban historic areas (the cover term).” They emphasise the included term rather than the domain or semantic relationship and cover term.

Semantic Relationship Verification Questions: The themes presented in the following sections all have particular semantic relationships. By verifying the type of semantic relationship with the informants was a useful way to express this relationship. For example, “Empty buildings are a characteristic of run-down historic urban areas” is different to “Empty buildings are a result of run-down historic urban areas”. The difference between these questions was verified using the following type of structural question “Would it be better to say empty buildings are a characteristic of run down historic urban areas, or are they a result of run down historic urban areas?”

Native-Language Verification Questions: The pressure to translate was always present, and would often occur when a level of confidence had been reached. “What would others involved in conservation-led regeneration say about empty buildings?”

Cover Term Questions: This was one of the most used. It took the form of asking informants “What are all the ways to do conservation?” or “What are all the ways to ensure high quality design?”

6.3.3 Contrast questions: Step Nine in the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)

There are five types of contrast questions (Spradley, 1979, 160-169) and these are given in Table 6.3 below. These questions were used to varying degrees, to define the limits of cover terms. The use of contrast questions, as with descriptive and structural questions, was concurrent during the interviews.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Contrast Verification Questions2. Directed Contrast Questions3. Dyadic Contrast Questions4. Triadic Contrast Questions5. Contrast Set Sorting Questions |
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Table 6.3 Kinds of contrast questions (Spradley, 1979, 160).

The following are examples of the contrast questions used during Stage 2 data collection.

Contrast Verification Questions: Contrast verification questions aim to define where one taxonomy ends and another begins. This approach allowed for sorting through the folk terms, semantic relationships, and cover terms of domains.

Directed Contrast Questions: Directed contrast questions include “What are all the ways attracting people to an area is not related to re-use?” or “Could you tell me in what way does the historic environment contribute to the quality of life, and how it doesn’t?”

Dyadic and Triadic Contrast Questions: Dyadic and triadic questions differ because the ethnographer asks dyadic questions without having any differences to suggest. “Can you tell me the differences between conservation and re-use?” Triadic contrast questions present the informant with three folk terms, and ask the informant to verify which are alike and which are different.

During Stage 2 data collection many descriptive, structural and contrast questions were formulated. Some of the early questions are listed below to show that their use and application provided the ethnographic interviews with a framework in conjunction with the use of ethnographic hypotheses (see Section 6.4). Further ethnographic questions developed with each interview.

Some of the questions are given in Table 6.4.

Are there different kinds of environmental improvements?
 What are all the different kinds of environmental improvements?
 What are all the different kinds of grant giving schemes?
 What are all the different kinds of development pressure?
 What are all the kinds of planning issues?
 What are all the parts of conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the parts of sensitive conversions?
 What are all the parts of a conservation area?
 What are all the results of re-use?
 What are all the results of urban regeneration?
 What are all the results of empty buildings?
 What are all the results of emptying out?
 What are all the results of grant giving schemes?
 What are all the results of mix of uses?
 What are all the causes of loss of historic fabric?
 What are all the causes of empty buildings?
 What are all the reasons for re-using old buildings?
 What are all the reasons for environmental improvements?
 What are all the reasons for bringing people to an area?
 What are all the reasons for conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the places to invest?
 What are all the uses for vacant upper floorspace?
 What are all the ways to do re-use?
 What are all the ways to do urban regeneration?
 What are all the ways to do conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the ways to bring people to an area?
 What are all the ways to balance uses?
 What are all the ways to stitch in new development?
 What are all the ways to attract investment?
 What are all the ways to improve the townscape?
 What are all the ways quality is linked to urban regeneration?
 What are all the ways quality it linked to conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the different ways people care about the historic environment?
 What are all the stages in re-use?
 What are all the stages in urban regeneration?
 What are all the stages in conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the stages in decline of industry?
 What are all the stages in emptying out?
 What are all the stages in loss of historic fabric?
 What are all the stages in mix of uses?
 What are all the attributes of run down urban areas?
 What are all the attributes of conservation areas?
 What are all the attributes of conservation-led regeneration?
 What are all the attributes of good urban design?
 What are all the attributes of good planning policy?
 What are all the attributes of mix of uses?

Table 6.4 Examples of early ethnographic questions.

6.4 Ethnographic hypotheses

This section focuses on ethnographic hypotheses and their development through Stage 1 using the External Assessment Tool (EAT), and Stage 2 using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) of the research programme. The research began with a survey period followed by a series of semi-structured (ethnographic) interviews. This provided the means to learn the fundamentals of ethnography: the use of native language, understanding relationships, historical data, and the basic structure and function of the culture under study. Initial interviews were conducted and further site visits made during the early stages of Stage 2 data collection. This was followed by a period of reflection. Stepping back from the area of investigation provided an opportunity to make sense of the observations made and notes taken during the site visits and interviews. Early data analysis involved the identification of ethnographic hypotheses about the culture of re-use and conservation-led regeneration. This enabled patterns of behaviour to be discovered. It was essential to recognise the possibility that early hypotheses may have served their purpose as new data emerged. The commitment to modifying hypotheses and theories in response to further data is a distinguishing feature of ethnography.

Before discussing the development of ethnographic hypotheses, it is essential to consider some of the theoretical implications. The central aim of ethnography is not to test a hypothesis, but to discover the cultural meaning (cultural knowledge) that people hold in their minds, how it is employed in social interaction and the consequences of this employment. In this research programme ethnographic hypotheses were used as a tool to help develop preliminary domains, devise structural questions and confine the expansion of the research.

6.4.1 Using ethnographic hypotheses

An example of an ethnographic hypothesis would be ‘Valuing historic fabric and early discussions with property owners is a way to sensitively re-use historic buildings’. This

reflects the nature of the semantic relationship 'a way to do', and aims to see if the folk terms 'valuing historic fabric' and 'early discussions with property owners' might be cover terms.

Cover terms are names for domains which include other folk terms. For example, the folk term 'valuing historic fabric' suggests that there might be more than one way to 'value historic fabric'. This folk term becomes a cover term 'valuing historic fabric'. The development of the hypothesis 'There are ways to value historic fabric which professionals in the conservation field would recognise' leads to structural questions such as "What are all the ways to value historic fabric?" and "What are all the results of valuing historic fabric?" The data collected from these questions create more folk terms (which may be cover terms for other domains), enables taxonomies to develop, refute, confirm or allow the researcher to adapt the hypothesis.

Hypotheses are redundant if they constantly provide no data or are saturated. In this way ethnographic hypotheses can be seen as a tool rather than the focus of the research. Hypotheses begin broad, but as preliminary included (folk) terms, cover terms, domains and their taxonomies are discovered the hypotheses become more focused. The hypotheses enabled the crossing of methods from the site observations made during using the External Assessment Tool (EAT) (Stage 1) and the interviews carried out during Stage 2 of this research programme using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS). When the six domains were discovered the use of ethnographic hypotheses stopped. The primary uses of ethnographic hypotheses are given below.

- Pointing up possible cover terms.
- Summarising preliminary domain analysis.
- Testing taxonomic terms and relationships.
- Creating systematic groups of structural questions.
- Identifying the significant boundaries of the study.

6.4.2 Finding the focus

Each table contains a cluster of hypotheses that were developed during the early stages of data analysis, which lead to more advanced levels of analysis, and further ethnographic hypotheses. Those hypotheses that are written in italics were considered, and then disregarded as being distant from the overall aims of this research programme.

These initial primary ethnographic hypotheses in Table 6.5 are broad and reflect early stages in the analysis of data collected using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) during Stage 2 of this research programme. However, the aim of ethnographic research, as given within the DRS framework, is to locate the semantic relationship between collections (taxonomies) of folk terms within a specified domain. At the time of their development, the primary hypotheses were related more casually than intended to the broad topic area of re-use and conservation-led regeneration. As further data was collected and analysed a series of more advanced hypotheses were identified and became tools in the overall research development.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Re-use is a stage in regeneration.2. Re-use is a way to do conservation.3. <i>Historic environment professional recognise different taxonomies in conservation.</i>4. <i>There are different types of historic environment professionals</i> |
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Table 6.5 Primary ethnographic hypotheses.

Ethnographic hypothesis 1 in Table 6.5, reflects a 'sequence' (X is a stage in Y) statement, where hypothesis 2 in the same table, reflects a 'means-end' (X is a way to do Y) statement. These are both broad in their intent and were developed on what could be considered as obvious assumed relations. For example, hypotheses 1 and 2 reflect the notion that is common to most professionals working in the historic environment. These broad hypotheses illustrate the need to construct more focused hypotheses. However, they remain at the outer limits of the results by the very fact that they have 'meaning' during early Stage 2 data collection and analysis. Hypotheses 3 and 4 (Table 6.5) demonstrate an attempt to tackle everyday experiences. Both of these hypotheses state

the obvious, yet they enabled the research to progress in a more rigorous way. Thus, structural and contrast questions were used for repeated and multiple testing which lead to the development of the second series of hypotheses given in Table 6.6.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Downgrading of design is a kind of pressure from developers.2. Restoring the historic environment is part of conservation-led regeneration.3. Attracting inward investment is a result of the regeneration process.4. Marginal uses are a cause of lack of investment in an area.5. <i>'Absent owners' is a distinct group recognised by historic environment professionals.</i>6. <i>'Local community' is a distinct group recognised by historic environment professionals.</i>7. <i>'Major land owner' is a distinct group recognised by historic environment professionals.</i> |
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Table 6.6 Second series of ethnographic hypotheses.

The included terms 'downgrading of design', 'restoring the historic environment', 'attracting inward investment', and 'marginal uses' have meaning for the informants. The ethnographic hypotheses 1-7 (Table 6.6) were developed with the intention of establishing a more secure foundation from which the research would progress. The second series of hypotheses provided confidence in the ability of the DRS framework, and in the development of cover terms and folk terms, which have meaning for the informants. Further hypotheses were developed from these. Hypotheses 5-7 (Table 6.6) were developed as an attempt to explore the 'idea of difference' and which are terms informants mentioned during the interviews. The cover terms 'absent owners', 'local community' and 'major property owners' continued to be useful in relation to the research aims, and other cover terms, but not as domains in their own right.

As further ethnographic hypotheses were generated the research progressed into a new phase of domain analysis. This came about by the development of the dominant cover term 'sense of place' and the hypotheses in Table 6.7 reflect this phase.

1. There is a cover term (domain) 'sense of place'.
2. 'Attracting people to an area' is a folk term of the domain: 'is an attribute of a sense of place'.
3. 'A link to the past' is a folk term of the domain: 'is used to do sense of place'.
4. 'High quality design and materials' is a folk term of the domain: 'is a way to do sense of place'.
5. 'Investment (short and long term)' is a folk term of the domain: 'is a stage in sense of place'.

Table 6.7 The domain 'sense of place'.

The development of the hypotheses given in Table 6.7 focus on the term 'sense of place' signalled a breakthrough for the researcher. First, because it provided a domain cover term. Second, it provided a concept which allowed for semantic relationships to be hypothesised and then tested. Third, as a result of its discovery it demonstrated a more serious attempt to focus the overall aims of this research programme.

The third series of ethnographic hypotheses are presented in Table 6.8

1. There is a cover term 'quality' which historic environment professionals recognise.
2. There is a cover term 'investment' which historic environment professionals recognise.
3. The cover term 'local community (people)' is recognised by historic environment professionals.
4. *The cover term 'sensitive conversions' is recognised by historic environment professionals.*
5. *The cover term 'environmental improvements' is recognised by historic environment professionals.*
6. *The cover term 'economic development' is recognised by historic environment professionals.*

Table 6.8 Third series of ethnographic hypotheses.

The identification of the term 'sense of place' allowed the researcher to focus on the terms 'quality', 'investment' and 'people' as included (folk) terms within the cover term (domain) 'sense of place' (Table 6.8). However, the nature of the semantic relationships still needed to be explored.

The hypotheses in Table 6.7 had already considered these relationships. Thus, the ethnographic hypotheses in Table 6.8 provided an overall and encouraging sense of progress. The development of future hypotheses would begin to focus on the nature of the relationship rather than the cover term 'sense of place'. This is demonstrated in the hypotheses within Table 6.9.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. There is a cover term 'quality'.2. Promoting 'good design' is an attribute of 'quality'.3. The 'choice of materials' is an attribute of 'quality'.4. <i>'Sensitive conversions'</i> is an attribute of 'quality'.5. <i>The opportunity for 'new development'</i> is an attribute of 'quality'.6. 'Building repairs' is an attribute of 'quality'.7. Encouraging 'good urban design' is an attribute of 'quality'. |
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Table 6.9 What are all the attributes of 'quality'?

It would seem from Table 6.9 that the emergence of 'quality' as a cover term has a broad meaning in the historic environment (i.e. building quality, townscape quality, architectural quality, urban design quality, quality conversion, quality materials). Historic buildings and places demand quality and offers a greater variety of urban forms and superior public realms.

What is significant in the hypotheses development at this stage was the emergence of the hidden 'meaning' informants brought to the attention of the researcher. For example, historic environment professionals would use the term 'quality' in such a way to suggest that the meaning in conservation had greater emphasis and meaning that was learnt, experienced and understood. Where the historic environment is concerned the view is that quality has status, creates an image and demands appreciation. These would later become the connotations of myth and generate cultural themes.

The hypotheses in Table 6.10 focus on the cover term 'people'.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There is a cover term 'people'. 2. The 'local existing community' is a cause of 'people'. 3. <i>'Key landowners' is a cause of 'people'.</i> 4. 'Surviving (and new) businesses' is a cause of 'people'. 5. Promoting 'tourism and leisure activities' is a cause of 'people'. 6. Providing 'a place to live (and socialise)' is a cause of 'people'. 7. Public and private sector 'partnerships' is a cause of 'people'. 8. 'Trust' between the various groups is a cause of 'people'. |
|---|

Table 6.10 What are all the causes of 'people'?

The development of hypotheses regarding 'people' (Table 6.10) mediates a sense of meaning for the informants, but which were hard to capture in single constructs. That is, the informants were uncertain regarding what collective meaning 'people' actually has for them with regards to the creation of a 'sense of place'. The hypotheses identified that there was plenty of room for progression, and that further structural questioning would be necessary. The meaning of 'people' in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings encompasses more than investment, it is also linked to image. This is noted by English Heritage (2005) where having a strong vision for the future inspires people, and encourages them to get involved. In addition, it is important that re-use and regeneration activities respect what already exists.

The ethnographic hypotheses that relate to the cover term 'image' are given in Table 6.11.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There is a cover term 'image'. 2. 'Style' is part of 'image'. 3. A 'mix of uses' is part of creating an 'image'. 4. 'City living' is part of 'image'. 5. <i>'Somewhere to sit' is part of 'image'.</i> 6. 'Trendy leisure facilities' is part of 'image'. 7. 'Meaning' is part of 'image'. 8. 'Prestigious office use' is part of 'image'. 9. 'Non-threatening environment' is part of 'image'. |
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Table 6.11 What are all the parts of 'image'?

The ethnographic hypotheses in Table 6.11 stress the importance of ‘image’ in the overall success of a re-use scheme and this was recognised by informants. ‘Image’ reflects a multiple of social and cultural meanings that when packaged together create attractive places where people want to live, work and spend leisure time. This has a direct relationship with investment as can be seen in Table 6.12.

1. There is a cover term ‘investment’.
2. *‘Financial (funding packages involving public and private sector monies)’ is a way to do ‘investment’.*
3. ‘Partnerships’ is a way to do ‘investment’.
4. The ‘support’ of the local community is a way to do ‘investment’.
5. *Dedicating ‘time’ is a way to do ‘investment’.*
6. Providing ‘information’ is a way to do ‘investment’.
7. *‘Building repairs’ is a way to do ‘investment’.*
8. ‘Re-use’ is a way to do ‘investment’.

Table 6.12 What are all the ways to do ‘investment’?

The development of the cover term ‘investment’ seemed to be well suited to the issue of ‘sense of place’, whether the investment is in people or place. The hypotheses reflect the notion that investment occurs at many levels and in different ways. It was evident that the emphasis on investment was to ensure the continued realisation of the benefits of the historic environment for present and future generations.

Table 6.13 presents the semantic relationship ‘all the reasons for doing’ the cover term ‘knowledge’.

1. There is a cover term ‘knowledge’.
2. ‘Recognising intrinsic value of historic buildings and places’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.
3. ‘Preserving historic fabric’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.
4. ‘Understanding the social, cultural and economic perspectives of past generations’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.
5. ‘Realising what exists’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.
6. *‘Being aware of local issues’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.*
7. ‘Clarity of urban issues’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.
8. *Being able to ‘stitch in new development’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.*
9. ‘Consulting the local community’ is a reason for ‘knowledge’.

Table 6.13 What are all the reasons for doing ‘knowledge’?

'Knowledge' and having an understanding of what exists is critical in heritage-led regeneration. It is the expertise of historic environment professionals that recognises the significance of place and favours the approach which promotes repairs and refurbishment of historic urban industrial buildings as an alternative to complete replacement.

The cover term 'sustainability' and key ethnographic hypotheses are given in Table 6.14.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. There is a cover term 'sustainability'.2. 'The historic environment' is a way to do 'sustainability'.3. <i>'A mix of uses' is a way to do 'sustainability'.</i>4. 'A mix of uses' is a way to do 'sustainable communities'.5. 'Selective redevelopment' is a way to do 'sustainable communities'.6. <i>'Robust policies' are a way to do 'sustainability'.</i>7. 'Creating positive places where people choose to live, work and spend leisure time' is a way to do 'sustainability'. |
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Table 6.14 What are all the ways to do 'sustainability'?

It is interesting to note the wider meaning of 'sustainability' with regards to the historic environment and the understanding of informants when considering re-use and heritage-led regeneration activities. Re-using historic urban industrial buildings achieves sustainability.

The development of ethnographic hypotheses provided a framework for the research to progress. The uncertainty and developmental nature of the research as acknowledged by the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) only began to make sense in retrospect.

The idea of re-use and conservation-led regeneration activities fundamentally refers to the re-creation of place. The successful redevelopment of an urban area is based on the notion of 'sense of place' and creating attractive environs within which the proposed use(s) of that area can thrive. It would seem that 'sense of place' is as much about a tangible link with the past as it is to the stylish image of a type of lifestyle that today's

urban industrial areas project, and which can be drawn from the hypotheses development.

6.5 Summary

The DRS, through the use of ethnographic questions, provides a flexible framework for data collection, as opposed to using pre-designed interview schedules. The approach to data collection and its subsequent management made use of the ethnographic hypotheses just given. This section has described the tactics and tools used by the researcher through the use of ethnographic interviews during Stage 2 of this research programme. The use of ethnographic explanations, questions and the process of interviewing can be considered as a data collection tool, which can provide both credible and trustworthy accounts. The model developed by Spradley (1979) provides a systematic method of data collection and has been fully utilised.

Section 7.0

Critical analysis of the ethnographic case-study design

Sometimes it is only by taking a practical instance that we can obtain a full picture of this interaction.

Nisbet and Watt (1980, 5)

In order to provide a critical analysis of the ethnographic research it is necessary to differentiate between those limitations that are theoretical and methodological, and the limitations of the methods used in the current research programme. For Denscombe (2002) good research evaluates the weaknesses as well of the strengths of its methodology. Limitations always exist in research. It is impossible to control every variable or examine every aspect of an experience or event. Therefore, in order to explore the consequences of methodology and the implications of the methods utilised during the research programme, three objectives are presented to provide a framework for this section:

- To analyse ethnographic case-study design as a scientific approach.
- To analyse the perceived limitations at a theoretical and methodological level of ethnographic case studies.
- To explore the relationship of the researchers role in ethnographic inquiry.

7.1 Analysing the ethnographic case-study design

At their simplest, case studies provide an exposure to descriptive accounts; that is, the 'what' questions of research. At the extreme, case studies enable explanatory information to be correlated, therefore providing answers to the 'why' questions which generate and build theory. The work of Yin (1994) in the development of case-study management has been widely recognised. Some of the long standing and considered social science paradigms have been developed via the case-study.

Accounts of research often give the impression that the decisions about design, data collection and analysis were relatively straightforward. However, the reality is quite different. This highlights the need for focus in ethnographic research. The methodological foundations would therefore have the researcher (ethnographer) attempting to record, capture and analyse everything. As discussed by Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), it is the research question that in part defines the strategy to be taken. The strategy therefore has to be inseparable from methodological considerations prior to the implementation of the methods.

The focus of ethnography is the social and cultural world of a particular group of people. For Spradley (1979) the central aim of ethnography is to describe a way of life of the native (informant) in context. During Stage 2 of this research programme it became clear that the typical use of ethnography and case studies belongs to a paradigm of scientific inquiry which is built upon different assumptions to that proposed by the methodological positivist paradigm. However, most of the dissatisfaction with case study design is often a result of it being compared or equated against quantitative research. For example, the use of sampling techniques, control groups and pre-post tests which obviously belong to the realms of the positivist cause and effect model, are seen as the benchmark of quality research. Therefore the resistance to inductive rather than deductive methodology and methods occurs primarily at a theoretical level as well as at a process level.

In 2000 English Heritage commissioned MORI (Market and Opinion Research International), a market and public opinion research agency, to find out what people in England think about the historic environment and its future, and what they value. The research, which can be found in the review *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, employed statistical analyses to look for interesting patterns, trends and groupings hidden within the surveys. This review provides useful ammunition when fighting the conservation-cause. As noted by MORI, effective research and evaluation can play an important part in monitoring and improving the effectiveness of

regeneration projects and programmes at local, regional and national levels. This wide-ranging review of all policies relating to the historic environment enabled the researcher to identify the four themes concerned with conservation-led regeneration and re-use. The four themes are: people care about the historic environment; conservation-led regeneration is successful; re-using old buildings regenerates urban areas; and people are returning to our cities. If these four themes relating to re-use and conservation-led regeneration were examined using the cause and effect model of the positivist perspective, such an approach would overlook the social and cultural meanings attached to re-use and would not be in keeping with the aims of the research programme.

The belief that qualitative investigations are merely the starter before the more significant quantitative main course was experienced by the researcher. This occurred during the semi-structured interviews as some informants were intrigued to find out how the researcher was going to be able 'prove' anything. In addition, informants would use different ways to try and establish what exactly was being tested. It seemed that there was an assumption that the researcher should have a structured set of questions that required a specific answer to monitor the emergence of any patterns. In reality, the interviews were informal and guided by the researcher through the use of Spradley's model. This involved the asking of descriptive, structural and contrast questions, as presented in Section 5.0 and described in more detail in Section 6.0, to elicit information.

7.2 Theoretical and methodological considerations

As discussed in Section 3.0 validity and reliability are important research considerations. The threats to internal and external validity, which lie at the heart of positivist research, are relevant to case-study research, but in different ways. The idea of validity and reliability that has gained the most recognition among qualitative researchers is the concept of trustworthiness developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The more descriptive, detailed and truthful the case-study notes, the more they enhance the rigour of the study.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed further the notion of trustworthiness and identified the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. They suggest that one way of increasing the credibility of results is for the researcher to spend long periods of time with the informants. The process of 'member checks' is a well-known technique, which involves receiving feedback from the informants. Agreement validates the researcher's interpretation. In terms of transferability, the ability of others to use the studies results in another context is a feature of highly descriptive case studies, especially the use of field journals that document the subjective thoughts of the researcher. A highly descriptive case-study refers to a process in qualitative research where purposive sampling continues until no new information is obtainable (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Spradley 1979). Dependability and confirmability may occur simultaneously, and include(s) the argument that the case-study approach allows others to observe the rationale for choosing participants and analysing the data. The importance of viewing all data enables the case study to be validated in its entirety.

The issue of methodological triangulation in case-study research is best defended by Yin's principle of 'multiple sources of evidence' (1994). Triangulation can be seen as one of the major strengths of the case-study method, because it enhances rigour and trustworthiness as just discussed. Even though there is a belief that, because underlying world views are different, methods cannot be mixed, others state that different methods may be mixed or triangulated in the same study to fully explain the area of research (Yin, 1994).

However, methods are just tools or 'ways of doing' research within theoretical methodologies. Therefore it is important that the substance and form of the chosen research method be philosophically and methodologically congruent, as previously highlighted. It is with this focus that the ethnographic case study utilised methodological triangulation of both data collection and analysis from a structuralist perspective, which demands saturation and completeness. The case study aims to fulfil this 'completeness' by employing varying methods to achieve a more holistic,

contextual portrayal of the subject matter. The use of methodological triangulation encourages the use of different data collection techniques that are deliberately selected because of their respective strengths and weaknesses. By carrying out semi-structured interviews and observations using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) in combination with the more structured data collection techniques used with the External Assessment Tool (EAT), these different methods provide the strengths necessary for rigorous scientific inquiry and enhancement of the case-study method.

It is assumed that differing methods counter-balance one another. Intensive interviewing and observation in more structured data collection techniques such as standardised questionnaires are reputedly cited as providing the strengths necessary for rigorous scientific enquiry and enhancement of the case-study method (Yin, 1994). The implications of ethnographic research and the role of the researcher in data collection is now considered.

7.3 Methods

Quantitative (positivist) research seeks general laws to explain the relationship between phenomena by looking for patterns and associations. Qualitative (interpretative) research examines aspects of everyday life not subject to precise or detailed measurements. One of the main arguments between these approaches is the failure of positivism to achieve insight. A positivist framework tests for cause and effect, whereas ethnography emphasises the importance of understanding complex relationships between individuals, in particular, the meaning of symbols (Spradley, 1979). The key aims of an ethnography should be to describe what happens in the setting, how the people involved see their own actions and those of others, and the contexts in which the action takes place (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Therefore, ethnographic research does not lend itself, by its very nature, to independent checks. This is because human actions are based upon, or infused by, social meanings: that is, by intentions, motives, beliefs, rules and values (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). To ensure that research has rigour, reason and regularity the methodological framework must be in place.

The limitations and justification of the role of the researcher used in this research programme are given in Table 7.1.

Case-study methodology

- The assumptions of the case-study approach (philosophical, theoretical, instrumental and methodological) provided a foundation for the research and allowed the researcher to see and interpret the world from differing perspectives.
- The aim of research using case studies is to discover meaning and understanding, rather than to verify truth or predict outcomes.
- Because data are words or texts placed in the context of a particular case study, the primary instrument of gathering data is the researcher (Spradley, 1979).
- Because the context is critical, the sample is based on the number of type of informants necessary to gather as much information about the topic as possible.
- Data collection and analysis are simultaneous and interactive (Spradley, 1979).
- The assumptions of the researcher's theoretical perspective, the research methodology, methods and questions must be consistent with each other.
- In qualitative research the concept of validity and reliability can be equated with trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).
- The concept of trustworthiness includes credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).
- Four areas of documentation are necessary to establish the confirmability of a study through an audit trail. They are contextual, methodological, analytical and personal documentation.
- Reviewing the literature, methodological triangulation and ethics are all of concern for case-study research.

Table 7.1 In defence of ethnographic case-study design.

