



ATTRACTING VISITORS TO ANCIENT NEIGHBOURHOODS

CREATION AND MANAGEMENT
OF THE TOURIST-HISTORIC CITY OF
PLYMOUTH, UK

DANIEL BARRERA-FERNANDEZ



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> | TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 7
Acknowledgements 11

INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY 12

THE HISTORIC CITY IN EUROPE. HERITAGE VALUES AND RECENT TRENDS IN ITS TOURIST USE 18

APPROACH TO THE CITY OF PLYMOUTH 31

The close relationship of Plymouth and the sea. A city of navigators and
emigrants 32
The importance of the military forces in Plymouth's history and urban
shape 34
Local government and socio-economic approach 37
Urban history: from the Three Towns to the Plan for Plymouth 39
Presentation of the study area 42

5

PROTECTION OF URBAN HERITAGE IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY 46