7.4 The role of the researcher

Ethnography has its origins as a research strategy in the works of the early social anthropologists (Denscombe, 2002). Ethnographers would attempt to go into the field with what has been described by Spradley (1979) as 'complete ignorance'. The idea that the ethnographer is a stranger has been discussed in depth by Agar (1980) who

describes a 'professional stranger'. Methodologically, parallels can be drawn with the positivist scientist who seeks to be removed from the research process in an attempt to reduce bias. Ethnographic research attempts the opposite where the researcher is immersed in an unknown cultural framework. Nevertheless, there are inevitable limits to this process, which require exploration.

In the first instance it is never possible to be a stranger forever. In the historic environment, as with other fields, many professionals know one another. Informants often assume that the researcher is aware of the specifics of a particular subject matter. Ethnographers are rarely treated as laypersons. Therefore the temptation to act as a stranger challenges the whole experience and is worthy of note. Also, the language and gestures, which are significant to ethnographic inquiry, become merged and therefore can be missed due to the researcher having inside knowledge. This 'insider' status and 'taking things for granted' are limitations, which have to be balanced with the careful checks built into the methodology as a whole. Thus there is a need to analyse data as it occurs, not after all data has been collected, as is usually the case with most positivist research.

The researcher certainly plays a particular role in ethnographic research. Agar (1980) suggests that the researcher seeks to learn from others and to be taught by them. Spradley (1979) argues that the researcher works with the informant to produce a cultural description. However, this notion of being ignorant and then being taught is often difficult for the informant to grasp and can often appear as a lack of confidence in the researcher. The idea that the researcher gleans information from the informant is linked to a particular strategy employed by ethnography, namely participant observation. Such a method holds the belief that any observation or interpretation will inevitably influence results. The disadvantage of such a method has a common concern in ethnography. That is, becoming part of the culture and not being able to distance oneself sufficiently from it for a length of time. Once again, this highlights the importance of methodological frameworks, so that ethnographers can record interviews, make reflective notes, carry out continuous analysis and approach the research with a degree of flexibility in order to maintain the credibility of the research questions.

7.5 Summary

This section has explored the primary methodological and practical issues that relate to ethnographic case studies and has discussed some of the major concerns associated with validity, credibility and transferability of the data gathered using this approach. A further examination of qualitative and quantitative research has been made and concluded that the methods employed in the actual collection of data in an ethnography centre upon the role of the researcher. In particular the way this approach makes use of the 'researcher as a tool'.

Section 8.0

Analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT): Stage 1

Indeed, much mystery surrounds the way in which researchers engage in data analysis.

Bryman and Burgess (1994, xiii)

This section presents and analyses the focal data collected using the External Assessment Tool (EAT) during Stage 1 of this research programme.

8.1 The nature of the data being presented

The External Assessment Tool (EAT), as described in Section 4 (Appendix A), was applied to historic industrial buildings in Birmingham, Bradford, Gloucester, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Stroud, Sheffield and Swindon. A total of 20 urban historic buildings across these towns and cities were assessed using EAT. The features of the tool are summarised in Table 8.1.

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Focuses primarily on the physical and therefore re-useable qualities and quantities of each building.• Demonstrates a reliance on standardising the stimulus by means of the tool. In this way, the results and analysis are contained sufficiently to ask more searching questions about the nature of the social and cultural aspects of re-use.• Ability to create a 'typical' profile of re-used buildings.• Demonstrates a similarity between re-used buildings and current expectations suggested in the literature.• Does not focus on the more complex aspects and assumptions of cultural meaning that relate to this research programme. |
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Table 8.1 Features of EAT.

The various ways to use and present the focal data collected by EAT were considered. As noted by Denscombe (2002), the distinction between 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' relates to the treatment of data, rather than the research methods, and that social researchers rarely rely on one approach to the exclusion of the other. He further adds that good research tends to use parts of both approaches, and the difference lies in the degree to which the research is based in one camp or the other.

The data collected by EAT involved descriptions. In the development of the tool the researcher was aware that, in order to carry out initial quantitative analysis, the data would need to be converted to numbers. The tool accommodated a process of coding that facilitated this. The next stage was to group the data in a way that created an order and allowed for an initial understanding of the results. A count of the frequency of each aspect explored by EAT was made and this enabled the grouping of the data. It is important to recognise that by creating such groupings this imposes a structure on the focal data. The data in the format of a grouped frequency distribution may be easier to understand, but they begin to bear the hallmarks of the creative shaping of data (Denscombe, 2002).

In the first instance, the data was presented in an illustrated (graphic) statistical form using the computer package Windows Excel. The way descriptive information is presented is vital to the process of making sense of the data so that meaning and significance can be elicited from the results. Descriptive statistics (Section 8.2) has been used to portray the observations recorded when using EAT, and this has gone some way to identifying a 'typical' profile of a re-used building from the information collected by the tool.

8.2 Analytical approaches: Stage 1

Data collected by EAT has been analysed using:

1. Simple descriptive statistics
2. Sequential developmental analysis
3. Initial post-structural analysis

An overview on each approach is presented below.

8.2.1 Simple descriptive statistics

By using simple descriptive statistics, comparisons between the buildings can be made to illuminate patterns. These included:

- Mean - as a simple statistic, this has enabled the research project to show the central tendency of ascribed facets for each building.
- Median - this has enabled the research project to calculate and show the mid-point of frequencies of both observations and categories listed in EAT. In addition it has enabled the analysis to arrange variables between each case study in order or rank or size.
- Mode - this is the simple calculation of the most frequently occurring observations for each case study.

By using these statistical frameworks, it has been possible to create patterns and locate themes from the data produced by EAT, which has subsequently allowed for the implementation of a sequential semiotic analysis.

8.2.2 Sequential developmental analysis

The aim of sequential developmental analysis is to provide a framework where the results of one data set (e.g. case studies 1-10) go to inform the nature of analysis for the following data sets (e.g. case studies 11-20). The purpose of this method is to ensure that the analysis is broad enough to incorporate the initial themes suggested by the primary data sets, but also to allow for a more intense focusing on recurrent themes in sequential sets. In short, present data analysis is informed by previously analysed data.

8.2.3 Initial post-structural analysis

Applying post-structuralist theory makes a critique of historicism, meaning and philosophy (Sarup, 1993), and culture remains at the centre of such analysis. In order to carry out an initial post-structural analysis of re-used industrial buildings it is necessary to look at the relationships of these buildings and the structure within which these properties are set. This type of approach is appropriate to the research aims and objectives in exploring and examining the social meanings attached to the re-use of historic buildings and conservation-led regeneration. As noted by Harland (1999), almost everything turns out to be a cultural phenomenon: even a glass of wine is not natural or innocent, but carries a social meaning and affirms a social ideology.

The questions asked by EAT are anticipated (by those involved in re-use, conservation, and urban regeneration) only through the idea of such questions. Everywhere, we see and taste and hear only through the meanings that society has already planted in us (Harland, 1999). Thus EAT is recognisable within the culture of the re-use of historic buildings and conservation-led regeneration.

The application of post-structuralist theory (thinking about events, meanings and observations) guided the research programme through Stage 1 and helped find the focus of Stage 2 data collection and analysis.

8.3 Analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT)

This section presents the data collected using EAT with specific focus on those questions highlighted in Table 8.2 as identified from the literature review.

- **Is there a residential population in the area/adjacent streets?**
- Is the new use for the public?
- **Is there somewhere to sit outside the building?**
- Does the new use include a public café/bar/restaurant?
- Has the building been extended to meet the needs of the new use?
- Are people employed as a result of the new use?
- Can more than one use be identified from outside the building?
- **Is there a mix of uses in the area/adjacent streets?**
- Do there appear to be good transport links to and from the area?
- **Are there any empty/derelict buildings in the area/adjacent streets?**
- **Is there evidence of vandalism?**
- **Has the re-use helped improve the physical appearance of the area?**
- Is there soft landscaping?
- Is the building prominent in the area?
- Is the building part of a larger urban regeneration scheme?
- Are adjacent buildings of similar age/type?
- **Does the re-use give the area a new identity?**
- Is information on the building/previous use available?

Table 8.2 A selection of the questions asked by EAT.

The initial examination of data was undertaken to identify the occurrence of particular ideas or events in order to guide this phase of analysis. The questions highlighted in Table 8.2 focus on the relationship of a re-used industrial building and its surroundings. These questions were selected by the researcher to explore the themes ‘conservation-led regeneration is successful’ and ‘re-using old buildings regenerates urban areas’ as identified through current literature. According to Denscombe (2002) the choice of

ideas or events during this initial stage of analysis is not crucial, as themes and relationships identified in the data will be placed under a continual process of refinement.

8.3.1 Conservation-led regeneration is successful

Conservation plays an important role in many urban regeneration initiatives. However, it would seem that this has only been recognised during the past 15 years, even though there have been many successful regeneration schemes involving historic industrial buildings in England over the last 25 years. It is possible that, because of the decline of industry, and the social and economic impact that this had on an area, re-investment was targeted at jobs, housing and public services and not at the environment affected.

When EAT was applied to the re-used Albert Dock in Liverpool it was evident that this was not just about finding new uses for old industrial buildings. It was about a particular era of regeneration and the meanings attached to the world famous Liverpool Docks. During the 1980s the downward spiral of economic decline affected many industrial towns and cities. In Liverpool it became obvious that, even with an increase in world trade, the port was never going to reach the employment levels of past decades.

The redevelopment of Albert Dock, a landmark project for the Merseyside Development Corporation, included the 'Tate of the North', a maritime museum, and television studios. It was a high-profile 'cultural regeneration initiative', which set the tone for the 1980s. The area began to attract a greater mix of uses, together with a range of bars, restaurants and retail outlets, as well as office space and luxury residential accommodation. Keen to send out the right message about the past, the Merseyside Development Corporation allowed the city to be promoted as 'Vintage Port...which will only improve with age' (Sunday Times Magazine, 16.3.86).

In 2004 Liverpool was officially named a World Heritage Site by United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). At the heart of this new

World Heritage Site is the world-famous Liverpool waterfront. When considering the question asked by EAT 'Has the re-use helped improve the physical appearance of the area?' the re-use of Albert Dock has given this part of Liverpool a new lease of life, and through improvements to the physical appearance of the area has created a vibrant community. However, due to the scale of Liverpool Docks, the regeneration of the area would not have succeeded if the surroundings to the re-used industrial buildings had not been enhanced.

Similar cultural development strategies (with millions of pounds committed to them) were put in place by other major cities, including Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. Thus, the notion of the 'cultural industries' was launched. Even though many redundant and empty warehouses and factories were being brought back into use in the 1980s, it would seem that regeneration was not just about re-using the buildings. As with Liverpool and other major towns and cities, it was about a change of image.

Culture (defined as relating to music, art, theatre and literature), it would seem, was to be the vehicle that defined the new look of a city. It is possible that, had the regeneration initiatives of two decades ago been linked to the past, this may not have attracted the same level of investment, interest or enthusiasm as it would today. This is not to say the historical importance of our industrial heritage was ever ignored, but perhaps took a back seat when promoting a new, vibrant urban area. More recently, as towns and cities have embraced their industrial heritage, Britain's legacy of industrialisation has been acknowledged as a valuable asset which now lies at the heart of strategies for conservation-led regeneration (Cossons, 2000).

Of the 20 buildings visited during Stage 1 data collection, it soon became apparent that, regardless of locality, these buildings had been successfully converted to meet the accommodation demands of the new use(s) and made a positive contribution to the townscape. This observation is perhaps obvious, but in order to attract people to an area - whether to live, work or spend leisure time - it would seem that the quality of the environment is important and should not be overlooked. In effect, public areas demand

as much care and attention as the control of development on the buildings which enclose them (English Heritage, 2002b). Environmental improvements in former industrial areas are unique because it is possibly the first time the spaces between the buildings have been recognised as having significance. Well-designed environmental improvements can help nurture local distinctiveness and revitalise local communities. When bringing vacant historic urban buildings back into use, ignoring the importance of the historic space would be detrimental to the scheme. Poor-quality materials and short term standard design solutions would adversely affect investment in the re-used buildings and the image of the area.

8.3.2 Re-using historic buildings regenerates urban areas

The theme 'Re-using historic buildings regenerates urban areas' was also considered by EAT. Industrial buildings of the nineteenth century were built during a time of great prosperity and wealth, and of a grand scale. Today, when a building of such stature stands empty, falling into a state of disrepair through a lack of maintenance and encouraged by vandalism, the impact on the immediate area is significant. Historic warehouses and factories are not tucked away out of site to decline gracefully, but are ever present in an urban setting. Re-using historic buildings is not just about finding a new use for an old building: it is an activity that affects the local community regardless of use, it is image making and image changing, and plays a crucial role in the regeneration of an area.

Regeneration does not happen over night. Lessons have seemingly been learnt from the approaches taken in past decades to urban planning. However, a closer examination of the utopian beliefs of the 1960s sought to achieve the same ideals as those today: quality of life, employment, housing, pleasant environment are the same key issues that urban areas are seeking to address today. Some of these issues have been considered through the use of EAT, and are explored in this section.

It would seem that regeneration is not just about policies designed for today's urban areas, but these are policies that have been shaped and adapted from past initiatives, the successes and failures. There is famous film footage of Pablo Picasso drawing on a pane of glass. The sketch took a matter of minutes and the interviewer asked Picasso "How can you justify the price that would be attached to a piece of work that only took you a few minutes to do?" Picasso's response "...that did not take me a few minutes, that took me a life time".

Urban areas are a result of their life times. Whether in decline or lively, the state of our cities is not as a result of a single event and regeneration activities recognise this. There is no beginning, middle, and end. Urban areas are in a continuous state of flux responding to forces and events as they occur. By considering the area surrounding the re-used industrial buildings assessed by EAT it became apparent that the need for diversity is important if an area is to offer a vibrant, dynamic mix of uses. It has been recognised that there is no a quick-fix solution to dealing with long-term urban dereliction and neglect, and that, in some instances, it takes a leap of faith from one user group, funding body, or indicator to show commitment to a project in a particular area. Bringing one building back into use, attracting a new business to an area, or introducing a residential population can trigger the regeneration process. Having vacant buildings, if there is a sense of change, is not necessarily a bad thing as it offers potential. Adjacent vacant buildings were common to those buildings assessed using EAT.

Regeneration relies on social, cultural, economic, and environmental investment by building on success, but also recognising where something has not been successful and why. People need to engage with change as they have previously had no choice but to engage with the decline of an area. Early consultation with key stakeholders (i.e. local authorities, English Heritage, the local community) is essential if there is to be an understanding of the aspirations for regenerating the area. Engaging local communities in regeneration initiatives, where there is a focus on a group of run-down industrial buildings, generates a sense of ownership. People are then more likely to be encouraged, so that they see and start to experience the regeneration of their area and then, through a sense of belonging, embrace the revitalisation process.

8.3.3 Types of uses

As mentioned in the literature review, buildings have long been re-used for many different purposes. Tobacco Dock in London is a wonderful example of survival. Concealed by high dock walls, few people had heard of it and even fewer had seen it (Binney *et al.*, 1990). In the 1980s many of the warehouses in London Dock were being demolished, but through the determination of a group of like-minded people Tobacco Dock experienced a new lease of life. The conversion maximises the use of space providing open, airy and uncluttered concourses, shops, bars and restaurants. Tobacco Dock was no longer about keeping people out as it had opened its doors and invited them in. One of the sections in EAT examines the impact of the new use on the building and whether the use contributed to the local community. EAT was applied to urban industrial buildings that had, in general, been converted between 1980 and 2000. It seems that many of the warehouses and factories brought back into use during these years, and assessed using EAT, were to provide office accommodation.

Office use, for buildings that once represented industrial prosperity - and the sad decline of Britain's industrial fortunes - was perhaps the most obvious. Such a use allowed many industrial towns and cities to look to the future and create a new identity for areas that had been so long ignored, but without forgetting the past. Converted warehouses and factories were being used to attract non-industrial uses to the area. The conversion of these buildings to provide office space was perhaps the most favoured change of use during the 1980s because it was believed to be the most appropriate use that could easily be accommodated. In addition, and perhaps at a more sub-conscious level, office use maintained the image of employment and a workforce, be it more white collar than blue.

During the 1990s, the re-use of our built industrial heritage has involved a greater mix of uses, most noticeably residential conversions. For many choosing where to live is about deciding on the type of accommodation and location that best suits personal needs. Usually this relates to where we work, how near we want to be to family, friends, a city, leisure facilities, the countryside, public transport, number of bedrooms, parking,

and a garden. These lifestyle choices are symbolic of today's society, and just as intriguing is what our choice of accommodation says about us. Types of accommodation are made attractive to certain groups of people. The 1950s' housewife wanted suburbia; she wanted a fitted kitchen, a washing machine, and other electrical goods that would make her life easier. But did she want them or did she learn to want them? So aggressive were the marketing campaigns underneath the sparkle and smiles that they would prey on the fears of new housewives - if you did not have the latest product of invention you would be letting your family down.

Today, marketing is far more insinuating because we are more sophisticated, and the more subtle the message the more we are likely to respond. A perfume is not sold for its scent. It is about image and the celebrity that has endorsed it. If you choose this perfume you will acquire certain status. You will be a symbol of beauty and power. You will represent the image of the perfume. This is not so different to our choice of accommodation. City living has become synonymous with a type of lifestyle. By choosing an apartment in a converted historic industrial building we make a particular statement about who we are and want to become.

Initial analysis has been carried out on the focal data collected using EAT, and on the change of use of industrial buildings. Issues associated with what the themes associated with re-use and heritage-led regeneration was explored during Stage 2 using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) (Spradley, 1979).

8.3.4 Statistical analysis of External Assessment Tool (EAT)

When considering 'Is there somewhere to sit outside the building?' half of the properties visited did provide seating. The results would suggest that providing seating is a consideration in re-use, although it is likely that the level of significance attached to the allocation of seating varies for each scheme. To take this a stage further, it is perhaps worth considering the wider cultural implications of seating. For example, the use of benches in urban landscaping accompanies many regeneration initiatives.

Improving the physical surroundings by using planters and street furniture (including seating) is about asking people to spend time in a place that has previously been neglected. Seating, certainly within an urban setting, is perceived as promoting lunchtime socialising and also providing the individual with a purpose-built focal point to leave the office behind, if only for ten minutes. This is in stark contrast to the lifestyle of Victorian society, where the idea of personal time for a worker was rarely, if ever, entertained.

The following figures (Figures 8.1-8.3) present focal data for three key questions asked by EAT. Simple reading of these graphs can allow for and demonstrate why a more in-depth semiotic analysis is a worthwhile task.

The number of empty buildings in an area for case studies 1-10 and case studies 11-20 are shown in Figure 8.1.

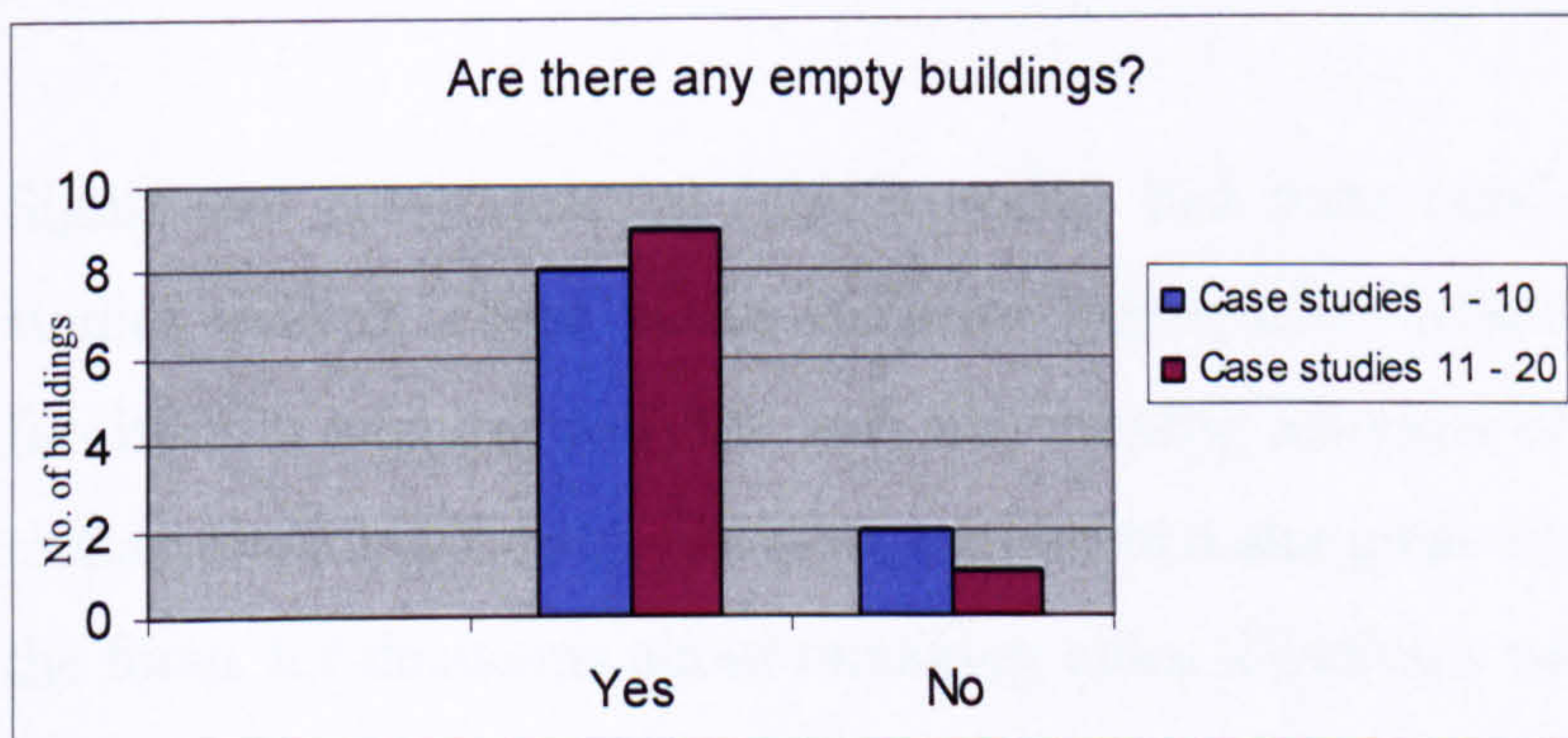


Figure 8.1 Number of empty buildings in an area.

In total, 85% of the re-use schemes visited are surrounded by a number of empty buildings. Case studies 1-10 illuminate this pattern, which was supported by case studies 11-20. As mentioned above, the results from the second dataset go some way to suggesting that long-term urban regeneration is a slow process. The number of empty buildings may influence public/private interest in the area. If a re-use scheme attracts people to spend time and money in a particular location, it is likely that other uses will seek to locate to that area to tap into the urban wealth. It is the intention of local

authority strategies and funding initiatives to encourage the re-use of empty properties. A growing popular urban quarter with empty buildings is perhaps as important as the original re-use scheme in facilitating sustainable long-term urban regeneration.

The number of sites where environmental improvements have been carried out for case studies 1-10 and case studies 11-20 are shown in Figure 8.2.

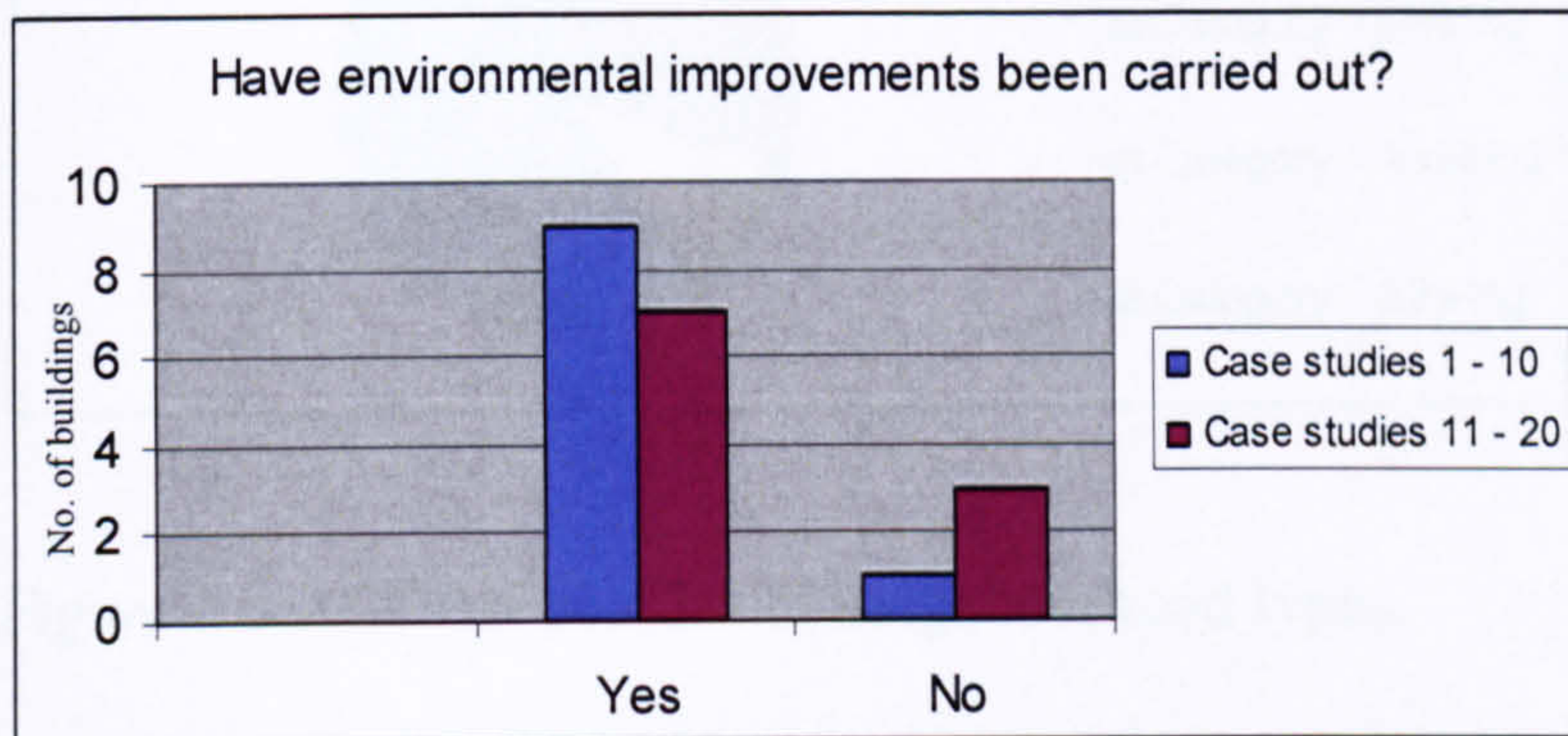


Figure 8.2 Number of sites where environmental improvements have been carried out.

Significant environmental improvements had been carried out at 16 of the 20 case studies visited. These works included high-quality urban design and materials, street furniture in keeping with the area and varying amounts of soft landscaping. According to Campbell and Cowan (2002) great streets make great cities and that the street must be the focus for decisions about remaking cities. Finding a new use for a long term vacant historic urban industrial building has a tremendous impact on an area. However, it is essential that this is complimented with environmental enhancement works if the success of bringing the historic fabric back into use is to be followed by the regeneration of the area. The quality of the townscape cannot be underestimated when raising the social and economic profile of an area. The results from EAT would suggest that importance is given to the visual surroundings in which the re-used industrial buildings are placed.

8.3.5 Neighbourhood profiles

Figure 8.3 presents the postcode data based on the ACORN profiles of neighbourhood types.

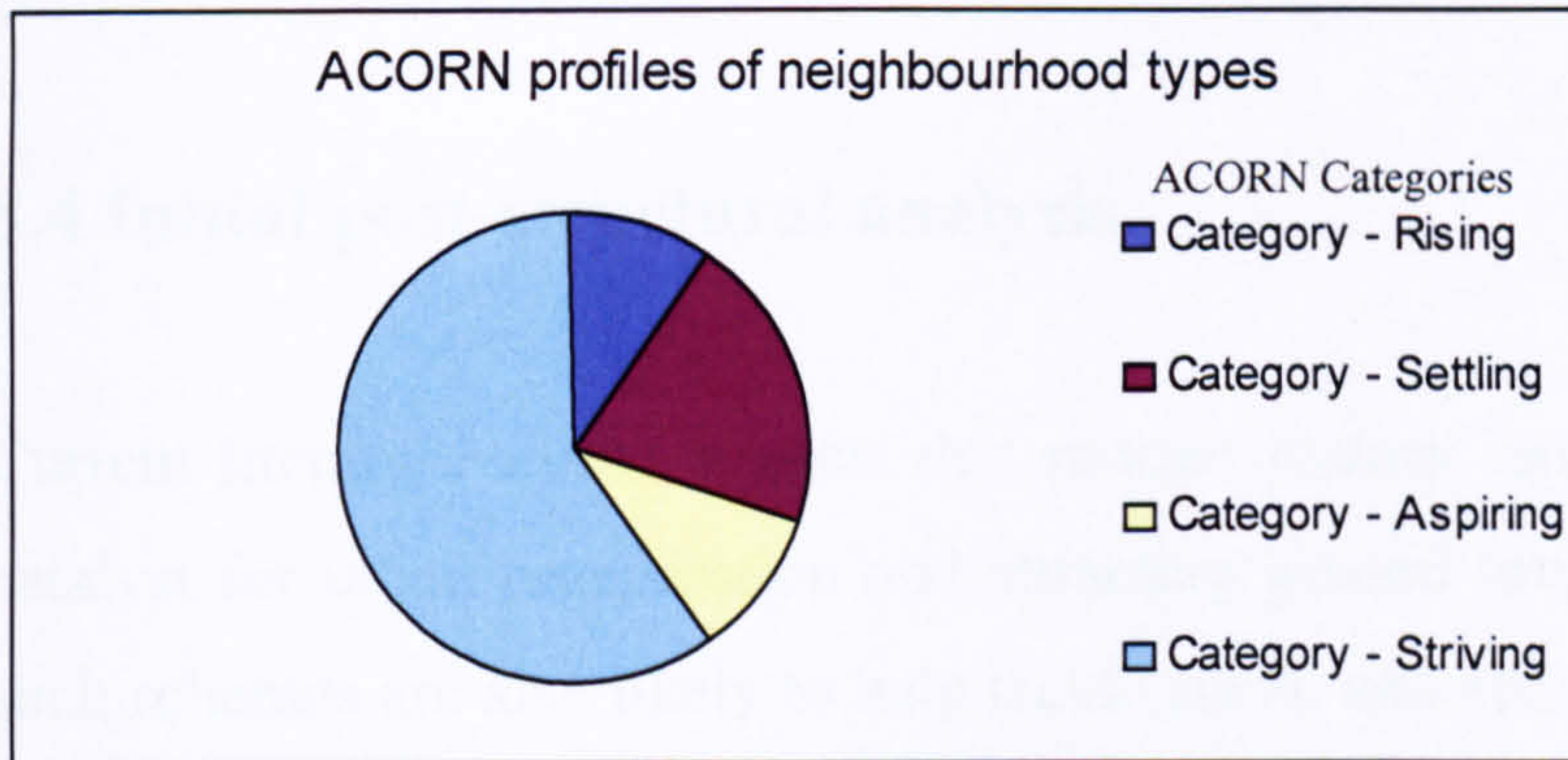


Figure 8.3 ACORN profiles of neighbourhood types.

The results from the neighbourhood types would suggest that 60% of the re-used schemes visited are within a 'striving' community (category F of the ACORN profiles). ACORN has identified that the local populations of such communities are mostly council-estate residents and in some areas unemployment is high.

Demographically the age profile has high levels of 0-4, 15-24 and 65+ year olds. In these areas, the household profile shows high concentrations of single-person households, both pensioner and non-pensioner, and single-parent households. The socio-economic profile produced by ACORN states that 61% of households have no working residents. Of those in employment, there are 2.2 times more unskilled workers than nationally.

These statistics provide detailed information about communities in large cities. Described as 'striving', there is perhaps a sense of hope that in consultation with local communities, public and private investment can result in the transformation of a neighbourhood, which provides both a model and a firm base for regeneration (English Heritage, 2000).

Understanding the nature of such social networks is perhaps the concern of larger re-use schemes. However, people generally value the places in which they live and work, and investment in their environment impacts on what matters for them and why. Exploring such social issues relates to the focal data, which has identified lines of investigation for future research.

8.4 Initial post-structural analysis

Current literature would suggest that re-used historic urban industrial buildings are a catalyst for urban regeneration and attracting inward investment. It would appear that such schemes are also likely to help tackle social and economic deprivation by not only changing the face of an area, but also the opinion and image of a particular place.

The ability of a re-use project to initiate urban regeneration is not unfounded. Many of our towns and cities have experienced or are experiencing this 'urban renaissance'. The properties visited for the purpose of data collection were part of a larger regeneration programme. As previously stated, it is not the process of integrating a new use into an old industrial warehouse or mill building that is being explored, but the meanings attached to the new use and the impact on the regeneration of the area.

Many recent conversions of warehouses and factories have been to provide residential accommodation. The urban lifestyle, as depicted by the media, is a commodity. The possible success of a re-use scheme depends on how that commodity is sold to us. But what (discourse) are we being asked to buy into? A 'spacious studio apartment in a central location' has meanings other than the ability of the accommodation to provide shelter and warmth. It is what the building represents that has greater significance.

The example given in Table 8.3 shows the same industrial building accommodating different uses. This explores the hidden meanings associated with a luxury studio apartment and an asylum seekers' hostel. It also considers the representation of the occupants of such buildings.

Luxury studio apartments	HISTORIC URBAN INDUSTRIAL BUILDING	Asylum seekers hostel
Spacious accommodation		Prison-type accommodation
Status		Lack of status
Independent		Controlled situation
Large influx of (wanted) people		Large influx in (unwanted) people
Because it is 'trendy'		Because it is 'the only option'
Encourage urban regeneration		Limit urban regeneration

Table 8.3 The representation of different uses.

A large proportion of society are not asylum seekers, nor have they lived or live in a luxury studio apartment in the centre of a vibrant urban quarter. However, we can identify with the above meanings. Consider that the successful businessman who lives in an open-plan apartment, with little furniture, and no more than a jar of olives in the fridge is an image. We can recognise this image and we can guess at the car he drives to escape the city at weekends, because this image exists within culture. This man has chosen to live in a particular urban area in an old industrial building. It is unlikely that he believes his choice of accommodation has anything to do with the regeneration of the area. But rejuvenating a neglected urban area is about people and investment by people in their locality.

The asylum seeker has little choice and little status. Housing asylum seekers is a controversial issue and certainly the politics of such concerns are not under scrutiny in this study. In this instance the building would provide the occupiers of both uses with shelter. But it is the culture within which these uses exist that impacts upon our sense of meaning. Initial explorations into the meanings attached to the re-use of industrial buildings have identified the need to examine further the 'type of use' in facilitating urban regeneration.

Table 8.4 provides a further example of a converted industrial building, the uses of which are perhaps not as contrasting as the luxury studio apartment and asylum seekers hostel, but go to show what the uses represent.

Office use	HISTORIC URBAN INDUSTRIAL BUILDING	Mix of uses
Open plan or cellular spaces		Internal arrangement varies
Private use		Mix of private/public uses
Not accessible to public		Accessible to public
People activity limited to 9am-5pm		People activity during day/night
Restricts vibrancy		Creates diversity and vibrancy
Contributes to urban regeneration		Encourages urban regeneration

Table 8.4 The representation of different uses.

Bringing a vacant historic industrial building that has been empty for many years back into use can take many months, even years, of discussions and negotiations between the parties involved. An example of this is the Harris and Pearson building at Brierley Hill in the West Midlands, a well-known local landmark and a grade II listed building. Built in 1888 as offices to the surrounding firebrick works, the building was left derelict for 14 years before the West Midlands Building Preservation Trust acquired the property six years ago. The Building Preservation Trust held workshops and open days during the six years whilst applying to various funding bodies to secure financial assistance to start the restoration works. Completed in January 2005 the building has been repaired, lost architectural details reinstated, and is now in office use. Successfully bringing historic buildings back into use takes time.

Industrial buildings re-used to provide office accommodation had been sensitively converted and most provided units of variable sizes for lease. The schemes were high quality and included environmental improvements in the form of landscaping, railings and parking facilities, which were in the most part considerate to the setting of the buildings. It would be reasonable to assume that the buildings were more than just office space. The scale, structure and strong presence of these buildings could be perceived to represent the sound practice and credibility of the businesses within. The image of the Harrison and Pearson building would now contribute to the image of the companies within.

Although many of the office conversions visited during Stage 1 were inspiring, the relationship between the office use and the surrounding areas was limited. The office

workers would, of course, enhance the local economy by using newsagents, sandwich shops, bars and restaurants in the vicinity, but apart from improving the physical appearance of the building and any adjoining land the relationship with the local community was limited.

A mixed-use scheme, however, offers the potential of attracting a range of activities that would encourage more hustle and bustle at different times of the day into the night, including uses for the local community. Diverse uses supported by a residential population create vibrant urban areas which help to foster relationships between the different groups and trigger the regeneration process.

8.5 Summary

The focal data collected using EAT has provided evidence for the possibility of a 'type of re-use' movement. Similarities between the buildings would suggest that there are particular patterns, both about the nature of the data and the nature of the enquiry made of the data. It became apparent that EAT considered the most usual questions asked of this topic area. Thus, the focal data is comparable to that presented in most contemporary literature. Why should this be the case? The analysis applied is just as interested in exploring 'why such questions (posed by EAT) are most frequently asked?' as with the focal data from EAT and the postcode data.

Exploring such issues provides the rationale for applying an ethnographic methodology. For example, how issues to do with re-use and conservation hold a particular value and use in society. Post-structural analysis therefore poses many new and different types of question related to the broader considerations of re-use. For example:

- Why is it necessary to understand the ‘taken for granted’ assumptions within which conservation, re-use and urban issues relate?
- What is it about studio apartments, canal-side cafés, and consumer imagery that has impacted upon our sense of re-use and conservation?
- How can social research help to improve our understanding of the historic urban environment?

This type of theoretically-grounded analysis goes some way to show that an exploration of focal data and background literature holds potential for further post-structural analysis.

Section 9.0

Analysis of Developmental Research Sequence (DRS): Stage 2

Ethnographers must wander through a multicultural wilderness, learning to see the world through the eyes of people from all walks of life. The ethnographic journey takes the researcher on paths that lead nowhere, past tempting hazards and deceptively open marshes. Without sufficient preparation, this journey can become nightmarish.

Fetterman (1989, 137)

This section presents the analysis of Stage 2 data collection in this research programme. The decision to use 'sense of place' as a domain enabled the selection of six dominant cover terms and their relationships through precise method of analysis using the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) and post-structural ideas.

9.1 Introduction

The cultural knowledge of those involved in conservation-led regeneration through the re-use of old industrial buildings can be viewed and analysed as a cluster of relationships between signs. These clusters are made up of domains, taxonomies, cover terms and semantic relationships. Making sense of the mass of data is best considered as a systematic process which begins with identifying the level of significance, then selecting a tentative focus and ends with an understanding of the key domain 'sense of place'.

9.2 Identifying the level of significance

According to Spradley (1979) ethnographers have long debated the advantages of the in-depth and surface strategies to data collection. Those who advocate the in-depth strategy argue that cultural meaning is complex, and therefore believe that surface analysis will not examine fully how informants understand things. Those who advocate analysing the surface of cultural meaning argue that it is the relationship between domains which is important. In practice, most ethnographers adopt a compromise by

studying a few, selected domains in-depth, while still attempting to gain a surface understanding of a culture or cultural scene as a whole (Spradley, 1979). This same compromise was adopted by analysing the key ethnographic domain 'sense of place', and by providing a number of themes based on an in-depth analysis of the dominant cover terms.

9.3 Selecting a tentative focus

The semi-structured interviews ranged widely over the many issues related to the re-use of historic industrial buildings in an urban setting. The interviews also went more deeply into a topic area when informants would talk in detail about a project they had been involved with. The question that the researcher had to answer was how to select a focus for in-depth analysis. Out of the many domains identified in this section Spradley (1979, 136-137) suggests that the choice of focus must be tentative, and offers several criteria for selecting a number of domains for in-depth analysis:

- **Informant's suggestions.** Sometimes informants will spontaneously say to the researcher what they should be studying.
- **Theoretical interest.** This occurs on the emergence of several domains during the first few interviews, which enable a more in-depth analysis to be carried out earlier.
- **Strategic ethnography.** When a researcher selects a cultural scene for study, some domains within that culture may offer special opportunities to carry out strategic ethnography.
- **Organising domains.** Sometimes a large domain emerges that seems to organise most of the cultural knowledge and can become the focus of the research.

The dominance of heritage as a catalyst for regeneration in literature, and the general assumptions made about the relationship between re-use and conservation-led regeneration, led to the supposition that the study of 'sense of place' would provide a feasible domain from which the research could progress. 'Sense of place' organised most of the cultural knowledge imparted by the informants during the semi-structured interviews.

The preliminary domains are given in Table 9.1. The decision to focus on 'quality', 'people' and 'image' in the first instance was due to the cultural knowledge informants had of these common themes. This was proved correct as these three cover terms encompassed many of the emerging included terms during subsequent semi-structured interviews with informants.

<p>Financial interest is a reason for pressure from developers. Conservation areas are a way to preserve historic fabric. Quality is an attribute of sense of place. Tourism is a way to bring people to an area. People are a result of sense of place. Lack of maintenance is a result of loss of historic fabric. Mixed-uses is a way to bring people to an area. People are a way to do sense of place. Residential accommodation is a kind of use. Sensitive conversions are a way to re-use historic buildings. Downgrading of design is a kind of pressure from developers. Attract inward investment is a reason for environmental improvements. High-quality design is an attribute of sense of place. Marginal uses are a cause of lack of investment. Attracting inward investment is a result of regeneration. Image is a result of sense of place. Image is a way to do sense of place. Grant assistance is a stage in the re-use of historic buildings. Consultation is a stage in regeneration.</p>
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Table 9.1 Initial domains of 'sense of place'.

At this point it was necessary to focus on the semantic relationships that the three cover terms - 'quality', 'people' and 'image' - had with the domain 'sense of place'. As can be seen in the taxonomies that follow in this section, each domain has a semantic relationship. The aim, however, is to confirm the most appropriate semantic relationship

for the cover terms. This involved identifying the potential semantic relationships for each cover term with regard to the key domain 'sense of place'. Figure 9.1 shows how the cultural themes (included terms) and the three cover terms were analysed to find the correct semantic relationship with the key domain. In the left-hand column there are the possible semantic relationships, and in the right-hand column, the cultural themes which go to form the research.

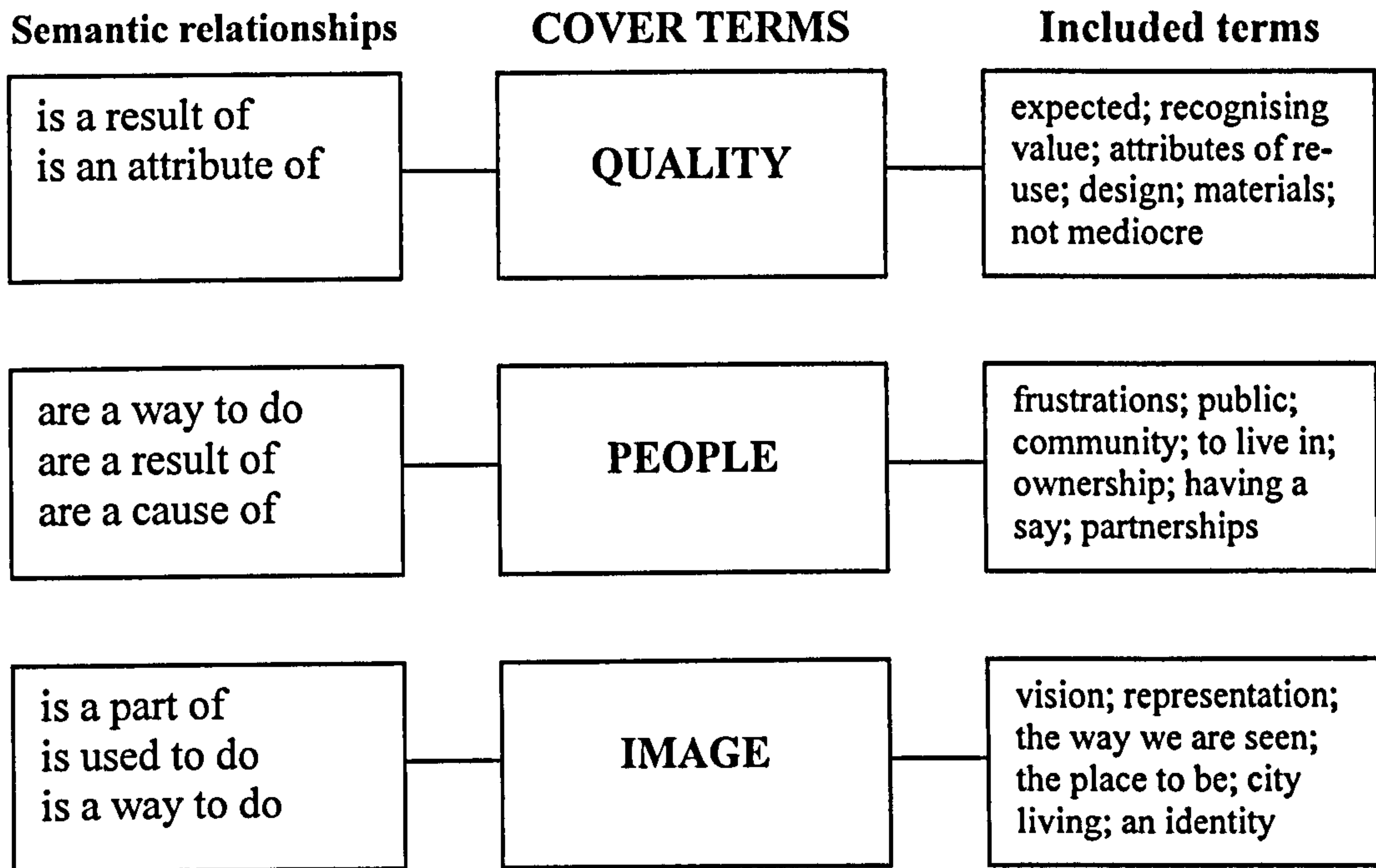


Figure 9.1 The possible semantic relationships and cultural themes for the cover terms 'quality', 'people' and 'image'.

The decision to select the semantic relationships shown in the following taxonomies came about due to these being the most dominant relationships induced during the semi-structured interviews, which were continually confirmed by informants during succeeding interviews.

9.4 Making a taxonomic analysis

The criteria offered by Spradley (1979, 136-137), described in Section 9.3 above, were used for selecting the domains (i.e. cover term, included terms and a semantic

relationship). These allowed the researcher to understand how professionals in the historic environment perceived the three cover terms and their related meaning to the domain 'sense of place'. The initial analytical stages given in Figure 9.2 show how the semantic relationship, 'is an attribute of', is used to place similar included terms into sorted lists (taxonomies). The aim is to understand how each included term has meaning to the cover term. According to Spradley (1979) a taxonomy differs from a domain in only one respect: it shows the relationships among all the folk terms in a domain. A taxonomy reveals sub-sets of folk terms and the way these sub-sets relate to the domain as a whole. This can be seen in the example of the domain 'Quality is an attribute of sense of place'.

QUALITY 'IS AN ATTRIBUTE OF' SENSE OF PLACE

materials	design
new development	like for like
extensions	traditional
new development	urban design
townscape	conversions
detail	environmental improvements

The relationships among the included terms in the above domain are not shown. A taxonomy reveals such relationships as shown in Figure 9.2.

QUALITY <i>is an attribute of</i> <i>'sense of place'</i>	materials	repairs to existing buildings	like for like
			in keeping
			traditional techniques
		new development	enhance surroundings
			modern
			quality
		environmental improvements	good urban design principles
			appropriate materials
	townscape	soft landscaping	trees
			shrubs/planters
			surface treatment
		hard landscaping	street pattern
			quality materials
		environmental improvements	street furniture/lighting
			signage
		artwork	focal point
			local features
	enhance local distinctiveness	create ambiance	
		promote local activities	
	uses	mix of business uses	retail
			commercial
			office
		specialist	specialist trades
			local industry
			specialist skilled workforce
residential		range of accommodation	
		amenity space	
		parking	
leisure		sport	
		tourism	
design	new development	in keeping	
		in contrast	
		use of materials	
		enhances area	
	building conversion	sympathetic	
		retain historic fabric	
	urban design	understanding context	
		providing attractive spaces	
activities	tourism	museums	
		art galleries	
		family attractions	
	leisure facilities	sports centre	
		cinema/theatre	
		music venue	
		restaurants/café bars	
	local activity groups		
ambiance	urban design	use of materials	
		street furniture/lighting	
		attractive spaces	
	activities	day time	
		evening	
		weekend	

Figure 9.2 Taxonomy: Quality 'is an attribute of' sense of place.

Using Figure 9.2 as an example, it is easy to see how the included terms 'in keeping' and 'environmental improvements' are attributes of 'quality'. The discovery of the

cover term 'quality' came about due to informants' references to the typical values placed by historic environment professionals in striving for high-quality design and use of materials when regeneration is conservation-led.

The included term 'people' became the second domain of 'sense of place'. This was due to the references it had for the informants. As more data were collected, and more included terms began to emerge, these were placed in relevant taxonomies related to the cover terms. The following taxonomy (Figure 9.3) reveals the relationships in the domain 'People are a cause of sense of place'.

PEOPLE <i>are a cause of</i> <i>'sense of place'</i>	local community	residents	long term
			new to area
			involved
		businesses/traders	small-medium enterprises
			family businesses
			chain stores
			market traders
		faith groups	
		wider community	visitors
	friends		
	shopping		
	shoppers		
	commuters		
	use of leisure facilities		sports centres
			cinema/theatre
			music venue
		restaurants/café bars	
	partnerships	community groups	working together
			common aims
		local authority	local area groups
			good communication
	link to past	family businesses	long established
			status
		interpretation	presence
	information leaflets		
	understanding of area	genuine interest	art work
			sense of pride
historical importance		appreciation of place	
		significance/value	
		meaning	
investment	spending money	public sector funds	
		grant assistance	
		private investment	
	tourism	attracts inward investment	
		knock on effect	
	good facilities	attract more people to area	
		generates more activity	
		created vibrancy	

Figure 9.3 Taxonomy: People 'are a cause of' sense of place.

As mentioned previously, the issue of multiple semantic relationships was an important stage of the analysis. That is, how to establish which semantic relationship is right? This was a particular issue with regard to the third cover term 'image' (Figure 9.4). The researcher was aware that there are no right or wrong relationships, but there are relationships which informants will constantly offer, and insist are the right ones. In this instance, the most dominant semantic relationship for 'image' was 'is a part of', but this was substituted by informants for others such as 'is a result of' and 'is used to do'.

<p>IMAGE <i>is a part of</i> 'sense of place'</p>	positive	clean	environment
			modern
			new appearance
		safe	non-threatening
			secure
			stylish
		attractive	the place to be
			enjoyable
			environmental quality
	architectural quality		
	attention to detail		
	well maintained		
	design	sense of place	
		trendy	
		sophisticated	
	open spaces	hard/soft landscaping	
		street furniture	
		somewhere to sit	
	streetscape	use of materials	
		detail	
		in keeping	
		pleasant/enjoyable	
	mix of uses	businesses	need to locate
			credibility
			integrity
		residential	the place to live
			independent
trendy/stylish			
desirable			
office/commercial		an identity	
		authority	
retail		designer/expensive	
leisure facilities		luxurious	
		extravagant	
	taking time out		
people	lifestyle	urban living	
		24 hour living	
	work	mix of uses	
		close proximity	
	leisure time	relaxing/socialising	
		tourism	
		retail therapy	
		café culture	

Figure 9.4 Taxonomy: Image 'is a result of' sense of place.

These taxonomies demonstrate an in-depth analysis of the cover term 'sense of place', which was informant-led. The included terms may appear simple and causal, but took time to glean from the informants and long periods of analysis.

It was the process of selecting a tentative focus, subjecting each term to the taxonomic analysis, that it became clear that the terms had enough cultural meaning and emerged as dominant cover terms.

The three ethnographic domains of the key cover term 'sense of place' are given in Figure 9.5 below.

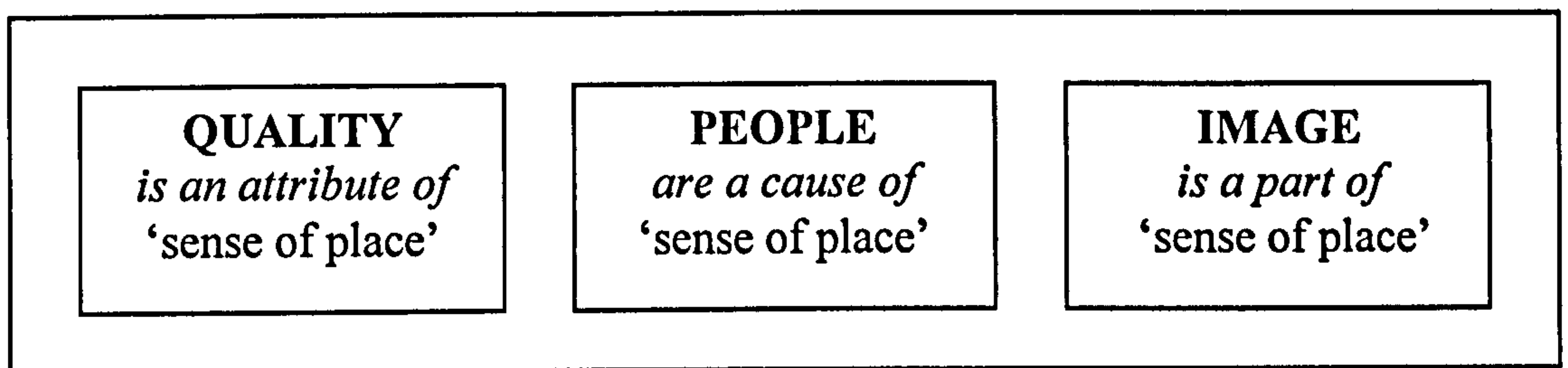


Figure 9.5 Ethnographic domains of 'sense of place'.

9.5 Further taxonomic analysis

Taxonomic analysis of the three dominant cover terms 'quality', 'people' and 'image' was an important stage in the research programme. By adopting both in-depth and surface strategies of analysis, an understanding of the cultural meanings associated with conservation-led regeneration, and the cultural scene as a whole, was becoming known.

Spradley's (1979, 136-137) criteria for tentatively selecting dominant cover terms were used to carry out further taxonomic analysis. Informants emphasised the need for 'investment' in the historic environment. This suggestion helped identify folk terms associated with the cover term 'investment' and when asked 'What do you think is most important for understanding 'investment' in a run-down urban historic industrial area?'

A strategic approach was also taken in the tentative selection of cover terms. This was the case with the cover term 'knowledge' (expertise). Having an understanding of an area was a reoccurring theme, at different levels, which offered an opportunity to carry out a strategic ethnography. When informants mentioned expertise or knowledge in conservation, this topic raised issues relating to the importance of understanding an area to know what exists, the value of specialist knowledge in the restoration and re-use of historic buildings, the relevance of having strong links to the past, including the role that conservation plays in the regeneration process. As further focal data were collected from informants it became apparent that the same domains were emerging. Informants would place stronger emphasis on some cover terms than others. Sustainability was a theme that all informants touched on. This was usually from the perspective of adopting a sustainable approach to regeneration, again at a more strategic level.

It is worthy of note that there were folk terms that appeared significant for the informants (i.e. land value, industrial ecology, development tension), but when these terms were made the focus of discussions, it became apparent that they were either encompassed by the cover terms already identified or provided no new information and informants had limited knowledge of the folk terms. When selecting cover terms it was important to keep in mind the research objectives and this helped focus the analysis of data.

The same step-by-step process described in Section 9.4 was followed. Initially, this focused on the semantic relationships the three cover terms 'investment', 'knowledge' and 'sustainability' had with the domain 'sense of place'. In the following taxonomies the most appropriate semantic relationship (as there is no right or wrong semantic relationship) is given for each cover term with regard to the key domain 'sense of place'. Figure 9.6 was used to analyse the cultural themes and the three cover terms to find the correct semantic relationship with the key domain.

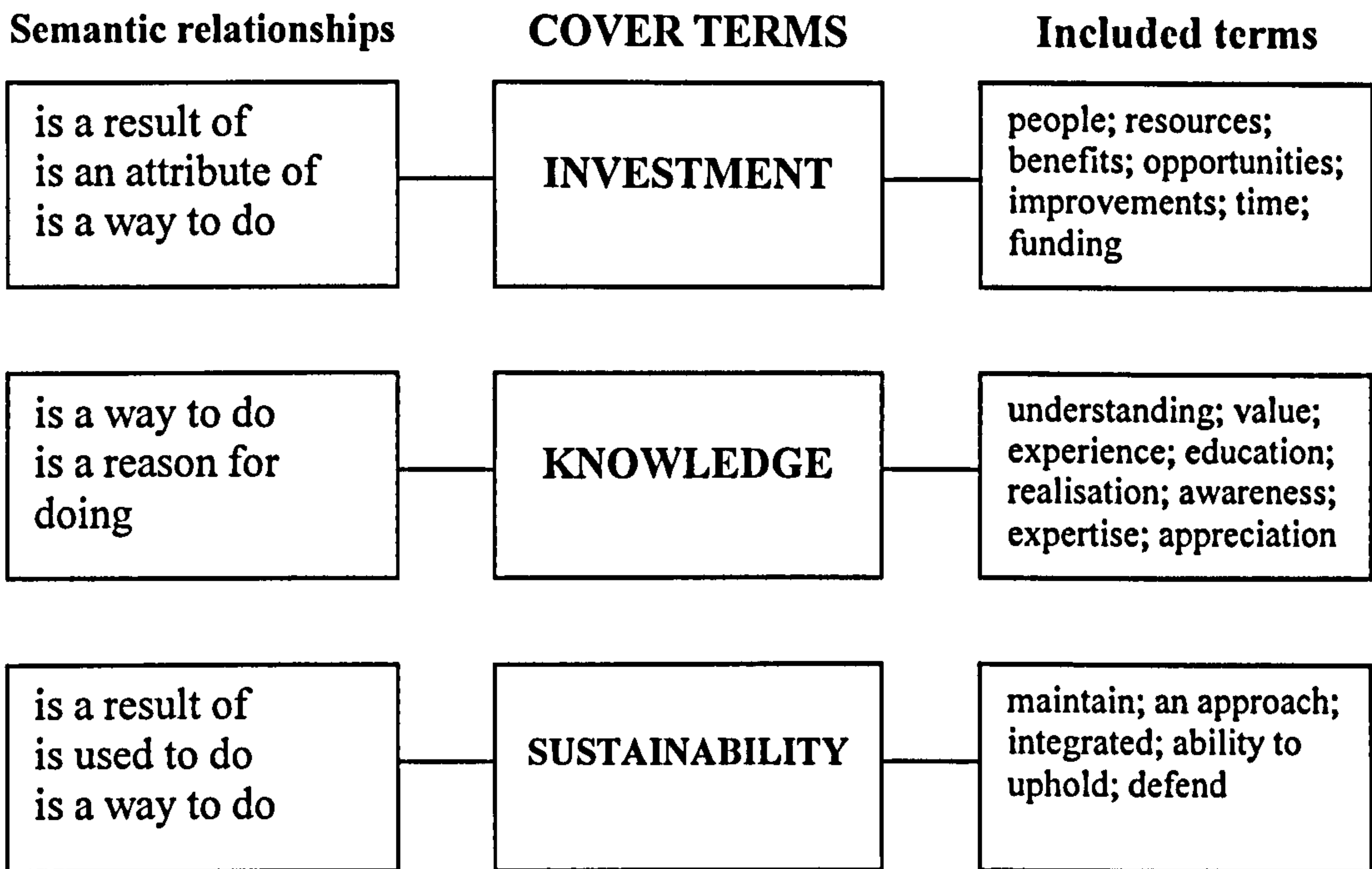


Figure 9.6 The possible semantic relationships and cultural themes for the cover terms ‘investment’, ‘knowledge’ and ‘sustainability’.

Figures 9.7-9.9 show the taxonomies of the remaining three dominant cover terms ‘investment’, ‘knowledge’ and ‘sustainability’, and reveal the relationship with the domain ‘sense of place’. As noted previously the semantic relationships shown in the following taxonomies were identified as the dominant relationships induced during the semi-structured interviews. The informants would continually confirm these relationships during following interviews. It can be seen that the development and subsequent analysis of the later domains shows a continually process of focusing.

INVESTMENT <i>is a way to do</i> 'sense of place'	environment	quality of townscape	street furniture
			quality materials
			quality design
		attractive place	mix of uses
			safe environment
		quality of buildings	repairs
	reinstatement works		
	re-use		
	local community	raise awareness	
		promote place	
		understand value	
	skills	training programmes	accessible
			local
	people		
	commitment	promote vitality	supporting facilities
			evening/weekend living
		continued employment	
		new homes	mix of accommodation
			urban living
			affordable housing
		attract inward investment	housing opportunities
	economic growth		
	change in perception of area		
long term	policies	realistic	
		robust	
		understanding of area	
	regeneration opportunities	attract new uses	
		create a sense of vibrancy	
		new development	
	strategic position	re-using vacant buildings	
		the need for change	
		future potential	
	growth areas		

Figure 9.7 Taxonomy: Investment 'is a way to do' sense of place.

<p>KNOWLEDGE <i>is a reason for doing</i> <i>'sense of place'</i></p>	understanding of area	what exists	assessment of area	
			recording of area	
		halt destructive techniques	protect historic grain	
		development pressure		
	historic buildings	economic activity		jobs
				employment opportunities
			local economy	
		repair techniques	like for like	
			traditional	
		new uses	conversion works	
	protect assets	sensitive alterations		
		repairs		
		reinstatement works		
	regeneration activities	historic environment	maintenance	
			re-using buildings	
			enhancing townscape	
		grant giving schemes	attracting funding	
			promote good practice	
			positive contribution	
		new development	investment	
			land value	
			stitching in new development	
			design	
			materials	
		investment	financial	
	people			
	places			
	local community	partnerships	local authority	
resident groups				
businesses				
local residents		trust		
		relationships		
local businesses		balance of activities		
		benefit of mix of uses		
ownership		consultation process		
		keep informed		
		accessible		
	conservation benefits			
	understanding value			

Figure 9.8 Taxonomy: Knowledge 'is a reason for doing' sense of place.

SUSTAINABILITY <i>is a way to do</i> <i>'sense of place'</i>	jobs	existing	safeguarding existing jobs	
		attracting new jobs	economic growth new businesses	
		work for building trades in the area		
	integrated approach	social considerations	involve local groups aspirations of area	
		economic considerations	promote mix of uses regeneration at the right pace	
		environmental considerations		
	local distinctiveness	local pride	community involvement heritage open days people investment	
		create better places	desirability sense of place strong vision	
		high-quality design and materials	perception local importance	
		uses	mix of uses	offices/businesses
				retail
				residential
	specialist shops	leisure facilities	clothing salons specialist trades	
		leisure facilities	sport tourism café culture	
			re-use	respect for what exists
	link to the past			
	understanding significance	architectural aesthetic cultural historic		

Figure 9.9 Taxonomy: Sustainability 'is a way to do' sense of place.

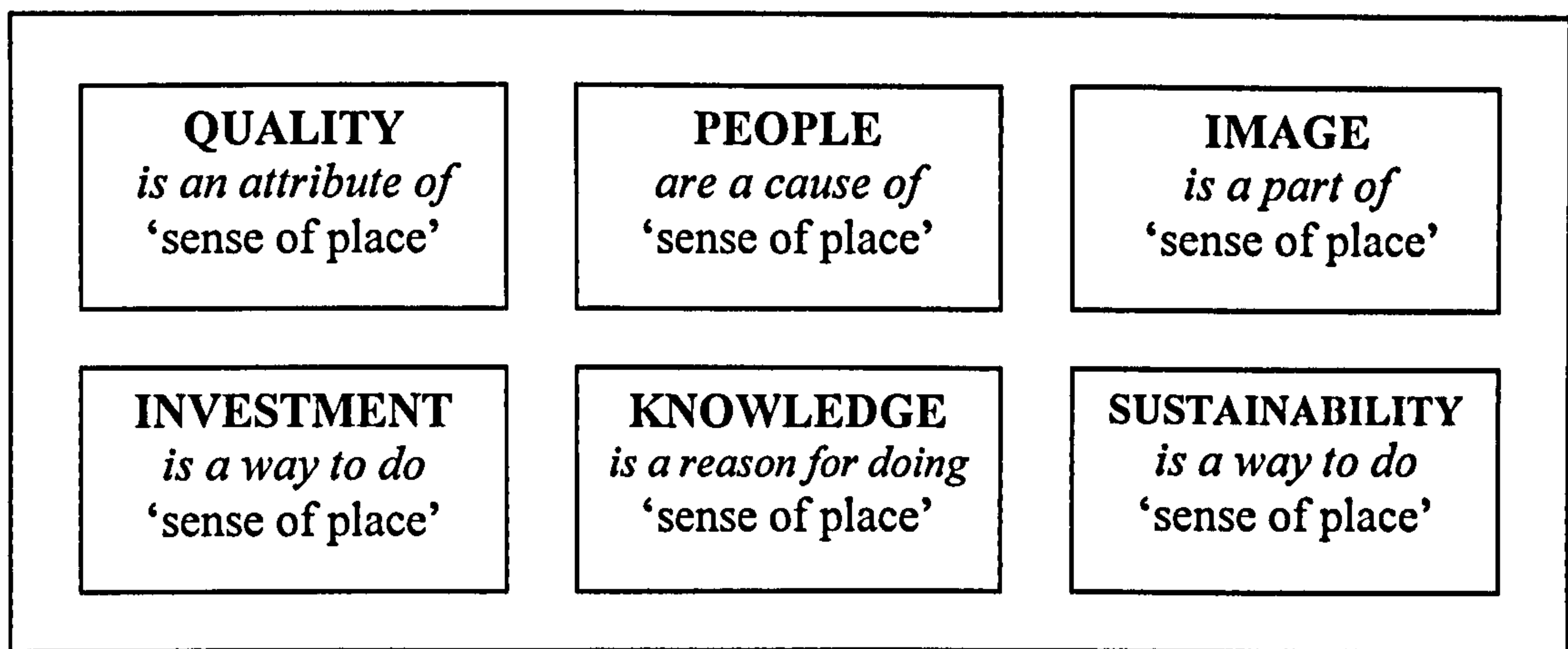


Figure 9.10 The six ethnographic domains of 'sense of place'.

The concept of 'sense of place' was developed and used to describe all activities, notions and attitudes usually associated with re-use and conservation-led regeneration by historic environment professionals. The term seems to speak for itself, but it is one which requires explanation because of its central importance in the development of this thesis. As the overall research programme progressed, the use of 'sense of place' enabled a more focused pursuit of the semantic relationships associated with it. 'Sense of place' is generally perceived as the impression, often subtly, that an area generates. How a place is experienced is about the meanings attached to it. For example, a young professional couple looking to live in a city centre location, close to work, friends and night life, might see studio type residential accommodation in an old warehouse as projecting the image they desire. Alternatively, a middle-aged couple that had both worked in the warehouse, and were there the day it closed, revisit the site and are overwhelmed by the transformation of the area. The meanings for the older couple are associated with the past; for the younger couple it is about their future.

The development of the six domains was a slow and arduous task, but once identified assisted in focusing the research. When asked 'What are all the ways to attract people to an area?' there appeared to be a general consensus by the informants. The many included terms, such as 'intrinsic value', 'local distinctiveness and identity', and 'foster local pride', are just a few which go to inform the meaning of 'sense of place'.

It is therefore no surprise that the broad structural question generated these types of included terms, which could be - and are - related to the six domains. However, even though the link appears to be strong, the strength of the claims made by this thesis has to show a reliable and valid notion of analysis. The data gathered from the informants during the semi-structured interviews focused on how historic environment professionals constructed their meaning of 'sense of place'.

This section has examined the procedures involved in discovering the internal structure of a domain. Taxonomic analysis leads to finding sub-sets and the relationships among these sub-sets (Spradley, 1979). The next section examines ways to make a componential analysis for finding out how symbols are related within these sub-sets. Throughout this analysis the aim remains the same, and that is to elucidate the cultural meanings by discovering the relationships among the symbols of a culture. In this research programme it is the culture of historic environment professionals involved in conservation-led urban regeneration that is being explored.

9.6 Making a componential analysis

The aim of ethnography is to discover and describe the cultural meaning that people use to organise their behaviour and interpret experience (Spradley, 1979). Meaning involves the use of symbols in a culture. In this instance the focus is on linguistic symbols (those created from vocal sounds) which form the core of the meaning system of every culture. Ethnographic (semi-structured) interviews are one means for gathering a sample of linguistic symbols. As noted by Spradley ethnography is the study of cultural meaning systems; it is the search for all the relationships among symbols, in this case, the folk terms used by an informant.

Making a componential analysis involves organising the taxonomies of included terms for each of the six ethnographic domains ('quality', 'people', 'image', 'investment', 'knowledge' and 'sustainability'), and to identify the components of meaning for folk terms. This approach involves the systematic search for the attributes (components of

meaning) of the domains, and is the study of the multiple relationships between included terms and other domains.

A componential analysis is a specific way of representing the extra information that could not go into a taxonomy. The semi-structured interviews elicited numerous attributes for many different folk terms. In order to represent this graphically Spradley (1979) suggests that this can be done with a paradigm: a schematic representation of the attributes which distinguish the members of a contrast set. Unlike a taxonomy, which only shows a single relationship among a set of terms, a paradigm shows multiple semantic relationships.

Folk terms can have many meanings depending on the context at this specific analytic level. The same is true of all symbols because their meaning is given due to 'difference' with all other symbols. The cross checking of included (folk) terms and the six domains of 'sense of place' attempts to search for contrasts and the universality of the informants' perception of meaning. This perception of meaning takes into account two distinct but important issues related to how informants consider the meaning of the cultural symbols associated with 'sense of place'. First, from their own reality, and second, the structural reality, that is a shared world view between members of the same culture (i.e. the historic environment). Componential analysis assists in identifying the shared meaning of symbols, and involves searching for contrasts, sorting them out, grouping them together as dimensions, and entering all this information on to a paradigm (Spradley, 1979, 178-179).

Making a componential analysis involves deciding which domains to examine at this kind of level. As noted by Spradley (1979) some ethnographers seek to make a componential analysis of as many domains as possible; others limit this detailed investigation to one or more central domains, describing other aspects of a cultural scene in more general terms. Of the six domains identified, the cover terms 'quality', 'image' and 'knowledge' were selected for in-depth analysis, and Tables 9.2-9.4 show the paradigm worksheets for these cover terms. This was based on the importance

placed by informants on these dominant cover terms. Although there are many different attributes of each dominant cover term, Spradley (1979) suggests analysing the first level in the taxonomy, which includes the following terms:

QUALITY
materials
townscape
uses
design
activities
ambiance

IMAGE
positive
environmental quality
mix of uses
people
local identity

KNOWLEDGE
understanding of area
local community
regeneration
historic environment
investment

Dimensions of contrast									
Contrast sets	promote mix of uses	promote economic activity	create vibrant area	re-use of buildings	attract people to area	generates vision for future	raise quality of environment	link to past	respects local community
materials	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no
townscape	yes/no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes/no
uses	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes/no	yes
design	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
activities	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes/no	yes	no	yes
ambiance	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	yes

Table 9.2 Paradigm worksheet: Quality is an attribute of 'sense of place'.

Dimensions of contrast									
Contrast sets	promote mix of uses	promote economic activity	create vibrant area	re-use of buildings	attract people to area	generates vision for future	raise quality of environment	link to past	respect local community
positive image	no	yes/no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes/no
quality of environment	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
mix of uses	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
people	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
local identity	yes/no	yes/no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes

Table 9.3 Paradigm worksheet: Image is a part of 'sense of place'.

Contrast sets	Dimensions of contrast								
	promote mix of uses	promote economic activity	create vibrant area	re-use of buildings	attract people to area	generates vision for future	raise quality of environment	link to past	respect local community
understanding of area	yes/no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
local community	yes	yes	yes	yes/no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
regeneration activities	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
historic environment	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
investment	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes/no	yes

Table 9.4 Paradigm worksheet: Knowledge is a reason for doing 'sense of place'.

Those paradigms with yes/no answers indicate that the informants were unable to give a collective consensus regarding their meaning, and on most occasions both were true depending on context. This type of analysis allowed the researcher to understand in more detail the collective meaning between the included terms and conservation-led regeneration.

The development of an overall cultural knowledge on re-use and heritage-led urban regeneration activities provided a systematic method for revealing patterns of shared meaning from the informants. The remainder of this section presents the analysis that ran throughout this methodological process.

9.7 Systems of representation

This section began by identifying the level of significance. It was suggested that the in-depth analysis of selected domains would allow for the surface semiotic analysis to occur. Table 9.5 has been adapted from the model of semiotic analysis put forward by Thwaites *et al.* (1994).

Identifying the text

- Wherever possible include a copy of the texts with your analysis of it, noting any significant shortcomings of the copy. Where including a copy is not practicable, offer a clear description that would allow someone to recognise the text easily if they encountered it themselves.
- Briefly describe the medium used, the genre to which the text belongs and the context in which it was found.
- Consider your purposes in analyzing the text. This will effect which questions seem important to you amongst those offered below.
- Why did you choose this text?
- Your purposes may reflect your values; how does the text relate to your own values?
- How does the sign vehicle you are examining relate to the type-token distinction?
- Is it one among many copies (e.g. a poster) or virtually unique (e.g. an actual painting)?
- What are the important signifiers and what do they signify?
- What is the system within which these signs make sense?

Paradigmatic analysis

- To which class of paradigms (medium, genre, theme) does the whole text belong?
- How might a change of medium affect the meanings generated?
- What might the text of been like if it had formed part of a different genre?
- What paradigm sets do each of the signifiers used belong to (e.g. in photographic, televisual and film media, one paradigm might be shot size)?
- Why do you think each signifier was chosen from the possible alternatives within the same paradigm set? What values does the choice of each particular connote?
- What signifiers from the same paradigm set are noticeably absent?
- What contrasted pairs seem to be involved (e.g. nature-culture)?
- Which of those in each pairing seems to be the 'marked' category?
- Is there a central opposition in the text?
- How does one signifier relate to the others used (do some carry more weight than others)?
- Are the formulaic features that have shaped the text?
- How far does identifying the paradigms help you to understand the text?

Metaphors

- What metaphors are involved?
- How are they used to influence the preferred reading?

Benefits of semiotic analysis

- What other contribution have semioticians made that can be applied productively to the text?
- What insights has a semiotic analysis of this text offered?
- What other strategies might you need to employ to balance any shortcomings of you analysis?

Intertextuality

- Does it allude to other genres?
- Does it allude to or compare with other symbols?
- How does it compare with treatments of similar themes in other genres?
- Does one side within the text serve to 'anchor' another (such as an image)? Is so how?
- What semiotic codes are used?
- Do the codes have double, single or no articulation?
- Are the codes analogue or digital?
- Which conventions of its genre are most obvious in the text?
- Which codes are specific to the medium?
- Which codes are shared with other media?
- How do the codes involved relate to each other (e.g. words and images)?
- Are the codes broad cast or narrow cast?
- Which codes are notable by their absence?
- What relationships does the text seek to establish with its observer?
- What cultural assumptions are called upon?
- To who would these codes be most familiar?
- What seems to be the preferred reading?
- How far does this reflect or depart from dominant cultural values?
- How 'open' to interpretation does the sign seem to be?

Social semiotics

- What does a purely structural analysis of the text down play or ignore?
- Who created the sign?
- Try and consider all of those involved in the process?
- Whose realities does it represent?
- For whom was it intended? Look carefully at the clues and try to be as detailed as you can.
- How do people differ in their interpretation of the sign? Clearly this needs direct investigation.
- On what do their interpretations seem to depend?
- Illustrate where possible, dominant, negotiated and oppositional readings.
- How might a change of contexts influence interpretation?

Modality

- What reality claims are made by the text?
- Does it allude to being fact or fiction?
- What references are made to an everyday world?
- What modality markers are present?
- How do you make use of such markers to make judgements about the text and the world?
- Does the text operate within a realist representational code?
- To whom might it appear realistic?

Table 9.5 Semiotic analytical framework adapted from Thwaites *et al.* (1994).

It can be seen that the use of the semiotic model, when considering the analysis of cultural symbols, provides a considerable advantage in the systematic examination of cultural phenomenon, and its subsequent ethnographic interpretation. Combined with

the search for the connotation (the level of myth) the semiotic analysis took the in-depth analysis of the key domain 'sense of place' into a new and progressive period of its development.

The cultural meaning of re-using historic urban industrial buildings is still, on occasions, dismissed as stereotypical of historic environment professionals. The meaning of heritage and conservation is often contested by developers and other public and private sector agencies as being elitist and purist, conserving for the sake of it, without compromise. After three years or longer of negotiations, site investigations, necessary consent, and the completion of work on site, the project (that has brought an old building back into use and which now sits alongside new architecture) is hailed a success, giving a previously run down urban area a 'sense of place'.

The representation of 'sense of place' consists of signs and symbols. As seen in the taxonomic analysis these signs can sometimes contradict. The taxonomic lists of this ethnographic research programme and the componential analysis have been stages in exploring the cultural meaning of re-use and heritage-led regeneration. However, as with every analytical approach there are limitations, and there are limiting factors to this type of analysis. The primary consideration is the way different people (historic environment professionals) perceive different actions, events and places. In semiotic research it is best to think of meaning less in terms of accuracy and truth, and more in terms of effective exchange. For example, the 'hidden' (connotation/ideological meaning) symbols are exchanged in subtle ways. The historic environment professional dealing with the re-use of an old industrial building is representing what the intrinsic value of our heritage means through signs. The historic environment professional is saying that, he/she is needed, he/she is a protector of places where people have once lived and worked, and his/her way is the best way as the historic environment helps to provide diversity, promote vitality, has quality, assists in delivering sustainable communities, and supports local distinctiveness and pride. The use of legislation and sense of responsibility to past, present and future generation are his/her weapons, and represents his/her intent. For a structural/post-structural epistemology, representation is the production of meaning relating to the concepts in our minds through language,

which is 'cultural'. These concepts are mapped out in the taxonomies for the six ethnographic domains. To progress the analytical stage of this research programme using semiotic principles, it was important to recognise that the analysis (which involves analysis of a feature or item as structural units in a system) would be interpretative.

Thwaites *et al.*'s (1994) model provides a rational and logical framework from which to proceed. It does this by offering the similarity and contrast principle. By using these it is possible to see how there are two systems of representation which relate to one another. First, there is 'mental representation', which uses the principle of similarity and contrast to establish relationships between concepts. The relationships used to make sense of things are not random; they are extremely organised. For example, a nineteenth-century warehouse converted to studio apartments is a re-used historic structure because it is not newly built residential accommodation. The warehouse has a past identity. It existed before its current use. It had a former function. It was not built to provide living space. This organising depends on the underlying principle that meaning depends on the relationship between things in the world. This meaning is given and active. The connotation of the historic environment protector is induced, and focuses on the signs of what he represented at the time. If asked, others involved in the re-use project may have said the historic environment professional was keen to work with the developer to overcome the difficulties presented by the existing structure and the new use to achieve a favourable outcome. It may even have been said that the historic environment professional made a number of compromises in seeking to ensure the success of the scheme, but still with the retention of as much original fabric as possible as his objective. This demonstrates the way that culture is sometimes defined in terms of shared meanings or shared conceptual maps. The second system, which is related to the first, is 'exchange' and 'language'. As a system of representation this is the 'sign' and the 'myth'.

How do we know which concept stands for what material object or behaviour? For example, how do we know that the historic environment professional was not championing quality? Or demonstrating his expertise by providing examples of similar

situations and the approach taken to overcome related issues? How do other professionals in the built environment account for the meanings they associate with historic environment professionals seeking quality, time and investment in our heritage? The answer returns to the notion of a shared meaning and a shared culture, and the way the culture of the historic environment maintains the link between the sign and the referent. The referent has the ability of historic environment professionals to be seen as superior because of their responsibility to protect the heritage of generations past, present and future. Meaning is always constructed by this two-point system of representation. So the key domain 'sense of place' is represented daily by historic environment professionals because it has a shared knowledge. But to get under and beyond this shared knowledge it is necessary to consider the relevance of discourse analysis.

The notion of the 'hidden' at a theoretical level is about studying the systems of representation and the 'connotations' in a given culture. For example, the development of the first three domains ('quality', 'people', 'image') led the researcher to the idea that the 'hidden' existed, and that it could be explored. This exploration progressed to a point (after the development of three additional domains) where that which was not observable or spoken was just as important. The very absence of acceptance that there are projects that have not gone forward because historic environment professionals and developers have been unable to work together was evident. Charged with the responsibility of protecting our heritage, historic environment professionals are placed in a difficult position from which to seek an acceptable outcome. The logic of binary oppositions means that the opposite of good is bad, and that both rely on the other for their meaning. So from this position the analysis of the systems of representation, although bringing the analysis into a theoretical field, allows for a more concise and thorough analysis than just a listing of taxonomies, and the development of ethnographic themes. The ethnographic theme level is one which concentrates on the linguistic and the culturally relative. The aim of the analysis at this point was to take it one step further.

It can be seen that the taxonomies of the six domains are collectives. They reflect the fact that representation is a practice which uses material objects and behaviours, such as historic environment professionals discussing the issues involved in re-using an old building to minimise the impact of the new use of the historic structure, but that the meaning depends not on the material quality of the sign (the behaviour), but on its symbolic function. That is, a historic environment professional telling other built environment professionals about construction *per se* carries with it a host of messages. The first of these is that the historic environment professional is perceived as not to know better, and to want to save historic fabric that would cost less to replace than repair. There is no natural relationship between the sign and its meaning or concept. Similarly, signs themselves cannot fix meaning to themselves. The reason why historic environment professionals are often criticised for their perspective is not because their behaviour gives meaning, it is more to do with the stereotypes of the construction industry; new is good, new is quicker, modern, more advanced; old needs replacing, old is past its best, new is easier, less skilled, less expensive. Therefore, meaning depends on the relationship between a sign and a concept which is fixed by a code. In this way meaning is relational, between what an object or behaviour is and what it is not.

9.8 Semiotic approach

The semiotic approach, as mentioned in previous sections, is a type of analysis that concentrates on the sign. A sign consists of two separate components: the signifier and the signified, both of which are central to language. Apart from creating 'difference', which is fundamental to the production of language, the sign, in particular, the signifier organises systems of difference. In Figure 9.11 the signifier is 'historic environment is at the heart of sense of place'. The signifier is the actual object or written word and the signified is the object referred to. The signified in Figure 9.11 is what 'historic environment is at the heart of sense of place' is referred to, and that is a 'link to the past', 'quality design and materials', 'local identity and vibrancy'. In strict semiotic analysis the referent relates to a signifier having both meaning and reference. In an analytical sense the study of language can be made with precision because it is closed

and has a limited nature. It is not an individual matter. The rules of language cannot be made up as language is cultural.

The underlying argument behind this semiotic approach, as noted by Hall (1997), is that since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs; and in so far as they do, they must work like language works, and be amenable to an analysis which basically makes use of the signifier and signified. The post-structural epistemology of this research programme applies the principle put forward by Barthes (1993) on denotation and connotation. Denotation is the simple basic descriptive level where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning (e.g. historic buildings and places have intrinsic value as the fabric of human achievement) as provided by the taxonomies of the six ethnographic domains of 'sense of place'. Connotation concerns the broader meaning (e.g. historic buildings and places mean a certain quality of life and project a positive image). Signifiers enter a wider, second kind of code, which connects them to broader themes and meanings, linking them with what Barthes (1993) refers to as the 'wider semantic field'. This second level of signification is no longer a descriptive level of interpretation; it is more general. An example of this analysis is given in Figures 9.11-9.13.

Language	}	1. Signifier sense of place	2. Signified link to past, quality design and materials, local identity, vibrancy	
		3. Sign historic environment at heart of sense of place I SIGNIFIER historic environment at heart of sense of place		II SIGNIFIED intrinsic value, quality and creative design, social inclusion, culture
MYTH	}	III SIGN historic buildings and places reinforce a sense of place, strengthens local pride, encourages quality design and materials, promotes a vibrant mix of uses, fosters social inclusion, and creates sustainable communities		

Figure 9.11 Myth: Sense of place.

Language	}	1. Signifier domain analysis	2. Signified collected folk terms	
		3. Sign credible formalised data I SIGNIFIER credible formalised data		II SIGNIFIED useful systematic analysis
MYTH	}	III SIGN semiotic principle of analysis, grouping of terms, analysing relationships, replicating cognitive maps.		

Figure 9.12 Myth: Domain analysis.

Language	}	1. Signifier ethnography	2. Signified qualitative research	
		3. Sign qualitative naturalistic research I SIGNIFIER qualitative naturalistic research		II SIGNIFIED simple, non-scientific, easy to do research
MYTH	}	III SIGN no validity, no reliability, poor level of significance, no controls, poor sampling, theory building etc.		

Figure 9.13 Myth: Ethnography.

Figures 9.12 and 9.13 have been included to show the connotations and denotations attached to 'Domain analysis' and 'Ethnography' to show how the meanings are produced.

The use of semiotic analysis highlights the concern with the production and consumption of knowledge (rather than just meaning), through discourse rather than just language. It is the analysis of how people understand themselves in culture, and how our knowledge about the social, the embodied individual and shared meanings comes to be produced and consumed.

9.9 Constructing 'sense of place'

Discourse defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that issues can be meaningfully discussed and reasoned about. Discourse also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Meaning and meaningful practice are therefore constructed within discourse. It is the characteristics of a way of thinking or the state of knowledge at any one time. Discourse theory begins with the assumptions that all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is a product of historically specific systems of rules (Howarth, 2000). The term discourse is thus used to emphasise that every social configuration is meaningful. Since it is only possible to have knowledge of things if they have meaning it is the discourse, not the things themselves, which produce knowledge.

The following model, based on Spradley's (1979) Developmental Research Sequence, was used to help structure the analysis of the six domains of 'sense of place' during Stage 2 of this research programme:

- Statements about re-use and heritage-led regeneration by historic environment professionals provide a certain kind of knowledge about these subjects.

The six domains and their taxonomies are the focal statements which have cultural meaning. The relationships between the clusters within the taxonomies and the 'use' of these representations are 'cultural knowledge'. The included term 'significance of place' has cultural knowledge. When discussing with informants the 'significance of place' there were associations with 'architectural value', 'community value', and 'historic value'. All included terms give a certain kind of knowledge.

- The rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about the historic environment and exclude others govern what is say-able and what is thinkable.

The first three dominant cover terms emerged more easily than the following set of three. Fundamental to the role of the historic environment in promoting, facilitating and supporting regeneration activities is by understanding what connects people and places.

- Informants somehow personify the discourse (i.e. what it means to re-use old buildings and the role of conservation in urban regeneration) and are expected to have certain attributes and cultural knowledge.

The existence of the six domains and taxonomies indicate that larger structures impact on the issue of 'sense of place' and the culture of the historic environment.

- Knowledge about the historic environment acquires authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth' about it.

Some of the focal data were expected, old fashioned and perhaps predictable. For example the belief that conserving the historic environment is about preserving the past, and not about the present and future generations. It was interesting to note that such views persist as cultural knowledge.

9.10 Summary

This section had identified the six ethnographic domains of 'sense of place', and presented the analytical procedure applied to the taxonomies of included (folk) terms of this research programme. The procedure was systematic in its application of Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence (DRS). The following section focuses on the cultural themes and myths introduced in this section.

Section 10.0

Discovering cultural themes

Discourse embraces all of the practices through which meanings are communicated, not just speech and writing. The built environment, like food, fashion or film, is a primary form of discourse.

Dovey (1999, 29)

This section presents the cultural themes of ‘sense of place’ in association with the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and conservation-led regeneration in England. The aim is to understand the nature of these themes, and to carry out a theme analysis on the cultural scene being studied (i.e. the historic urban environment). As noted previously, ‘sense of place’ is a way to do re-use and heritage-led regeneration. As a cultural concept, ‘sense of place’ has an impact or effect on ‘re-use and heritage-led regeneration’. The degree or intensity of the impact can only be surmised, but as a central point to this thesis it is argued that ‘sense of place’ impacts on the cultural knowledge (the ideologies) associated with re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

10.1 Cultural themes

The concept of cultural theme is used to understand the general pattern of a culture by identifying recurrent themes. The definition of a theme, used by Spradley (1979), is that described by anthropologist Morris Opler in 1945: ‘a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behaviour or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society’. For example, a postulate expressed in many areas of heritage-led regeneration culture is ‘the conservation and refurbishment of historic buildings is an intrinsically sustainable form of development.’ This premise expresses itself in such things as the belief of some developers that historic buildings do not readily or easily meet the requirements of the sustainability agenda, compared with the advancing construction technology for new development.

Every culture and every cultural scene consists of a system of meaning that the members within the culture recognise. Cultural themes serve as relationships among domains. Themes can be common assumptions about an experience that people believe, and accept as true and valid. Often these assumptions have a high degree of generality.

One assumption, common in the re-use of old buildings, is that 'it is not just about finding a new use for a building; it is about identifying a sustainable use'. This assertion about a universal approach to bringing historic buildings back into use would occur in many contexts, and one that is related to several domains (e.g. ways to achieve sustainable communities; kinds of development; reasons for resisting demolition and the waste of resources; attributes of local identity).

A culture, or a particular cultural scene, will have a set of major themes and minor themes. Themes can also appear as folk sayings, mottos or recurrent expressions, and can connect different sub-systems of a culture. For example, 'there are no problem buildings, only problem owners', 'historic buildings and areas are key elements in the regeneration of towns and cities' and 'there is a duty to conserve the built heritage for current and future generations'. As noted by Spradley (1979) the search for themes is a means for discovering the relationships among the domains and the relationships of all the various parts to the whole cultural scheme. The next section presents those strategies used by the researcher for making a theme analysis.

10.2 Making a theme analysis

There are a number of strategies and techniques for making a theme analysis. As noted by Spradley (1979) this area of cultural analysis invites the most experimentation on the part of the ethnographer. The strategies adopted have been developed and used by ethnographers including Spradley (1979), Fetterman (1989), Thwaites *et al.* (1994), and Denzin (1997).

10.2.1 Immersion

This approach is used by most ethnographers when studying a particular cultural scene. At the beginning of each semi-structured interview, during Stage 2 of this research programme, it was explained to the informants that discussions about re-use and conservation-led regeneration would be informal, and that it would assist the researcher if their responses were as if they were in their cultural setting. Occasionally, informants would describe situations in such a way that recognised the researcher shared some cultural knowledge, but this enabled the researcher to focus discussions by asking a structural question. For example, the researcher would seek verification about a particular subject area, “Are there different stages in re-use?”, “Is a new owner of a vacant building a stage in re-use?” and “What would others involved in heritage-led regeneration say about empty buildings?” This approach benefited the quality of the data collected during Stage 2.

A further advantage to data collection was through the researcher’s past and current employment. Both positions have provided the environment within which the researcher has been able to immerse herself in the cultural belief systems of the historic environment. The intensive nature of such an approach over time has enabled themes to emerge that a superficial acquaintance with a cultural scene could not give.

Early cultural themes identified using the External Assessment Tool (EAT), and during initial semi-structured interviews, are given in Table 10.1.

- The regeneration process does not happen overnight.
- It is important to halt destructive trends.
- Run down urban areas need a future.
- People positively choose to live, work, invest and spend leisure time in the historic environment.
- Regeneration activities should appreciate historic context and the importance of local distinctiveness.
- A conjunction of uses is necessary for vitality.

Table 10.1 Initial cultural themes.

As noted in the literature review, and as reflected through the focal data and subsequent analysis, the historic environment is at the centre of our understanding of ‘sense of place’. Thus, the issues that surround bringing vacant buildings back into use, encouraging a mix of uses, in particular the role of old warehouses in the repopulating inner city areas, all go to re-affirm the significance of the past in creating better places and stronger communities.

10.2.2 Making a cultural inventory

The next stage involved making a list of the cultural domains, and considering the extent to which each had been analysed. This assisted in searching for any domains that may have been overlooked, and also to see new relationships emerge. As mentioned above, time had been spent interviewing historic environment professionals about the stages in the re-use of urban historic industrial buildings. Each step in the process placed emphasis on the importance of the historic environment. This involved investment in historic buildings and streetscapes, towards strengthening the areas distinctive identity and image. In addition, the historic environment enriches peoples’ lives and creates a ‘sense of place’ that local communities can be proud of. Re-using old buildings is not only a sustainable process, avoiding the waste incurred through

demolition and construction, but investment in the historic environment helps to sustain and create jobs. The semi-structured interviews were also a way to explore further the folk terms used to encode this information. This involved looking at the folk terms for the different ways to attract investment, reinforce a 'sense of place', support local businesses, preserve local identity and foster local pride. By making a list of the cultural domains the following relationship between the historic environment and the local community emerged (Figure 10.1).

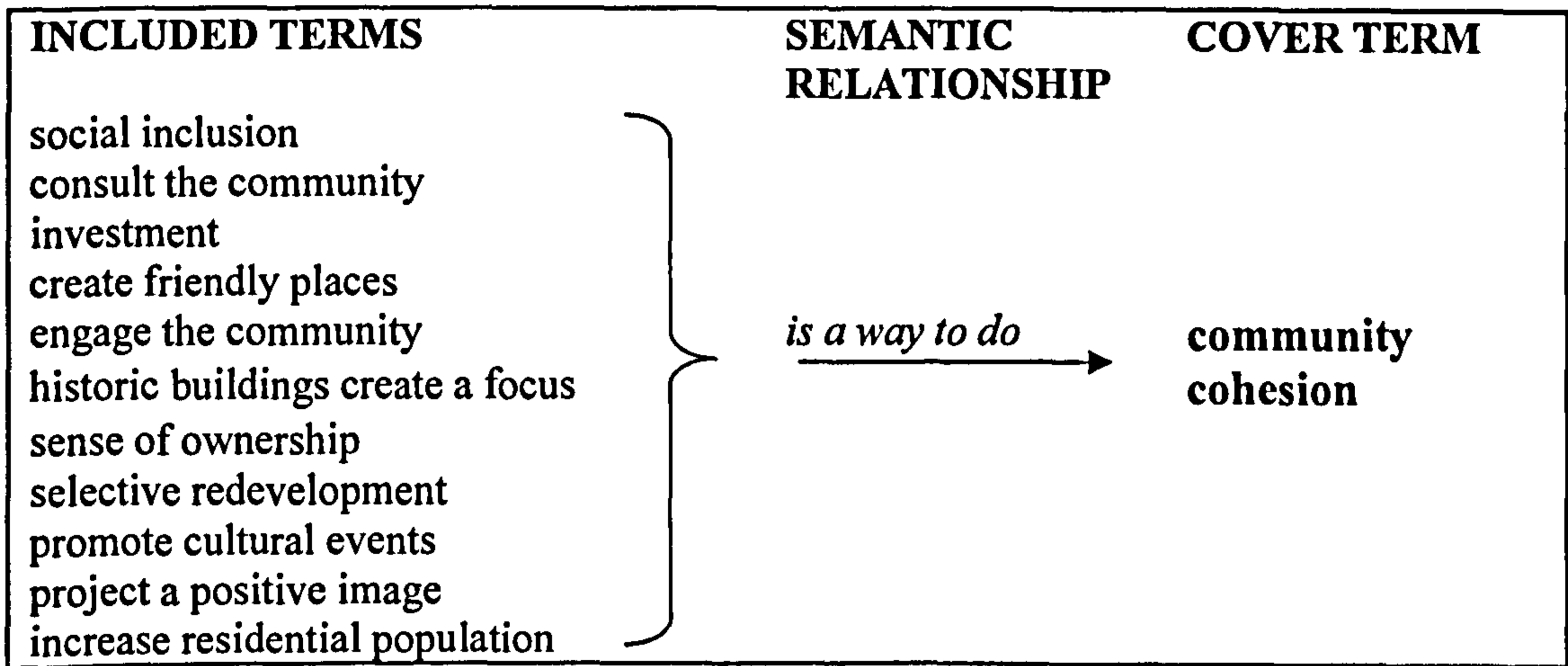


Figure 10.1 Domain: Community cohesion.

Table 10.2 provides a list of further possible domains. The dominant folk term is given for each domain.

- Downgrading of design is a kind of pressure from developers.
- Appreciation of historic fabric is part of sensitive conversions.
- Area tension and marginal uses are a result of lack of investment.
- The local community is a stage in the re-use of a vacant building
- Attracting inward investment is a reason for environmental improvements.
- Emptying out is a characteristic of run down urban historic industrial areas.

Table 10.2 Further possible domains.

The relationship between the decline of an area and the impact on the local community and identity was an emerging theme. There are many subtle and complex reasons for the decline of an urban area. Key stakeholders that have turned their backs on such an area play a major role in taking the view 'what's the point'. Some still remember a bygone time when inner city areas, now deserted, were a hive of activity, bustling with people and industry. In the same way urban decline can be considered a web of social and economic intricacies, as can the regeneration process. It is essential that decisions about an area's future are based on an informed understanding of the historic environment (English Heritage, 2005). This type of analysis and level of understanding assisted in the initial development of cultural themes associated with re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

Making a cultural inventory also involved listing examples given by the informants of their experiences. Writing an ethnography is more than a series of folk terms and taxonomies. As noted by Spradley (1979), folk terms and taxonomies represent the skeletons of a culture's structure; examples put flesh on these skeletons. Providing examples forms a major part in developing cultural themes, and writing an ethnography. The following examples were given by informants during the semi-structured interviews when discussing the driving forces behind the regeneration process.

The first wave of conversions (of many warehouses and industrial buildings) was to office accommodation. As conversion trends changed during the late 1980s there was a shift from office to residential use, and this demand continues.

If people have a financial interest in the area, they tend not to agree with proposals relating to the change of use or new development. If people are genuinely interested in the area (with no financial interest themselves) they generally favour the historical importance of the place, and are keen to promote traditional values, local distinctiveness and retain the character of the area.

Originally those who lived in an inner city industrial area worked there; the relationship was organic. As industry declined and people moved out of the city, the relationship between where you lived and worked changed.

Even though the process of making a cultural inventory is intensive, it did serve as a useful opportunity to review the focal data collected, and was necessary in the discovery of cultural themes. The following strategies in Sections 10.2.3-10.2.5 were also used.

10.2.3 Making a componential analysis of folk domains

The cultural inventory, as a strategy, was made use of by making a componential analysis using all the cover terms as a contrast set. This is referred to by Spradley (1979) as 'things informants know'. The list of domains is given in Table 10.3.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. kinds of development pressure | 26. reasons for bringing people to an area |
| 2. kinds of grant giving schemes | 27. reasons for partnerships |
| 3. kinds of property owners | 28. ways to attract investment |
| 4. kinds of environmental improvements | 29. ways to stitch in new development |
| 5. kinds of funding | 30. ways to work with developers |
| 6. kinds of urban problems | 31. ways to support local property owners |
| 7. kinds of community cohesion | 32. ways to support local businesses |
| 8. kinds of communication | 33. ways to ensure quality design/materials |
| 9. parts of a conservation area | 34. ways to raise quality of environment |
| 10. parts of old buildings | 35. ways to do image |
| 11. results of re-use | 36. ways to market city living |
| 12. results of heritage-led regeneration | 37. ways to work with the local community |
| 13. results of emptying out | 38. stages in the re-use of old buildings |
| 14. results of mix of uses | 39. stages in the regeneration process |
| 15. results of vacant upper floorspace | 40. stages in the decline of an area |
| 16. cause of loss of historic fabric | 41. stages in reviving local pride |
| 17. cause of empty buildings | 42. stages in attracting investment |
| 18. cause of derelict buildings | 43. attributes of run down urban areas |
| 19. cause of vacant landowners | 44. attributes of good urban design |
| 20. cause of vacant floorspace | 45. attributes of good planning policy |
| 21. reasons for re-using old buildings | 46. attributes of conjunction of uses |
| 22. reasons for environmental improvements | 47. attributes of community cohesion |
| 23. reasons for not giving false promises | 48. attributes of a strong strategic approach |
| 24. reasons for an area to need a future | 49. attributes of city living |
| 25. reasons for sustainable communities | 50. attributes of tourism |

Table 10.3 List of domains.

This list of domains represents many included folk terms. As mentioned previously, cultural themes serve as relationships among domains. Listing domains helps to begin to

identify some of the relationships. Often themes are implied but not spoken, and it is therefore difficult to find explicit contrasts which distinguish between domains.

For example, on the basis of the researcher's familiarity with the culture, the following contrasts are evident:

Knowing about 'results of conservation-led regeneration and cause of loss of historic fabric' are things that can be picked up quite readily during informal discussions; 'ways to work with developers to ensure quality design and materials' is more complex and has to be described using specific examples.

This suggests that the relationships among domains can be learnt by formal instruction and others by informal learning. To learn more about 'ways to work with developers' the following contrast question was asked:

I've been trying to find out everything that you and other historic environment professionals involved in the re-use of urban historic industrial buildings know. If I were going to understand what bringing such a building back into use involved, I would have to know about all the different 'kinds of issues', 'kinds of people', 'kinds of jobs', 'steps in finding a new use', 'kinds of investment', 'stages in the change of use', 'parts of the project', 'things people do', etc. Can you think of anything else I would have to know if I were going to know everything re-use involved?

Informants were asked the following question.

Of all the things that historic environment professionals know, which do you think would be the most important for me to find out about if I'm going to really understand what it is like to bring buildings back into use?

The response was 'ways to work'. This was a domain not previously identified, which elicited the following folk terms: 'convey aspirations for project', 'push good practice', 'ensure like-for-like repairs', 'protect against bad design', 'strike a balance', 'look at context', 'resist compromise on quality in design and materials', 'make a photographic record', and 'consider current and future generations'.

By asking contrast questions to seek out similarities and differences among these domains, informants tend to recall additional areas of cultural knowledge not previously mentioned.

10.2.4 Making a schematic diagram of the cultural scene

Spradley (1979) suggests another strategy for discovering culture themes, and that is to try and visualise relationships among domains. Figure 10.1 is a schematic diagram of 'stages in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings'. Also included is information about the events that occur during this process. It is important to state that the diagram does not begin to represent the entire cultural scene of conservation-led regeneration, but suggests many relationships and themes in this culture.

The objective of creating such diagrams is to help make the relationships between domains clear to those who read the thesis. As noted by Spradley (1979), the final diagram created is not nearly as important as the process of visualising the parts of a cultural scene and their relationships. A further suggestion in relation to making a schematic diagram is to consider the scene beyond that being studied. Not only does this provide other scenes connected to the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, but can identify areas for future research.

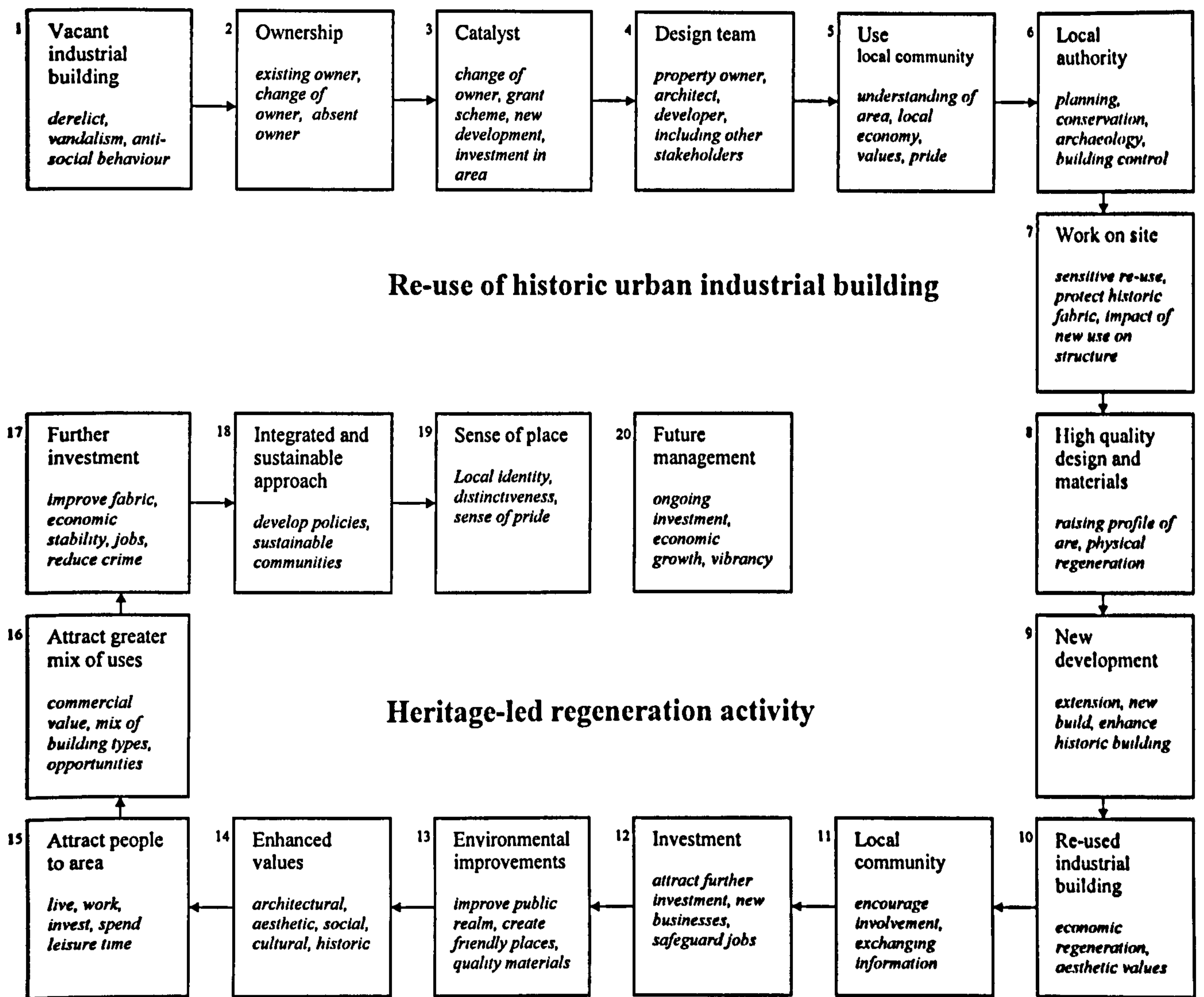


Figure 10.2 Stages in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

10.2.5 Searching for universal themes

As there are universal semantic relationships (i.e. 'is a stage in', 'is a way to do', 'is an attribute of') there are also larger universal themes among domains. The following list of ways to identify universal themes has been developed by ethnographers to assist in suggesting possible themes in a given cultural scene. This list is merely a guide.

- **Social conflict**
In every social situation conflicts arise among people; these conflicts often become worked into cultural themes in a way that organise cultural meaning systems (Spradley, 1979).
- **Cultural contradictions**
There are contradictions in most cultures. This is usually in the form of beliefs, assertions and ideas.
- **Informal techniques of social control**
Controlling behaviour is an issue in every culture. As well as the formal means of control, people learn informal techniques that effectively control what people do. Spradley (1979) makes the point that gossip and informal social rewards are two means which function as methods of control.
- **Managing impersonal social relationships**
Impersonal social relationships make up a large part of all human contact in the urban environment, and people have developed strategies to deal with this.
- **Acquiring and maintaining status**
There are the obvious status symbols relating to money, life-position, and health and fitness that people often seek. Acquiring status within a culture can be more subtle, such as being able to make difficult decisions under pressure may give one status.
- **Solving problems**
Culture is a tool for solving problems (Spradley, 1979). Informal discussions can be used to discover how knowledge of a particular culture is designed to solve problems.

The strategies described above have been used to discover the cultural themes associated with re-use, heritage-led regeneration, and 'sense of place'. When writing an overview of a cultural scene, a useful approach is to imagine it is for someone who knows nothing about the research area. This approach assisted in examining the many

included terms and dealing with the larger parts of the culture. The universal themes for this research programme are given in Table 10.4.

Theme 1:	Investment in historic places provides superior public realms, quality urban design and creates friendly, attractive places.
Theme 2:	A high-quality historic environment attracts investment, projects a positive image, draws high-value jobs maximising economic development potential.
Theme 3:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings provides diversity in the nature and affordability of floorspace for the development of small businesses and creative industries.
Theme 4:	The historic environment attracts people and is an essential element of the tourism industry.
Theme 5:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is a catalyst for the repopulation of inner city areas and the development of new housing markets.
Theme 6:	A vacant historic urban industrial building can provide accommodation for a range of social and community facilities promoting social inclusion.
Theme 7:	Re-used historic urban industrial buildings can provide the focus for leisure facilities including theatres, museums, restaurants and bars.
Theme 8:	Investment in historic places helps strengthen local distinctiveness, creates a sense of place and encourages local pride.
Theme 9:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is a key element in the regeneration of many parts of our towns and cities.
Theme 10:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings by investing in historic places is a way to protect our built heritage.
Theme 11:	The historic environment plays an increasingly central role in education and our understanding of past generations, and society today.
Theme 12:	Historic environment professionals have a responsibility to protect our built heritage for current and future generations.
Theme 13:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is an intrinsically sustainable form of development.
Theme 14:	The historic environment is crucial to the delivery of sustainable communities.
Theme 15:	Selective redevelopment around re-used historic urban industrial buildings is far more successful in maintaining local cultural, social and economic diversity, than large scale comprehensive redevelopment.

Table 10.4 List of cultural themes of the domain ‘sense of place’.

10.3 The impact of ‘sense of place’

Theme analysis has identified 15 recurrent cultural themes through the analysis of the key domain ‘sense of place’, in-depth analysis of the dominant cover terms ‘quality’, ‘image’ and ‘knowledge’, and a broader analysis of the cover terms ‘people’, ‘investment’ and ‘sustainability’.

The following discussion points are drawn from the cultural themes and highlight the impact of ‘sense of place’ in re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

10.3.1 Quality is an attribute of ‘sense of place’

Theme 1:	Investment in historic places provides superior public realms, high quality urban design and creates friendly, attractive places.
Theme 2:	A high-quality historic environment attracts investment, projects a positive image, draws high value jobs maximising economic development potential.

Table 10.5 Cultural themes of the domain ‘Quality is an attribute of sense of place’.

Quality design and materials have an impact on an area and peoples perception of it. Investment in the historic environment creates places where people want to live, work and spend leisure time. Quality, as an attribute of ‘sense of place’, is about physical values and the connotations portray an image of a trendy, sophisticated, stylish, expensive and desirable place.

10.3.2 People are a cause of 'sense of place'

Theme 3:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings provides diversity in the nature and affordability of floorspace for the development of small businesses and creative industries.
Theme 4:	The historic environment attracts people and is an essential element of the tourism industry.
Theme 5:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is a catalyst for the repopulation of inner city areas and the development of new housing markets.
Theme 6:	A vacant historic urban industrial building can provide accommodation for a range of social and community facilities promoting social inclusion.

Table 10.6 Cultural themes of the domain 'People are a cause of sense of place'.

It is people that create a sense of place, and strengthen an areas distinctive identity. The cultural themes reflect the relationships between the historic environment and people at an economic level, the social and cultural benefits, the demand for urban tourism and the ability of the historic environment to attract people back into towns and cities.

10.3.3 Image is a part of 'sense of place'

Theme 7:	Re-used historic urban industrial buildings can provide the focus for leisure facilities including theatres, museums, restaurants and bars.
Theme 8:	Investment in historic places helps strengthen local distinctiveness, creates a sense of place and encourages local pride.

Table 10.7 Cultural themes of the domain 'Image is a part of sense of place'.

As mentioned in the literature review, image is crucial to the promotion of place. The historic environment can be used to market available floorspace to redefining the perception of an industrial city. The historic environment is now consumed in the same way as fashion. Heritage has become a commodity and it is essential that this is understood if historic industrial urban areas are to become attractive places which encourage sustained inward investment and a mix of vibrant uses.

10.3.4 Investment is a way to do ‘sense of place’

Theme 9:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is a key element in the regeneration of many parts of our towns and cities.
Theme 10:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings by investing in historic places is a way to protect our built heritage.

Table 10.8 Cultural themes of the domain ‘Investment is a way to do sense of place’.

By investing in the past we are creating a rich historic environment for the future. Investment in the historic environment improves the quality of life of local communities and creates a more sustainable environment. Raising the quality of the townscape attracts inward investment and new uses to an area. Regeneration at the right pace is essential but it is important to recognise that it doesn’t happen over night. Realistic short term goals are needed, but it is the long term investment in the regeneration of an area that is needed whether this is delivered by the public sector, private sector or a partnership approach.

10.3.5 Knowledge is a reason for doing ‘sense of place’

Theme 11:	The historic environment plays an increasingly central role in education and our understanding of past generations, and society today.
Theme 12:	Historic environment professionals have a responsibility to protect our built heritage for current and future generations.

Table 10.9 Cultural themes of the domain ‘Knowledge is a reason for doing sense of place’.

The historic environment is constantly changing and it is important to recognise that change is inevitable. In order to respond to change it is important to understand the value and significance of historic buildings and places. Decisions about the historic environment must be informed, consistent and transparent. It is essential that there is an understanding of what exists, its condition and the values attached to it, to make knowledgeable decisions about its future.

10.3.6 Sustainability is a way to do ‘sense of place’

Theme 13:	Re-using historic urban industrial buildings is an intrinsically sustainable form of development.
Theme 14:	The historic environment is crucial to the delivery of sustainable communities.
Theme 15:	Selective redevelopment around re-used historic urban industrial buildings is far more successful in maintaining local cultural, social and economic diversity, than large scale comprehensive redevelopment.

Table 10.10 Cultural themes of the domain ‘Sustainability is a way to do sense of place’.

Re-using buildings is sustainable. It saves waste and reduces the need for new building materials. Heritage-led regeneration enhances the value of properties by attracting investment, promoting local distinctiveness and boosting local economies. The historic environment, conservation-led regeneration and re-use are an important part of sustainable development and help to achieve sustainable growth.

10.4 Summary

This section has examined the concept of cultural themes. It has also presented some of the strategies used by ethnographers in discovering themes and the cultural knowledge learned by informants. The strategies should be viewed as guides to discovering cultural themes, and not as a step-by-step process. The aim of ethnography is to discover and describe cultural meanings that people use to organise their behaviour and interpret experience. Identifying cultural themes can be seen as part of the process of ethnographic discovery. It provided the research with new insights and ideas in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and the role of heritage in urban social and economic regeneration.

The 15 cultural themes which emerged from the informants present the narrow details of culture and the broad features of the cultural landscape associated with industrial

conservation and heritage-led regeneration. Theme analysis presents a new approach to identifying the values of historic places.

Our industrial heritage is increasingly being seen as a resource that, as identified by English Heritage (2006), should be sustainable for the benefit of present and future generations. These cultural themes reveal the complex nature of historic places. The historic environment creates places where people want to live, work and spend leisure time. The themes reflect the relationships between the historic environment, and people, and the ability of historic places to attract people back to towns and cities. As the competitive position of a town and city increases, the image of a place can affect the economies of an area and also assist in making a place more attractive than others. Image and identity are common themes in contemporary living, and already play an important role in the historic environment, even if not yet fully realised. Image is also influenced by investment and raising the quality and profile of an area. Successful heritage-led regeneration can be recognised by a variety of spaces, mix of uses and building styles, interesting design features, genuine activity which promotes a safer environment, well maintained buildings and of a scale to which people can relate. This forms the basis for attracting further inward investment and promoting the image of the place.

Informants recognised that the historic environment is constantly changing and it was part of their role to respond to and monitor change. Emphasis was placed on understanding the significance of a place and how it can sensitively respond to change. Essential to understanding change is to have the knowledge to sustain or enhance the values and significance of the historic environment, in context, for present and future generations. This section has introduced the discussion points presented in the following section.

Section 11.0

Discussion

Cities are complex networks with infinite inter-relationships, operating in different ways at different times of the day, the week and the year, and needing to be managed in highly responsive ways.

Campbell and Cowan (2002, 40)

This section presents the discussion where the research findings will be considered and analysed with reference to the theories, ideas and issues put forward earlier. It also provides the context within which the research programme was conceived and considers the wider implications of the findings beyond the boundaries of this research.

11.1 Introduction

The discussion progresses the cultural themes identified in the previous section to provide the basis from which focal data has been interpreted. The theoretical perspectives cited in the literature review (Section 2.0) will be referenced to clarify specific points, enable reflection and in some cases be disputed.

The thesis development for this section as follows:

- The culture of the historic environment, in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, promotes an understanding and appreciation of this type of heritage-led regeneration.
- Quality, knowledge and expertise are credited to historic environment professionals involved in bringing a vacant historic urban industrial building back into use.
- Historic environment professionals simulate particular responses in order to represent a culturally constituted identity.

- This simulation only has meaning due to the cultural knowledge of the historic environment.
- Historic environment professionals are subjected to ensure that the places people value, are protected for present and future generations to enjoy.
- The image of a re-used historic urban industrial building or a regenerated inner city area is determined by cultural discourse.
- All historic environment professionals actively produce 'sense of place' in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings and heritage-led regeneration.

In Section 10.0 the themes proposed about the six domains of 'sense of place' (quality, people, image, investment, knowledge, and sustainability) not only recur again and again throughout different parts of the culture of the historic environment, but they also connect different sub-systems of a culture at a linguistic and semiotic level (Spradley, 1979). Having acknowledged this, it is the aim of this section to argue that 'sense of place' is an important cultural theme related to the culture of historic environment professionals, because it demonstrates a more progressive analysis and discussion beyond Spradley's ethnographic level of analysis.

The assumptions made by, and about, historic environment professionals in the culture of re-use and heritage-led regeneration comprise a certain kind of knowledge. It is almost certain that the rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about these topics are a result of cultural ideologies, some of which influence historic environment professionals to perform in a certain way. Historic environment professionals, therefore, have certain traits given the way cultural knowledge about 'sense of place' is constructed. But how does this cultural knowledge acquire authority? An authority which embodies the truth about what constitutes 'sense of place', and how re-use and

heritage-led regeneration should be performed in historic environment culture. And perhaps, just as importantly, where does this knowledge of 'sense of place' come from?

11.2 The demand for re-use and heritage-led regeneration

In 1964 the author of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* Jane Jacobs, believed that the basic idea of urban renewal was to try and begin to understand the intricate social and economic order under the seeming disorder of cities. This is just as relevant today. The following definition by Lichfield (1992, 19) encompasses the essential characteristics of urban regeneration as:

comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seek to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.

In addition, Lichfield (1992) identifies the need for a better understanding of the process of decline and an agreement on what is to be achieved and how. Both quotations hold with the broad concepts from which regeneration activities have developed. Whilst there have been various publications about the role of conservation in urban regeneration the importance of heritage-led regeneration during the past 25 years has earned its place on the regeneration agenda.

It would seem that the demand for re-use and heritage-led regeneration is becoming as familiar with local communities as it is with historic environment professionals. However, it is still perhaps underestimated or rather it has not been fully recognised as existing by those not directly involved in the historic environment. Historically, industrial areas played an important role in providing employment, and along with supporting retail and commercial centres, served large industrial populations. Historic urban industrial areas suffered considerably from the decline in traditional industries. Significant industrial heritage buildings and townscapes have survived even through years of dereliction and damage to the traditional appearance of these structures.

Analysis of derelict historic urban industrial buildings and vacant sites can be attributed to economic decline and this was evident from the focal data collected. The economic problems faced by these industrial urban areas is low property values, failing shops, empty properties, loss of historic buildings, loss of heritage details and materials, and few considerations for the heritage character of the area. It would seem from the results that there is a demand from local communities for regeneration and this provided an important focus for the research.

At a broad level historic industrial areas have become associated with significant social and economic outputs including high-quality design and materials, engaging the local community, attracting businesses to an area, re-establishing a residential population, improving the image of an area by creating a 'sense of place', and private sector leverage. It is important to emphasise that building conservation is not just about preserving fabric and stopping people doing irreparable damage to historic buildings. It is about high-quality design, sympathetic alterations, and repairs that are in keeping with the age and character of the building(s) and townscape. Conservation also plays an important role in helping create the identity of a place that people care for and this was often referred to by the informants during Stage 2 of the research. In particular, that the re-use and refurbishment of historic buildings can raise the profile of an area by creating a perception of vitality, and perhaps provide the boost that a local economy has been waiting for.

Re-use and heritage-led regeneration crosses many of the Government's agendas including brownfield development, sustainable communities, bringing vacant properties into residential use, and re-establishing urban residential populations. However, it is essential that the current review of the heritage protection currently by Government is conducted against the context of recent best practice in regeneration, involving specialists experienced in the practicalities of delivering heritage-led regeneration projects and urban renaissance.

What has emerged from the focal data is that national level initiatives appear to achieve their objectives through local activities. Even though there are regional differences, with different problems and opportunities, there are key issues that relate to the ways in which towns and cities are transforming. In particular, an increase in the awareness of the role of heritage in regeneration as a key element in the achievement of structural economic change in areas like Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The success of intricate regeneration strategies is undoubtedly a result of public and private sector collaboration and this was mentioned by all of the informants. It would seem that having a clear brief from the outset and understanding heritage values has improved the quality of life for many local communities. The External Assessment Tool (EAT) revealed that there are patterns in the nature of re-use and this was supported by the focal data collected using the semi-structured interviews. For example, encouraging different levels of activity at different times is essential in developing a sustainable community and making successful regeneration possible. Informants would frequently refer to the importance of mixed use, high-density, human scale historic neighbourhoods to create a vibrant, sustainable community.

Therefore, many of the re-use and regeneration schemes show what can be achieved, and what is now being demanded by local communities in seeking to raise the profile of an area and attracting inward investment.

11.3 Type of re-use movement

The history of architecture is usually presented according to historical styles. Architecture can be powerful, awe-inspiring and impressive, and the debate about the present most appropriate or popular architectural style continues. From late modern, pseudo vernacular, high-tech to postmodern, no particular movement appears to rule at present. When considering the historic environment it would seem from current literature and the focal data, that there has been, and continues to be, a new way of thinking about our industrial heritage. Heritage-led regeneration has shown that old

places are not just about the past; heritage-led regeneration has discovered the meanings, values and significance of historic places to people.

The taxonomic analysis and ethnographic theme analysis highlights that most informants recognise that the historic environment has resulted in the development of new markets, and led to a renewed interest in inner city living. Historic buildings and places are crucial to the delivery of sustainable communities and the creation of places where people positively choose to live, work and spend leisure time. The historic environment shapes communities. Finding a new use, or mix of uses, for a vacant historic urban industrial building can have a significant and beneficial effect on a town or city. By adapting such properties the re-use of historic industrial buildings has, in many urban places, helped transform failing areas into thriving sustainable communities, and facilitated the modernisation and adaptation of places to today's needs. These issues reflect what historic environment professionals recognise as their practice, and go some way towards creating their identity and the perceived values of the culture of the historic environment. In addition, these representations associated with re-use, heritage-led regeneration, sustainable communities, mix of uses, people and heritage significance are signs of cultural meaning.

Re-using industrial buildings in the 1980s would have possibly been considered pioneering, but also with a degree of uncertainty. The risk was not in the conversion of such properties, as almost any building can be successfully converted to accommodate any use. It was whether businesses would be attracted to an area that had, less than 30 years before, been associated with failure and the economic demise of inner city areas. In addition, would local communities accept the retention of industrial buildings to assist in the regeneration process?

It is feasible to suggest that conservation and the historic environment are now more mainstream than ever, and no historic environment professional can stand outside the cultural knowledge of the historic environment. Some of the symbols as indicated in the taxonomies are at the core of what is considered 'best practice' in the culture of the

historic environment. The representation of a converted historic industrial warehouse to provide trendy city centre living is a symbol with cultural performances which not only represent 'sense of place', but it is also constituted by it.

The historic environment and cultural heritage is now considered as being everywhere and this was perceived by the informants. It would seem from the results that the meanings attached by people to the historic environment are informed as a result of their experiences, connections with the past and the media. The re-use of a historic building can be as dynamic and inspiring as new architecture.

Exciting new developments continue to bring together a mix of materials, styles and technologies; a recent high-profile example being the newly opened National Assembly for Wales by architect Lord Rogers. Whilst some new developments continue to influence and amaze, it could also be said that there has been an underlying re-use movement that perhaps has not received the recognition it deserves. As mentioned previously changing the use of a building from its original built function is not new. For example, lighthouses, dovecots and church halls are just a few of the structures that have been creatively adapted for people to live in. It has only been in recent decades that the significance and influence of historic buildings in high-quality regeneration schemes has been recognised.

The interest in historic industrial architecture, and the successful re-use of such properties to provide city centre living accommodation, has perhaps taken many urban areas by surprise. The success of Albert Docks, Liverpool and West India Quays, London are great examples of what can be achieved. When discussing this new trend for inner city living with informants, it was suggested that heritage-led regeneration is highly desirable on grounds of sustainability, inner-city regeneration, safety, crime reduction and the creation of new sustainable urban communities. Such housing is often characterised by high standards of design. The combination of refurbished historical buildings with high quality modern new architecture and good urban design results in dramatic regeneration, sometimes transforming areas where the market had previously

failed into economically prosperous zones. Castlefield in Manchester, which includes a mixture of residential, leisure and business uses, is an example of where this has been successfully achieved. It would seem that creating confidence is the key to regenerating such areas.

As mentioned earlier in this section, movements can be considered as periods in the history of our built environment, characterised by the adoption of common ideals or the use of particular styles, techniques and materials. From the literature review, together with Stage 1 and Stage 2 focal data, it was evident that understanding how places change is an important stage in the regeneration of urban industrial areas. This suggests that lessons have been learnt from the past. Informants described selective redevelopment based around the historic environment as being far more successful than large-scale comprehensive redevelopment. Such an approach fulfils the needs of local communities by maintaining local cultural, social and economic diversity.

A further aspect to this type of re-use movement is what informants would refer to as the 'right pace' for re-use and regeneration activities. The focal data emphasised the importance of engaging with local communities early in any regeneration process, and keep them regularly informed, even if for a time nothing appears to be happening on the ground. Presenting realistic timescales is also critical. When discussing this issue with informants it appeared that gaining the confidence and maintaining the interest of people in regeneration activities needs to be well thought out. Regeneration does not happen overnight. However, there still needs to be momentum and enthusiasm, whether through consultation workshops or heritage open days if the changes in the appearance of the area are to successfully change the perception of the place.

Heritage-led regeneration at the right pace is also important in understanding the area and appreciating what already exists. If a type of movement is defined by the use of particular styles, techniques and materials, this can be applied to the re-use of a historic urban industrial building. Greater attention and consideration exists for historic industrial architecture, and particular styles and techniques have been developed to

sensitively and respectfully convert these buildings according to the informants interviewed. The cultural themes associated with the re-use of any historic building adopt a common set of ideals. It is fundamentally concerned with making sure that historic places and buildings that people value are kept for present and future generations to enjoy in such a way that reflects how the area has evolved; it should tell a story.

11.4 Understanding historic urban industrial buildings

The results suggest that the role of historic urban industrial buildings in facilitating heritage-led regeneration has initiated a type of re-use movement over the past 30 years. This would have been considered unrealistic in the 1970s when the demise of the great industries in England changed the economic basis and landscape of urban (and rural) areas. Numbed by the closure of the factories and warehouses, cities almost went into a state of shock and turned their backs on these industrial areas. The impact of such closures on local economies was drastic. The focus was on the number of unemployed, and threats of further closures, not on the buildings, and there was certainly no impetus to do anything with the redundant sites. This change in the urban fabric was not unique to a particular town or city, but became the face of England.

As noted in the literature review this decline saw vast areas and buildings that once groaned to the sound of industrial processes left vacant, and in a downward spiral of decline. There are areas that remain in this state, but many are now in the process of being given a new lease of life. Decisions being made about an area's future being based on an informed understanding of the historic environment. Informants would describe their role in the re-use process as ensuring that an assessment of the historic building is undertaken before details proposals are drawn up for the regeneration of an area.

There is possibly one industry that would not want to see the regeneration of all derelict inner city industrial areas, and that is the film industry. Vacant historic industrial

buildings have provided the back drop to many British films and television programmes, most recently in the production of the police drama *Life on Mars*. The television programme was set in 1973. The industrial heart of Manchester was used to film the police car chases through warehouse lined streets. A driven and ambitious detective, determined to keep the streets of today's Manchester safe, after a near fatal car accident, wakes up dazed and confused in 1973. The accuracy of not only the set but the mind-set and cultural beliefs of the 1970s was enthralling. There was a moment where the 2006 detective looked up at a warehouse and said '...I live here...this is where I live.' The response of the 1973 woman police officer was 'What? In an old warehouse...don't be so silly. People don't live in warehouses.' In the 1970s the concept of living in a warehouse, and out of choice, would have seemed not only ridiculous but inconceivable.

Understanding historic urban industrial buildings involves an appreciation of their importance when built and their contribution to the history of industrial England. It also involves understanding what these buildings have meant to generations that have followed. The idea and influence of meaning, which has driven this research programme, should not be underestimated and further work is suggested in Section 12.0. In the 1950s and '60s the aspiration was to move out of the city, to a suburban lifestyle and a detached house with a garden. Choice in living accommodation is never about ensuring that we have a roof over our heads; it is about what that choice represents.

As noted in the literature review, most early conversions of industrial buildings were to office and business use. It would seem that, after the shock of the industries closing, this type of re-use was driven by the need placed on local authorities to be seen to be doing something. In addition, it is unlikely that there were many other options on the table for such buildings. They certainly would not have had the image, or interest in them, that they have today.

The results from the External Assessment Tool (EAT) and the informants would suggest that where buildings were re-used in the 1980s, regeneration activity followed. In some instances it was investment in individual buildings that provided the kick-start areas needed to encourage social, economic and environmental improvements. In addition, where localised private sector investment has caught the attention of local authorities, and created a focus for public sector expenditure. Historic industrial buildings have during past decades captured the hearts of many local communities. Mixed-use industrial buildings have not only transformed the physical fabric of these areas by creating a sense of vibrancy, but also the perception of these areas has changed. Large parts of major towns and cities are being given a new identity because of the surviving industrial fabric.

People under 30 years old are unlikely to be able to imagine or appreciate the intense manufacturing and engineering activities these industrial areas would harbour. If the younger generation of Leeds were asked to describe what the Round Foundry means, it is likely that the response would be that it is somewhere to live, and that there are offices and a new media centre. Formally the heart of the flax industry this city centre site claims to have become a genuine mixed-use quarter of Leeds. Does the younger generation need to know about the industrial importance of this site? Probably, but this site holds a different meaning for them. The converted buildings could reflect a future aspiration to live in one of the trendy apartments. The values that the younger generation attach to these buildings will differ to historic environment professionals, but both are part of the story of England's industrial heritage.

Bringing industrial buildings back to life is not just about the new use(s). The results would suggest that a combination of activities is needed if empty buildings are to have a future. It is about having an understanding of the past, but living and moving forward as an urban area in the present that looks towards future trends and the results emphasised this.

Our industrial heritage has provided many urban areas with a new image, and has provided the vehicle to promote what it means to live in a city. Loft apartments endorse a lifestyle that is independent, with status, part of the 24-hour economy, convenient for work and socialising, because it is fashionable; it is the Calvin Klein of living accommodation. In addition, understanding the potential in historic industrial buildings has helped provide diversity in the nature and affordability of commercial and industrial floorspace, and have been crucial in the development of small businesses and creative industries. For example, the Jewellery Quarter in Birmingham has successfully created live-work spaces for small businesses and graduates coming out of the School of Jewellery. There is certainly a growing confidence socially and economically in the historic environment in this respect.

The historic environment often provides a focus for leisure facilities, from theatres and art installations to restaurants and bards. The 24-hour economy is expected of most cities, and historic industrial areas have tapped into this to meet such expectations. Places like Manchester and London have quarters that are the focus of a mix of uses that in one area people may choose to live, work and socialise. There has been a vast amount of investment in leisure facilities in historic quarters. Canals and waterfront areas in particular can often provide a focus for leisure related investment, in addition to living accommodation and office space as was presented by the case studies in Stage 1 of this research. These places need to be flexible and adaptive, yet remain connected to the past.

This research programme suggests that the re-use of industrial buildings to provide a mix of uses is an established trend. These properties are an achievement, for their place in England's history when industry dominated the landscape, but also in their ability to adapt to the demands of today's culture and urban lifestyle.

11.5 The concept of ‘sense of place’

Identifying ‘sense of place’ as a feasible domain from which the research could progress was a significant point in Stage 2 data analysis. It provided a focus that enabled a more detailed analysis of how informants related the dominant cover terms of quality, people, image, investment, knowledge and sustainability, to the meaning of the ethnographic domain ‘sense of place’.

During Stage 2 data analysis it was noted that the concept ‘sense of place’ was used to describe all activities, notions and attitudes associated with re-use and conservation-led regeneration. The domain ‘sense of place’ and its meaning in the context of the historic environment is the basis of this thesis. A ‘sense of place’ can be what makes somewhere special and difference or what makes it routine and relaxing. According to English Heritage (2005) the historic environment lies at the heart of our ‘sense of place’.

The planning system is concerned with getting the right mix of land uses, such as housing, retail or industry, in the right locations. Urban design is the process of shaping the setting for life in our towns and cities. Making successful places depends on getting the physical form of development right and informants recognised that lessons have been learnt from the large-scale comprehensive redevelopment of previous decades. Decisions about development and setting can enhance or detract from a place’s distinctive character. This has long been recognised in historic areas such as Bath and York. However, as mentioned previously, understanding how places change is crucial if urban historic industrial areas are to be regenerated. This was a recurring theme identified by the informants. Recognising the significance of an area’s history is integral to creating a high-quality environment, greater economic vitality and a more efficient use of resources.

Re-using buildings and adapting landscapes help reinforce a ‘sense of place’. The focal data suggests that investment in historic buildings and streetscapes strengthens an area’s distinctive identity. For example, re-used historic urban industrial buildings can act as a

magnet for further investment; generate publicity, and raise an area's profile, as demonstrated by the Tate Modern on Bankside, London. 'Sense of place' does not have to be spectacularly life changing, but a place that responds to and reinforces local distinctiveness and identify. Informants would use 'sense of place' to describe various issues relating to the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings, streets and street patterns, building materials, and special spaces. It was also used by informants to convey a sense of continuity and link to the past. One informant described 'sense of place' as:

...just having the sensory necessities that together create something significant, something unique, a sense of belonging, of interest, of place.

Heritage-led regeneration involves understanding the historical significance of an area by respecting what exists, at the same time strengthening the image of an area by creating viable, attractive places that are lively, welcoming and pleasant. By focusing on high-quality design and materials, and having a strong vision for the future, local residents and businesses are more likely to be inspired to get involved and be proud of their locality.

The meanings attached to 'sense of place', as mentioned previously, include something unique that recognises people's connections with places. 'Sense of place' captures what is attractive and distinctive about a place. Historically our industrial areas and docklands would have had a strong 'sense of place'; such areas were a hub of activity. The vibrancy today reflects a different type of 'sense of place', defined by the quality of the environment, the image of the place, and what it means to the current generation.

It would seem from the focal data that heritage-led regeneration is about re-defining image and an area's 'sense of place'. In a way it involves deciphering the area's distinctive identity and meanings to reconnect the local community with the place.

11.6 Cultural knowledge

Cultural meanings are not just passed on from one generation to the next. As noted by Smith (2000) the production of cultural meaning can be seen as a continual process of re-invention. Understanding culture is about understanding the cultures within which people live. Architecture is situated in a broad cultural context. It brings together art, history, design, technology, need and society. Many of the key philosophers and cultural theorist throughout history have written about architecture and the built environment, often presenting a refreshing perspective on the subject, including how architecture might offer a potentially rich field for analysis for cultural studies (Leach, 1997).

As heritage-led regeneration has developed, research into the role of the historic environment in social and economic regeneration has been initiated at a place-specific local level to a broader, national approach and understanding. Different methodologies have been proposed to explore and examine heritage-led regeneration. The most commonly used approach is the social survey technique, which examines people's attitudes to the historic environment and the values they place on it. For example, this technique was employed by the steering group that led *Power of Place* (2000), which involved working groups, detailed consultation papers and the commissioning of MORI (Marketing and Opinion Research International) to find out what people in England thought about the historic environment and its future, and what they value.

Whilst there have been a range of studies undertaken on social impact of the historic environment, few have considered the cultural implications of re-use and heritage-led regeneration, and the everyday experiences of historic environment professionals. The results would suggest that a vacant historic urban industrial building it has certain meanings attached to it for the owner, the local community and the historic environment professionals involved in the project. It is welcoming to note that there are some newer developers that are more dynamic and specifically target historic buildings as part of their product and marketing approach. Such developers place high value on the quality

of the built environment and see it as an essential factor in attracting consumer interest. The historic environment is often a key factor in triggering area regeneration and achieving the kind of urban renaissance envisaged by the Urban Task Force vision for urban neighbourhoods to be vital, safe and beautiful places to live (2005, 5)

It would seem that historic environment professionals have had to respond and react to the changing views of society to historic urban areas. Social identities are accomplished through struggle. The implication for this has been that the identity of historic environment professionals has become fluid and open to continuing transformation. The role of the historic environment professional is therefore ever changing.

This research programme has recognised that the definition of culture varies. In the Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) edited book *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*, the research and the supporting case studies confirm the lack of evidence that economic benefit has accrued from cultural investment. Similarly, Friedrichs and Dangschat (1993) in their study of Hamburg state that economic growth can be induced without a clear cultural policy and spectacular new buildings for culture.

The meaning of culture can be interpreted in many different ways. The culture referred to in these two examples is summarised by the definition provided by English Heritage (2006):

All inherited resources which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and traditions of others.

This is worthy of note as 'cultural knowledge' is the basis on which this research has developed. The issue of culture as defined by English Heritage requires consideration and acknowledgement in the context of this current research programme. A further example, and perhaps most commented upon, is Glasgow and the meaning of culture in the context of this urban area. Glasgow went from a reputation for being a run-down and violent city through the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign of the early 1980s to

becoming European City of Culture in 1990 (McGuigan, 1996). Other cities have successfully re-branded themselves. McGuigan (1996) believes that this is to do with investing in cultural events such as festivals, performance venues, galleries and museums, associating these activities with 'city marketing' and a few extra jobs in catering and occupations ancillary to cultural production.

Culture is used in 'place imagery' and historic environment professionals are part of this process, and it is their cultural knowledge that is valued to ensure authenticity. What this does identify is the idea that all signs and symbols that can be observed in the historic environment culture have cultural meaning. The themes identified in Section 10.0 emphasise the importance of language in culture and reflect the cultural concept that 'sense of place' has an impact or effect of re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

When a historic environment professional interacts with the owner of a vacant historic industrial building, what goes through the mind of the professional? Is it to find out whether the property owner has any intentions for the future of the building? Is it to try and encourage the owner to carry out repairs to the property? What are all the ways to ensure a building is brought back into use? As noted in the taxonomies in Section 9.0 some of the included terms are associated with the repair of historic buildings and these are 'like for like', 'in keeping' and 'using traditional techniques'. The included terms are recognisable by other historic environment professionals, but would perhaps not be familiar to the owners of vacant historic industrial buildings. But what if the property owner was not prepared to maintain the property and had no intention to either let or sell the building in the foreseeable future? What would it mean if the historic environment professional accepted this and did not act in a way that would be expected of him/her? When asked, informants never considered this to be an option. Historic environment professionals are trapped by culture and the symbolism of their role in protecting places of value and significance for the benefit of present and future generations.

It is assumed that individuals use language to express themselves and choose particular phrases in order to exchange information. Being constrained by language and in the expected symbols of behaviour is a position laid down by this research programme, yet it has little resemblance to how the historic environment professionals perceive their everyday practice. For example, many informants would talk about what it meant to be a historic environment professional and said that sometimes they were perceived as being uncompromising and averse to change. Historic environment professionals have to perform specific behaviours to create a niche for themselves in the cultural meaning of what it is to manage change to best sustain the values of a historic building or place. The informants gave examples and described situations where they had been flexible and had to consider the common objectives, respective benefits and opportunities for balancing the various priorities of the property owner, developer and/or end user. This status and role, which came out of this research, is woven into the cultural meaning of what it is to be a historic environment professional.

The analysis of the culture of historic environment professionals in this research programme has gone beyond simply documenting everyday experiences, but has attempted to identify the extraordinary in the ordinary experiences of professionals in the historic environment. Exploring cultural knowledge has been identified as an activity which involves reading the lives of historic environment professionals in a particular way. This has involved identifying and interpreting the existence of historic environment professionals and how their values and stories of re-use and heritage-led regeneration make sense. Meanings are established and transformed. Historic environment professionals recognise that words have different meanings and that the way historic environment issues relate to re-use are transferred, do not belong exclusively to a particular culture, but are open to many interpretations.

To be a historic environment professional is to be trapped in and constituted by the language and behaviour of that culture. 'Sense of place' is a construct, and historic environment professionals have no choice but to have a role in the representation, symbolism and consumption of it.

11.7 Transmitting quality

The term 'quality' is widely used to describe everything from food to living accommodation, including the historic environment. But what does quality mean? Quality can mean something expensive, having taste, special, and a standard of excellence. In everyday life marketing entices us, through imagery associated with quality, to indulge ourselves making us believe we are worth it. The clothes we wear, the car we drive, and the restaurant we go to, including where we live and how we furnish our home defines us.

The results of this research indicate that overall a high-quality environment delivers a range of benefits. It provides the opportunity to maximise economic development potential, projects a positive image, attracts high value jobs and investment, and improves competitiveness.

The emphasis placed by historic environment professionals on the restoration of a vacant historic building is on quality repairs, materials and alterations. As stated by the informants, it is the attention to detail that makes the re-use of a historic urban industrial building a re-use scheme of quality and excellence. However, sometimes transmitting quality and justifying the approach that should be taken for a particular repair or choice of material can result in conflict.

During the semi-structured interviews when discussing work on site, historic environment professionals recalled situations where their perseverance for attention to detail and the appropriate use of materials in keeping with the age of the property was not fully appreciated or acknowledged. It was usually on the completion of a project that those involved would recognise the importance of the detail in ensuring the delivery of a high-quality re-use scheme. However, there were also examples cited by the informants where poor repairs, particularly relating to the impact of services on the external envelope, let down the overall appearance of a re-used property.

Fundamental to achieving quality is knowledge. Having an understanding of the value and significance of historic buildings and places is necessary if there is to be respect for what exists. This understanding and expert knowledge was reflected in the emphasis placed by informants on this stage in the re-use of a building. Decisions about the future of a property are not possible if the value or condition of the building is unknown. In response, the results would suggest that this does not mean that historic environment professionals are against change. As highlighted previously change is inevitable; it is about having the knowledge to make an informed decision about the proposed change.

It would seem that there is still a common misconception that the protection systems for historic buildings and areas are no change, anti-progressive regimes. In reality, and this came out of the research, it is increasingly clear that the best heritage-led regeneration schemes of recent have been quality orientated regeneration.

The quality of the public realm is just as critical to the success of the scheme as the quality of the refurbishment and re-use of the building. The importance of urban design and investment in the townscape is captured in the following quotation by Finch (2002, 60) in *Re-urbanism* (Campbell and Cowen, 2000).

A good urban design solution can rescue a bad building, but a great building will rarely rescue poor urban design.

Quality is not only reflected in the physical environment when regenerating run-down urban historic industrial areas, but also in the type of the uses. Investment in historic places helps support local businesses, industries, and communities by preserving local distinctiveness and creating a 'sense of place'. Raising the quality of the environment attracts investment and businesses seeking to locate to the area because they want to be perceived and having a certain style; a certain image. If a previously neglected inner city industrial area is to attract a certain calibre of businesses there will be an expectation that there will be similar quality uses in the vicinity. Café bars and trendy leisure facilities would be assumed to be the adjacent uses. A burger van would not only be totally unexpected, but would have a detrimental impact on the image of the area.

The historic environment contributes to a quality of life by creating friendly attractive places. It would seem, however, that there is still a pressing need to promote the role of the historic environment in urban regeneration. The historic urban industrial environment has been used to achieve dramatic results in sustainable regeneration and economic development, and this quality needs to be built on in to secure the future of places people value.

11.8 People, places and image

In 2000, the English Heritage publication *Power of Place* identified that people are interested in and care about the historic environment. This study highlighted the fact that even though people wanted to help define the historic environment and get involved in decisions affecting it, they felt excluded and found it difficult to get hold of information.

The results from this research suggest that there is a greater awareness by historic environment professionals in the need to engage local communities in the decision-making process about matters that affect the places they value. This was the emphasis of the English Heritage *Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* published earlier this year. *Power of Place* provided the basis from which these principles have been developed. People are the focus of both documents and it recognises that this trend will continue as people become increasingly aware of the heritage values they attached to places, interesting regardless of ownership. That said, the rights provided by ownership should not be underestimated and this was an issue raised by the informants. Private property owners constitute the single biggest sector of society responsible for our historic places. The informants supported the position that every reasonable encouragement should be given to secure our common heritage, in helping them manage and conserve their properties.

What has come out of the literature review and focal data is that places do matter to people because they bring meaning and benefits to peoples' lives. Historic Environment

Professionals distinguish that why these areas are valued and how such values can be incorporated into wider processes of policy and planning is integral to creating sustainable, attractive places.

It would seem, therefore, that there is a growing public awareness across England, which is about appreciating, managing and enhancing quality, not just of historic areas but of our environment generally. Focal data would suggest that people are not just concerned about individual sites they are generally concerned about the environment as a whole and this can be adopted to ensure that quality and investment in the historic fabric extends beyond designated areas and listed buildings.

This research has identified that the notion of 'sense of place' is fundamentally about people. It is about a quality of life, local distinctiveness and local pride; it connects people and places. Historic environment professionals recognise that in order to share knowledge, working with local communities assists in the decision making process. It would seem that people care about historic urban industrial areas because there is a depth to the places that they recognise. Places that have also, and for different reasons, meant something to past generations and, it is hoped, will also hold meaning for future generations.

At a local level people connect to an area because of family ties or certain events. 'Sense of place' gives people a feeling of belonging. Understanding an area is about creating a high-quality environment, economic soundness and social inclusion. The historic environment shapes how we live and is shaped by how we live. It provides an opportunity to examine why places are as they are, potentially offering an insight into what they could become. Having a vibrant, thriving social and economic basis is the aspiration of many inner city areas. It is the strength of character that attracts people and businesses to an area, and which ultimately creates a 'sense of place'. Historic environment professionals recognised this relationship and the benefits it brings.

As mentioned in the literature review, city marketing encompasses a range of activities that can improve the economic regeneration of an urban area. During the past 25 years it has been recognised that re-use is not just about finding a new use for a historic building, heritage-led regeneration is also about the image and perception of a place. Strategic planning has influenced this by recognising that urban areas can no longer rely on being successful because of particular uses. It is about identifying an areas aspiration, including its limitations.

City authorities need to consider the role of their historical industrial areas in the future marketing and image of the area. From a marketing perspective the success of heritage-led regeneration is about information gathering, processing and analysis. It involves identifying consumer needs and demands, and the targeting advertising and media coverage and the significance of place imagery as was identified by background and focal data. The results would suggest that place imagery is important and should not be underestimated. In the regeneration of formerly derelict inner city industrial areas it is often the re-used historic urban industrial building that is the product being marketed, and which will drive the success of the scheme.

Page (1995) refers to the marketing variables of product, price, promotion and place. The product is a re-used historic urban industrial building and the ability of an urban area to adapt to the needs of the local community in terms of what a re-used historic urban industrial building can contribute. According to Rypkema (2001) the historic environment can mean profits to developers, and homeowners, and bankers, certainly. But also, it can generate profits for neighbourhoods, community activists, visitors, and the city at large. Promotion of a place is about attracting people to an area locally but also from further a field. A poor image will impact on the regeneration success of that area. To promote successful heritage-led regeneration a clear image and the target consumer is needed if people are to be induced to live, work, shop or socialise in the area.

Attitudinal marketing is recognised as having the aim of seeking to alter or influence people. Clearly this has an immediate application to place marketing by encouraging people to think about a particular location and its products in a certain way. Current literature would suggest that selling a city involves image building and changing perception is about communicating an image through the process of promoting. The historic environment impacts on the imagery of place. It would seem that conservation is no longer just about preserving the historic environment, it creates identity, distinctiveness and the image can be tailored to the demands placed on it by people. According to Castells and Hall (1994) western European cities are undergoing an 'identity crisis' and that the 'new professional-managerial class' is torn between the attraction of peaceful comforts of the boring suburbs and the excitement of a hectic, and often too expensive, urban life.

Whilst detailed literature exists on the re-use of historic industrial buildings and urban regeneration, there are no comprehensive studies which assess the role of the historic environment and heritage-led regeneration in place imagery and marketing. The informants acknowledged that image and the creation of 'sense of place' are as integral to the overall success of a re-use scheme as the new use and should not be considered an afterthought. Successful heritage-led regeneration should focus on the image that a new use will bring to an area, and what uses it will subsequently attract and also mean to the local community and people further a field. As noted in Section 8.0 the connotations of re-using a historic urban industrial building to accommodate asylum seekers compared to that of fashionable city living will impact on the nature of the regeneration. The historic industrial building will have a new use and create an image of the area in both instances, but it is the stylish studio apartments that would create the perception of a thriving, vibrant urban scene, thus is the power of image.

There is a clear correlation between the quality and condition of an area's built environment and its economic performance and ability to attract investment. At a city-wide and national level it would seem from the literature and focal data that marketing is now being recognised as a powerful tool to capture some of a city's real or imagined attributes, which are combined in an image of the place.

11.9 Towards understanding heritage value and ‘sense of place’

During this research programme the notion of heritage value, what it means, and to whom, was a recurring theme. ‘Sense of place’ was identified as the key domain, as it organised most of the cultural knowledge imparted by the informants. It also is ‘a way to do’ re-use and heritage-led regeneration. Historic environment professionals are aware of the values of historic places and buildings, but it is important that such practitioners seek to understand why local communities value heritage.

According to current literature and the informants there are a range of values associated with the historic environment, primarily focusing on the value of historical importance, the visual contribution and the value to the local community. As identified in *Power of Place* (2000) people value the historic environment for the quality of life it can afford them; for others it is the place they visit for the inspiration and enjoyment that it offers. This English Heritage publication challenged what historic environment professionals understood conservation and heritage to mean to those who choose to live, work and spend leisure time in historic places.

There has always been an affinity with our built heritage as highlighted in the literature review. Even during the 1960s and '70s there was an appreciation of the historic environment, but this was more related to landmark buildings and sites like Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. *Power of Place* (2000) presented a different perspective on the historic environment and what people think about it. This is reflected in the cultural themes associated with re-use and heritage-led regeneration presented in Section 10.0. The themes portray the range of benefits delivered through the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. They relate to creating a ‘sense of place’ and linking the past to present communities, events and aspects of life.

As recognised by English Heritage (2006) there has been a shift in focus of conservation from historic buildings and monuments to people and the places people value. The focal data affirms this as historic environment professionals recognised this

shift in their practice over the past 10 years. This coincides with significant heritage-led regeneration activities involving the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings in England. The local community is now part of the regeneration process and is engaged early on in the development of the proposals for the area.

The historic environment is defined by English Heritage (2006) as being everywhere and not just confined to specifically designated places. It would appear that people care about the environment, and generally view it as a whole, not as a series of separate buildings and areas. As noted by the informants during Stage 2 of this research programme, historic buildings and places play an increasingly central role in the delivery of a range of public policy objectives including education, economic development, sustainable growth, urban and rural regeneration, social inclusion, and supporting local communities. It is interesting, and perhaps suggests an expansion of the position, that people care for the historic environment and that the historic environment is a resource in which everyone has an interest.

More so than ever it would seem that everyone should be able to contribute to the decision-making processes about the management of the historic environment. This came out of the research during discussions with the informants when exploring the ongoing stages in the regeneration process. Therefore, in order for there to be an understanding of who values a place and why, it is important to recognise the importance of engaging with people. Historic environment professionals should use their knowledge, skills and experience to encourage people to understand, value and care for their heritage. Openness is essential if communities are to be encouraged to participate in what happens to the places they value. It is essential to consider how people can best be reached and this was discussed by informants involved in area based grant schemes. Informants spoke of local communities having consultation fatigue, and recognised that imparting knowledge in a meaningful way is a skilled area of professional practice that should not be underestimated.

In order to value 'sense of place' it is important to assess, understand and describe the significance of a place. Historic environment professionals identified that this focus is important in engaging local communities in the sharing of knowledge when assessing the significance of a place. However, it would seem from current literature that understanding the value of a place is not straightforward. As noted by English Heritage (2006), the significance of a place reflects the cultural and natural heritage values that people associate with it. Although it is possible that there are significant places not recognised as being of value by the local community. Even in the recent past, informants named places that are now considered significant but were previously dismissed by the vast majority of society; some Victorian heritage still suffers in this area.

The protection and conservation of historic buildings and places is now more related to sustaining the heritage value of a place for present and future generations to enjoy. The cultural themes reflect the discourse of re-use and heritage-led regeneration and that all historic environment professionals actively produce 'sense of place'.

Securing a sustainable new use for a historic building is about protecting historic fabric, but also by providing a new use that will bring benefits to the local community. In addition, sustainability of the 'sense of place' involves enhancing the values attached to a place. Managing change to sustain and enhance the historic environment is important if it is to be lived in and enjoyed. It is only through the proper protection of the historic environment and investment in its maintenance, repair and adaptation that the values and benefits of historic buildings and places can continue to be realised. Historic environment professionals are subjected to protect and enhance the historic environment for current and future generations. The need to first understand, and then seek to sustain, and where possible enhance, the values of the historic environment was a common theme when discussing change and the historic environment with the informants. The wider benefits of valuing of the historic environment and the importance of 'sense of place' are the key themes in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings. This includes maximising economic development potential, projecting a positive image, fostering local pride, social inclusion, and the sustainable use of resources. It is critical

that these benefits are given balanced consideration when change is proposed. To sustain what is valuable, the informants were in agreement that it is both necessary and justified to use legal and public policy to regulate the management of places of heritage value.

11.10 Summary

This section has described the context within which the research programme has developed. It has presented the results by considering the implication of the cultural theme 'sense of place' beyond the confines of this research programme.

The results would suggest that heritage-led regeneration is the way forward in revitalising historic industrial towns and cities. Re-used historic urban industrial buildings have achieved dramatic results in sustainable regeneration, economic development, mix of uses, leisure-related investment and a perception of prosperity and vitality. Alexander (1999, 24) summarised the aims of English Heritage in her presentation at the *Regeneration Through Heritage* conference 'Making Heritage Industrial Buildings Work':

The regeneration of Britain's industrial buildings is so important - the significance of these buildings to our world heritage; their role at the heart of communities of character and cohesion; their importance in creating environments that are sustainable and attractive for the long term.

This level of importance and value attached to the future of our industrial heritage is encouraging. The following section will identify and summarise the overall impact of this discussion and research programme.

Section 12.0

Conclusions and recommendations

Time may change me, but I can't trace time.

David Bowie (1990)

This section concludes the themes of this thesis and the key issues it has advanced. It will explain the relation between the work done, previous work discussed in the literature review, and any new work since the research programme began. In order to fulfil these aims this section will also describe that which the research programme has not advanced, noting the limitations of the work. This section will end by suggesting further research that might follow the findings, and the methods and concepts used.

12.1 The aims and objectives of the research programme

The aims and objectives of this research programme were developed to explore the discourses associated with the re-use of urban historic industrial buildings, and to identify and evaluate the cultural themes attached to such re-use schemes. That is, they aimed to explore the extent of similarity between perceptions of historic environment professionals regarding re-use and heritage-led urban regeneration.

The use of the External Assessment Tool (EAT) during Stage 1 in the research provided an opportunity to examine re-used industrial buildings and the real-life context in which these properties have been re-used. Case-study method suited the research objectives and allowed the researcher to use a variety of sources, types of data and research methods as part of the investigation. A 're-used historic urban industrial building' was identified as the case and unit of analysis, and this provided the opportunity to compare findings with previous research. The work of Latham (2000) and Stratton (2000) provide detailed accounts of the issues faced when re-using historic buildings and present an understanding of the potential of industrial buildings from dereliction to sustainable re-use.

The development of the research programme has been sequential with each stage informing the next. The focal data collected using the External Assessment Tool (EAT) whilst applying case-study design is compatible with ethnography and the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS). Ethnography provided Stage 2 data collection with a framework that was well suited to the post-structural paradigm of scientific enquiry.

The DRS presented the researcher with the opportunity to discover meaning and understanding about the culture of historic environment professionals. It provided a means to base results and analysis on observations via fieldwork involving direct contact with relevant people and places. The DRS allowed for the basic assumption that people assign meaning via cultural knowledge and enabled the researcher to explore the relationships that lie beneath the surface of historic environment professionals involved in re-using historic industrial buildings in an urban setting.

12.2 Additional aims and objectives

In addition to the formal aims and objectives of the research programme, the researcher also had personal aims. This was about proving to herself that she could conduct and produce a useful piece of practical research. There were periods when the researcher questioned her research topic. Exploring the culture of conservation-led regeneration was commented on by a few informants as being unusual, and not directly related to protecting the historic environment. The constant need to legitimise the research as an explorative piece of research proved a major obstacle. The completion of this research programme signifies opportunities for other methods of dissemination and for future research to argue that the culture of re-use and regeneration, and the meanings attached to the historic environment are credible and worthy of consideration.

12.3 Practical changes in data collection

As noted previously, the early research proposal was to focus on the social, cultural, economic and environmental issues associated with re-use that relate to past and present re-use schemes. The emphasis of the research methodology and methods on the social sciences helped to re-define the research aims, and narrow the focus of the work to the social and cultural issues connected to re-use, and heritage-led regeneration.

When considering the appropriate social strategy to connect the research methods, it was necessary to confirm the culture that the ethnographic approach was to explore. Initially, the way designers and property owners involved in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings perceive their reality was considered, alongside historic environment professionals. Examining public opinion was also a possible option. As the research programme developed it became apparent that in order to achieve the research aims, an ethnography of all these cultures would not be realistic or feasible. A practical decision to focus on the ideas, beliefs and knowledge that characterise historic environment professionals was made, and this assisted the researcher in anchoring the group of people for her ethnography.

To conclude that the data collection methods used at the beginning of the research programme were entirely successful would be an overstatement. Although the use of case-study method enabled the fulfilment of the research aims, some changes to the methods of data collection were implemented. The practical application of the External Assessment Tool (EAT) during Stage 1 demonstrated a similarity between re-used buildings and current expectations suggested in the literature. Following the piloting of the tool it was adapted to include questions relating to social cohesion, design implications, and regeneration issues. It was also expanded to include the use of rating scales for certain areas of investigation.

In addition, the semi-structured interviews carried out during Stage 2 using the Development Research Sequence (DRS) required modification as the researcher became

more familiar with descriptive, structural and contrast questions. Ethnographic interviews are semi-structured, usually informal, and conversations as opposed to a general data collecting exercise. The collection of interview data was dependant upon the ability to make use of ethnographic questioning. As the researcher grew more confident and experienced with the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS,) the nature of focal data changed; it became more focused. Also, the analysis of focal data, at the same time as data was being collected, proved to be complex at times and on occasions was found testing.

However, the analysis of data during Stage 2 using domain and taxonomic analysis to identify the six domains of 'sense of place' proved to be effective, even if it was costly in terms of time and the 'mundane' (Spradley, 1979). It also emphasised the use of the researcher as a tool, which required a certain amount of adaptation and investment by the researcher. Initially, this had been given limited thought, but it became clear that the semi-structured interviews were producing substantial amounts of useful data, yet dependant upon the methods used by the researcher to make the most from each interaction with the informants.

The researcher could not remain detached, and became a professional stranger (see Section 8.5) who was able to develop her interview skills as the research programme progressed. Therefore, the interviewing process was about change and development. This is an important conclusion, because the objectivity of the method is brought into question. The analysis and interpretation of the focal data belong to the researcher in the objective sense, but to conclude that the interview data is subjective, would be equally wrong. The sequential development of this research, which the semi-structured interviews demonstrate in particular, emphasises the idea that ethnographic interviewing is an investment. The need to invest in a method, in the way that ethnographic research demands, is a conclusion that was not anticipated prior to the research programme. This examination of the culture of historic environment professionals involved in re-use and heritage-led regeneration has influenced the researcher's attitude to her work and the working lives of the informants.

The development of Stage 2 of the research programme was motivated by the identification of the key domain 'sense of place'. It could not have been planned for because it came about as a result of focusing on the cultural knowledge of historic environment professionals and 'the hidden', which became known as the cultural themes (or myths). Thus, based on the exploration of cultural knowledge from a post-structural perspective, this research programme has taken the research and analysis beyond the structural semiotic approach of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS).

The translating of cultural themes, identified from the domain and taxonomic analysis, was an exciting time in the research programme. Applying semiotic and post-structural theory enabled interpretation of data from the culture of the historic environment in a novel and original way. In particular, the significance of cultural knowledge, by reflecting a more challenging interpretation of how historic environment professionals (in an urban setting) made sense of their identity. It signalled a move away from the more established conservation research about understanding building types, fitting new uses into historic properties, and the performance of building materials, towards a more critical appraisal of the culture of re-use, and the role of heritage in driving urban regeneration activities.

Stage 2 marked a period in the research programme that moved into an area of scientific enquiry that could be considered controversial. The use of interpretation can be viewed as being non-scientific, and open to fierce debate. These concerns were addressed by the intensive use of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS), and the level of commitment required by the research methodology and methods. However, the changes that the research programme has gone through and the conclusions that it draws are acknowledged as being just one way of viewing the culture of historic environment professionals in re-use and heritage-led urban regeneration.

12.4 The theoretical perspectives

The research has utilised a number of compatible theoretical perspectives. A brief examination of each perspective to evaluate their usefulness and impact during the research is now given.

12.4.1 Structural theory

One important conclusion, as a result of this work, is the reliance people place on binary thinking (a central position of structural theory) to help ensure a sense of identity, and as a way to reduce the uncertainty of life experiences. In searching for binary distractions in the focal data an example can be summed up in the following comment: historic environment professionals (involved in re-use) represent values, understanding, respect for what exists, and high-quality design and materials for the benefit of present and future generations; developers (involved in re-use) constitute cost, numbers, a modern approach, lack of respect for what exists, and financial profit for the benefit of the business. The development of structural theory during the past 100 years has aimed to provide a scientific approach to understanding language and its structuring effects in a social context. The importance of structural theory for this research programme lies in the significance placed upon language in ethnographic domain and taxonomic analysis.

The use of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) has its foundation in structuralist theory. The DRS provides a rigorous framework which is systematic and logical in its approach to collecting and analysing native language. Without this framework, the researcher would not have been able to conduct such a thorough investigation. However, it is necessary to note that the DRS is not suitable for all case-study designs and qualitative research. This approach does not make excessive claims about what it can achieve. The use of ethnographic hypotheses became an important part of the analytical process by providing a systematic framework for hypothesis generation. Forming a hypothesis, writing it down, and then testing it gave the research a degree of credibility and rigour.

Having confidence in the usefulness of the DRS did not occur until a significant amount of focal data had been collected during Stage 2, and in this way Spradley may be accused of making such an approach appear too easy. The format of 12 logical steps based upon the structural notion that informants think and speak using the contrast principle is not a simple theoretical position. A position which Spradley insists should remain faithful to a structural approach; that is, not to translate utterances into a wider cultural scene. One of the major contributions of this research programme was to go beyond the work of Spradley, and move from structural to post-structural analysis into Denzin's (1997) 'sixth moment'. Spradley's reason for not wishing to translate focal data is to keep true to the ethnographic principle that translation destroys meaning.

This research programme and the translation of themes have not destroyed meaning in that sense, because the use of the DRS allowed for what Spradley would consider the completion of the ethnography. The need to translate was in order to give the research a sense of credibility, practical usefulness and completion. The translations using post-structural analysis are seen as a development of the DRS method.

12.4.2 Post-structural theory

The significance of Barthes relates to his importance within the theoretical paradigm of post-structuralism and post-modernism. Barthes, alongside Foucault, Derrida and Baudrillard, are considered important figures who were dissatisfied with positivism, and its inability to provide explanations about our understanding of knowledge (epistemology). Barthes' high profile in the study of language, literature, culture and the media helped to shift a whole paradigm of thought away from progressive positivist accounts of what is useful in sociological, anthropological and cultural studies. The relevance of Barthes' work for this research programme is his use of semiotics and the application of it to cultural studies. The idea of cultural themes (myth) gives a credible and recognised template to the study of culture. The premise is that because all meaning is situated in language, then culture can be analysed using semiotic principles. The importance of the myth as a theoretical anchor and framework allowed this research to progress from the structural approach of Spradley to the post-structural position of

Barthes. It should therefore be concluded that this transition was made simple due to the epistemological overlap of the two approaches as discussed in the literature review. The application of post-structural perspective in architecture and the built environment *per se* is not new, but appears to be limited and in its infancy in the historic environment.

The limits of Barthes' usefulness were recognised as being more about the difficulty in transferring the theoretical positions of the research into meaningful and applicable knowledge. Barthes gave the researcher a fresh and novel method for exploring cultural phenomena; also identifying the theoretical danger that comes with it. This danger is the nature of theoretical interpretation, and social scientists have to push forward against the positivist parameters of scientific credibility. The identification of other post-structuralist theorists enabled this research to progress in a manner which identifies it as being at the forefront of research into regeneration issues within the culture of the historic environment.

Barthes' idea of cultural themes provided a new means of looking at the culture of the historic environment in a way that is not just about the typical behaviour and role of historic environment professionals. It is about the signs and symbols, the forces acting upon the subjects, and the consumption of various identities which historic environment professionals use to represent their identity and role in the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings.

12.5 Research outcomes

12.5.1 Originality

The researcher recognises that this research programme is not going to change the way most historic environment professionals consider the culture of re-use and heritage-led regeneration. However, it is an incremental step, and can be followed during future research. This research has been original by using a methodological approach to the historic environment that people in the discipline have not used before, and, using

already known material about the success of heritage as a catalyst for better social and economic regeneration, with a new interpretation.

12.5.2 Methodological originality

Complete use of the Development Research Sequence (DRS) was made during Stage 2 of the research programme. The DRS was tested and taken a step further by applying the findings to a post-structural analysis and interpretation. By doing so, it provides an original use of post-structural semiotic theory in research practice. This can be expanded by separating the two issues, first, the use of the structural DRS and second, the development of the interpreted themes using post-structural analysis.

The structural epistemology of the DRS provided a theoretical framework which followed certain principles in order to locate meaning of cultural knowledge. This specific focus could have been easily contaminated by an urge to consider each informant as an individual and explore their experiences (as is perhaps the aim of a phenomenological methodology). The pressure to maintain a consistent drive to search for cultural meaning enabled an original and therefore innovative approach to understanding of culture of the historic urban environment. The use of post-structural theory and analysis to assist with interpreting (translating) the symbols of meaning demonstrates a second original methodological consideration of the research regarding sense of place in conservation-led regeneration.

12.6 Research challenges

This research has, at a theoretical and methodological level, fully implemented the use of structuralist and post-structuralist theory. These include ideas about cultural studies and the historic environment, and approaches to understanding them advocated by Barthes, Foucault, Saussure and Strauss. It should be concluded that these theorists share a common concern and are pioneers in the application of structural and post-structural theory. This research programme has relied upon the work of these eminent

theorists to give breadth to an area of research in the historic environment and which proposes the possibility of further use in the future.

In addition, the use of the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) has helped support the use of semiotics in the historic environment, and the application of post-structural analysis within this topic area. This has supported the view that 'sense of place' dominates re-use and heritage-led urban regeneration. It has also opened up the possibility of applying the issues that relate to 'image' to a culture that does not readily take this into account. It should be concluded, therefore, that the use of structural and post-structural theories have been fully implemented at both a methodological and theoretical level during Stage 1 and Stage 2 of this research.

By raising awareness of the ideologies that impact upon the culture of the historic urban environment and the informants, this work therefore contradicts many of the theoretical assumptions informants hold about the nature of the historic environment, their role and cultural knowledge through post-structural application. This is an area that the research has not sought to explore or resolve; instead it has raised issues through post-structural application.

This research programme has given evidence to suggest that the culture of the historic urban environment can successfully be researched taking into account three distinct structuralist themes. First, that all culture uses language or signs to organise and contrast reality. It enables historic environment professionals to give meaning to their culture. Second, this meaning only occurs in relation to structures. Every sign is given meaning. It is not a naturally occurring event and it only has meaning in relation to other signs. Third, verbal and non-verbal language provides a clear demonstration of these structural properties of meaning as shown in the taxonomies developed using the DRS.

The interpretations made during Stage 2 demonstrate how meaning in the culture of heritage-led urban regeneration is a product of difference between signs and their consumption. This research programme can be seen as bringing to the fore a number of

questions about meaning, representation and authorship, and the relationship between language and knowledge. It should be considered as an introduction to an alternative way of understanding what the culture of heritage-led regeneration means to historic environment professionals.

12.7 The research limitations

Even though all of the objectives of the research programme have been achieved, it does not offer a final theory regarding re-use issues in the historic environment. This thesis does not claim to have answers to why historic environment professionals do what they do, or provide a model to predict their future behaviours. In some ways these can be seen as the limitations of the research.

By identifying these limitations it is hoped that this research can be said to be more conclusive and perhaps lead the way to furthering that which the thesis has contributed. The following are the conclusions drawn by the researcher about the limitations of this research at a methodological and interpretative level:

- The topic of re-use and conservation-led urban regeneration is large and there is no consensus of opinion. This has seemingly not been made any clearer by the outcomes of the research, and it does not remedy any of the continuing debates about the values and significance attached to the historic environment in regeneration activities. It never intended to, but has added an alternative approach to a growing area of research, and this debate will continue. What this research does offer is one interpretation regarding the re-use of historic urban industrial buildings in heritage-led regeneration in defining a starting point for further discussions about the importance of the key domain 'sense of place'.
- Due to the nature of the epistemology and methodology the research programme may appear *disorganised* and, for some, non-scientific. This is disputed, but

nevertheless is a limitation which will make some reserve judgement regarding the usefulness of the research findings.

- The key domain 'sense of place' has no agreed or fixed position within cultural studies. The researcher, through the use of cultural themes, has created principles that some may be reluctant to view as useful. Further research would perhaps be required to look at this.
- The many interpretations put forward in the discussion may be viewed as statements about ill-defined concepts, views about abstract and non-tangible issues which cannot be tested scientifically. This is acknowledged and emphasises the conceptual and interpretative nature of this research.
- The importance of the focal data and its relevance may be a limitation which overstates the properties of the data as meaning something more than they do. As such, this type of interpretation will be viewed as abstracting or stretching the meaning of the non-translated taxonomies too far, therefore denying the sophistication of statistical and other operational analysis. This is a recognised criticism of social science methodologies, but one which is inherent in the research objectives and the theory-generating paradigm of scientific research, to which this research programme firmly belongs.
- Researcher bias is an issue. As the research programme progressed the researcher was drawn to the paradigm of post-structural theory. Such bias has therefore to be considered as the researcher may have overlooked subtle concepts, significant research or other important theory such as phenomenology, which would have created differing interpretations. This is a plausible limitation, but the focal data of this research programme goes more to support the theoretical issues of post-structural theory. The research was therefore data-led, and not theory-led in this respect. Also, the research objectives focus on cultural issues rather than on what people understand from their subjective lived experience.

- Generalisation may be considered a shortcoming in regard to the taxonomic findings, and the interpretations forming the discussion. The generalisation and representation of the findings can be seen to reflect the expected outcomes of the research. However, it is recognised that this research and thesis can only superficially be applied to other settings in the strictest objective sense. It was always envisaged that future work would be able to complement and advance the findings of this work.
- The explanation of this thesis may at times appear confusing. This is due in part to the nature of the difficult theory, and intricate nature of the Development Research Sequence (DRS), particularly the use of ethnographic explanations, questions and hypotheses. Every attempt to produce a thesis with logic, clarity and consistency among all of its components has been made.

12.8 New work since this research began

During the past six years many formerly run-down historic industrial urban areas have experienced heritage-led regeneration activities. Media exposure through television programmes like the 'Restoration' series have raised the profile of the historic environment. This programme publicised the debate on the meaning and values people attach to historic places and buildings they care for.

In 2003 the Government initiated a fundamental reform of the heritage protection system in England. The process is ongoing and is perceived by many historic environment professionals as a rare opportunity to modernise and simplify heritage protection. A holistic view of the historic environment, including archaeology and historic buildings and areas, is a positive characteristic of the reform.

In addition to the heritage protection reform, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) Committee requested evidence on 'The Role of Historic Buildings in Urban Areas' in 2003. The response submitted by the Institute of Historic Building

Conservation (IHBC), the professional institute representing historic environment professionals, evidenced how, in many parts of Britain, historic buildings have been a positive catalyst in achieving structural economic change, attracting higher value investment and jobs, and providing the context for creative, high quality contemporary design in new development.

There have been a series of English Heritage publications relating to heritage-led regeneration and these have been cited in this thesis. The recent English Heritage consultation document *Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* published in February 2006 was the first part of a two-part consultation. The second consultation on *Policy and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* will follow later this year. It will be interesting to note how far they will go towards providing clear, practical and robust advice for the sustainable management of the historic environment.

Annually since 2002 Landor Conferences has organised a one day forum on 'Putting Old Buildings to Productive New uses' in the context of greater public awareness. These conferences debate how to sustain and enhance public interest in old buildings, identify viable new uses, lead a successful re-use scheme and put heritage buildings at the heart of area masterplanning.

Most recently has been the publication of *Heritage Works: The use of Heritage Buildings in Regeneration* a joint collaboration between the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS), the British Property Federation (BPF) and English Heritage. This publication provides evidence from across the country demonstrating that 'Heritage Works' and is a valuable asset that has an important role to play as a catalyst for regeneration.

The focus of this current research programme on re-use and heritage-led regeneration can therefore be considered appropriate and relevant to the issues faced by historic environment professionals today.

12.9 Further research

This research programme is complete up to this point; however it should not mean that these conclusions are the end. A plausible Stage 3 would have the aim of subjecting the weaker areas of this work to further analysis and research. There are a number of issues which the researcher believes could be expanded by further exploration.

By way of conclusion, further analysis would be required of some of the interpretive points, in particular, describing the broader aspects (perhaps at policy level) regarding the nature of 'sense of place' for historic environment professionals, and at a more defined level, understanding the values of place and the perception of significance.

The English Heritage consultation document mentioned previously places emphasis on the understanding of values and significance of place. The principle 'Understanding the value of place is vital' presents a framework to articulate the significance of place and considers the values ascribed by people to places. This research programme is therefore timely in its exploration of the meanings attached to re-use and heritage-led regeneration by historic environment professionals.

The application of Spradley's (1979) ethnographic methodology is based on a close understanding of the original text and a detailed application to the research data. This effectively forms the core of the thesis and demonstrates the application of a methodology, in particular the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS), to a specific field – historic urban industrial conservation and regeneration. The value of this particular methodology for further research lies in the increasing emphasis being placed on the value and potential of conserving the historic environment as a whole, which could assist in the management of the historic environment and a greater understanding for those responsible for developing new policy. This methodology has shown that conservation and the historic environment is as much about the values that people associate with a place as it is about the historic fabric.

In order to understand the present implications of re-use and heritage-led regeneration for historic environment professionals, it would be feasible and acceptable to consider the wider issues that relate to society and the role of historic environment professionals in the culture of conservation. This approach largely reflects the overall path of the research programme. Stage 1 focused on the context within which historic industrial buildings had been re-used. The concern of Stage 2 was the mundane and everyday expressions and experiences of the informants. A more focused analysis may help clarify that the identity of a historic environment professional is not so universal, or reflects a duty of this age, but rather, a complex mass of interweaving and contradictory concerns and values. It is not only historic environment professionals, but the cultural values of designers, developers, owners and local communities to re-use and heritage-led regeneration.

To conclude that further analysis is needed may be considered a failure of the research programme, yet the limitations of the research approach have been acknowledged. However, it should be recognised that Stage 1 and Stage 2 of this work can be said to have met the research objectives and a self-contained research programme has been achieved. Future work is needed in the area of re-use and cultural studies in the historic environment *per se*, but in particular the research that would have the most impact is likely be that which has a direct impact on practice.

12.10 Future work suggested as a result of this research

This final part of this section is the recommendations for future research. There are a number of developments which could be taken forward from the results and conclusions of this research programme. The application of the same study in the culture of designers and developers involved in bringing historic buildings back to use for comparison would be a plausible and practical proposal. A similar comparison could be with property owners of such buildings and the public. Yet this seemingly simple cross pollination of methodology would bring with it certain assumptions and issues of feasibility difficulties of its own. These may include the lack of informants of the

different cultures, with sufficient breadth of experience in re-use and regeneration activities. Also, the usefulness of such research may be questionable as there would be a need to substantiate why such comparisons would progress the understanding of historic environment cultural studies. Similarly, the use of additional urban case studies to search for a deeper understanding of the surface themes presented in this thesis would benefit from future research. Equally, an exploration of the issues associated with the re-use of historic industrial buildings in a rural context. For example, the regeneration success of Salts Mill, Saltaire, West Yorkshire would prove an interesting case study. The revitalisation of this site has involved a combination of initiatives during the past 20 years that have also helped the surrounding village.

The real possibility of future research would need to focus on the issue of image and place marketing. A possible initial research question for such a study could be 'Why does the issue of image appear so neglected in historic environment cultural studies?'

This research, and future work related to it, seems to find itself on the edge of something new for the historic environment and cultural studies generally. A paradigm of enquiry into the nature of image and the historic environment is an important consideration in itself.

Future research would need to continue the structuralist and post-structuralist critiques to which the concepts in this research have been subjected. It should continue to focus on discourse analysis and the understanding of image, rather than focusing solely on the subject. A more detailed understanding at a theoretical level of what image encompasses would be the aim, and a semiotic approach would help forward this. The connotations of historic environment professionals could help our thinking about place-imagery, and at a practical level could be transferable in a research (data collection) sense to re-use and heritage-led regeneration practice and procedures *per se*. In summary, future research could be usefully guided by this work.

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Appendix A
External Assessment Tool (EAT)

BUILDING STUDY

Date of visit:

Previous use of building:

New use of building:

Location:

.....**Postcode:**

Date(s) of building:

Date(s) of conversion/adaptation:

Listed/scheduled status and grade:

Conservation area status:

Local conservation officer name(s) and details:

.....

Classification of location (ACORN type):

Notes:

.....

.....

A. SOCIAL

A1.0 SOCIAL COHESION

For official
use only

A1.1 Is there a residential population in the area/adjacent streets? Yes No

A1.2 If yes, how would you describe the residential population?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1
A few of the properties are
residential.

2
The number of residential
properties is approximately the
same as the number of non-
residential properties.

3
Most of the properties are
residential.

A1.3 Does the new use provide facilities for the local community i.e. job club,
mother and toddler group, old age group etc. Yes No

A1.4 Is the new use for the public i.e. shops, library, museum etc.? Yes No

A1.5 Is there somewhere to sit outside the building? Yes No

A1.6 If yes, how would you rate the seating provided?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1
A bench.

2
A number of benches.

3
A number of benches and/or picnic
tables within a
designated/landscaped area.

A2.0 RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

A2.1 Does the new use include a public café/bar/restaurant? Yes No

A2.2 If yes, how would you describe the opening hours of the
café/bar/restaurant?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1
Open for limited hours during the
day.

2
Open all day not including
evenings.

3
Open all day including evenings.

A2.3 Does the new use include leisure facilities for the public? Yes No

A2.4 If yes, how would you describe the opening hours of the leisure facilities?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1
Open for limited hours during the
day.

2
Open all day not including
evenings.

3
Open all day including evenings.

B. ECONOMIC

B1.0 BUILDING

For official use only

B1.1 Has the building been extended to meet the needs of the new use? Yes No

B1.2 If yes, how would you describe the accommodation provided by the extension(s)?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1
A minor extension to the existing building.

2
The new building provides approximately the same amount of accommodation as the existing building.

3
The new building provides a greater amount of accommodation than the existing building.

B2.0 NEW USE

B2.1 Are people employed as a result of the new use? Yes No

B2.2 Can more than one use be identified from outside the building? Yes No

B2.3 If yes, how can more than one use be identified from outside the building? Describe:

B3.0 REGENERATION OF AREA

B3.1 Is there a mixture of uses in the area/adjacent streets? Yes No

B3.2 If yes, list uses:

B3.3 Does there appear to be good transport links to and from the area i.e. bus stops, a railway station? Yes No

B3.4 Are there parking facilities in the area/adjacent streets? Yes No

B3.5 If yes, how would you rate the available parking?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3

1
Poor

2
Adequate

3
Good

B3.6 Has the re-use of the building/site provided parking facilities? Yes No

B3.7 If yes, how would you rate the parking provided?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3

1
Poor

2
Adequate

3
Good

B3.8 Are there any empty/derelict buildings in the area/adjacent streets? Yes No

B3.9 If yes, how would you describe the number of derelict buildings in the area/adjacent streets?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1	2	3	
A few of the buildings are empty.	The number of buildings empty is approximately the same as the number of buildings occupied.	Most of the buildings are empty.	<input type="checkbox"/>

B3.10 Is there evidence of vandalism? Yes No

B3.11 If yes, how would you describe the vandalism?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1	2	3	
There is some graffiti.	There is graffiti and some windows of adjacent properties are broken.	There is graffiti and some windows of adjacent properties are broken. Bus stops/telephone boxes have been vandalised.	<input type="checkbox"/>

C. ENVIRONMENTAL

C1.0 SUSTAINABILITY

C1.1 Are there large areas of glazing on the south elevation? Yes No

C1.2 Is the amount of glazing on the north elevation minimal? Yes No

C2.0 ENVIRONMENT

C2.1 Has the re-use helped improve the physical appearance of the immediate area? Yes No

C2.2 If yes, in what way has the re-use helped improve the physical appearance of the immediate area?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3

1	2	3	
The area adjacent to the building appears well maintained.	The area adjacent to the building appears well maintained and there is some new street furniture i.e. street lighting.	The area adjacent to the building appears well maintained. The surrounding streets have been improved with new surfaces, street furniture and/or planting.	<input type="checkbox"/>

C2.3 Is there soft landscaping i.e. trees, plants, raised beds etc.? Yes No

C2.4 If yes, how would you rate the amount soft landscaping?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1	2	3	
A few plants.	Some trees and shrubs.	A landscaped area with trees, shrubs and some raised beds.	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. CULTURAL

D1.0 BUILDING

For official
use only

D1.1 Is the building prominent in the area? Yes No

D1.2 If yes, how would you describe the building?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1 A prominent mid/corner terrace property.	2 A prominent detached property.	3 A prominent property that is part of a group of associated buildings.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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D1.3 Is the building part of a larger urban regeneration scheme? Yes No

D1.4 Are adjacent buildings of similar age/type? Yes No

D1.5 If yes, how would you describe the number of buildings of similar
age/type in the area?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1 A few of the adjacent buildings are of similar age/type.	2 The number of adjacent buildings of similar age/type is the same as the number of more recent buildings.	3 Most of the adjacent buildings are of similar age/type.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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D2.0 ENVIRONMENT

D2.1 Does the re-use give the area a new identity? Yes No

D2.2 If yes, in what way does the re-use give the area a new identity?
Describe:

D3.0 EDUCATION

D3.1 Is information on the building/previous use available? Yes No

D3.2 If yes, how would you rate the information on the building/previous use?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3.

1 Poor	2 Adequate	3 Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
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D3.3 Is information on the area available? Yes No

D3.4 If yes, how would you rate the information on the area?
Please circle 1, 2 or 3

1 Poor	2 Adequate	3 Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
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- D3.5 Has the previous use been used to market/promote the new use? Yes No
- D3.6 If yes, in what way has the previous use been used to market/promote the new use? Describe:

E. ADDITIONAL NOTES

Appendix B

Buildings visited during Stage 1 of the research programme

LOCATION		BUILDING	AGE
Birmingham	1.	Museum of the Jewellery Quarter 75 -79 Vyse Street, Hockley	1899
	2.	Jewellery Business Centre 5 Spencer Street, Hockley	1850s
	3.	The Argent Centre Frederick Street, Hockley	1863
	4.	Custard Factory Gibbs Street, Digbeth	1920
Bradford	5.	Little Germany Merchant's House, Bradford Design Exchange West Yorkshire	1855-75
Gloucester	6.	Herbert, Kimberley and Phillip Warehouses Gloucester Docks	1846
	7.	Britannia Warehouse Gloucester Docks	1861
Leeds	8.	Marshalls Mill Marshalls Street	1830
Liverpool	9.	Albert Dock Liverpool Docks	1846-8
London	10.	West India Quay London Docklands	1802-3
	11.	Michelin Building Fulham Road	1909-11
Manchester	12.	11. Great Northern Railway Company Goods Warehouse	1880s
	13.	Museum of Science and Industry Lower Byron Street	1881
	14.	National Electricity Gallery	1830
Sheffield	15.	Aizlewood Mills Nursery Street	1880s
	16.	Forum House Spital Street	1890s
Stoke on Trent	17.	Gladstone Pottery Museum Longton	1850s
Stroud	18.	Stroud District Council Council Offices, Ebley Mill	1819
	19.	The Mill Bath Road Industrial Estate	1880s
Swindon	20.	Great Western Railway Engineering Works Building 4, Building 42, Museum Churchward	1840s

Appendix C

Training and publications

Research training

The following training events have been participating in during the research programme.

De Montfort University Research Training Programme	Completed Date
Course Title	
Writing Skills	18.06.2001
Presenting Your Research to an Audience	18.06.2001
Finishing Your Thesis and Preparing for the Viva	16.03.2005

Conferences and seminars

The following conferences and seminars have been participating in during the research programme and indicate dissemination interim findings to peer groups.

	Date
The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) Foundation Construction and Building Research Conference	05-06.09.02
The Third Annual 'Putting Old Buildings to Productive New Uses' Conference	27.02.04
English Heritage workshop on the Heritage Protection Reform	27.10.05
Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) Branch and Council meetings	Quarterly since 05.12.02

Publications

The following publications have been produced during the research programme, and reflect dissemination of interim findings to peer groups.

HOLYOAKE, K. and WATT, D. (2002) 'The Sustainable Re-use of Historic Urban Industrial Buildings: Interim Results and Discussion'. In: MORLEDGE, R. (Ed.) *COBRA 2002: Proceedings of the RICS Foundation Construction and Building*

Research Conference. RICS Foundation in association with Nottingham Trent University, London.

HOLYOAKE, K. (2003) 'THI to Restore Historic Centre'. *New Urban Futures*. Issue 9.

HOLYOAKE, K. (2006) 'English Heritage Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment', *Context*, No 94, in press.

Book review: *Urban Regeneration in Europe* edited by Chris Couch, Charles Fraser and Susan Percy, Blackwell Science Ltd, 2003, in: *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, Vol 10, No 2, pp. 89-90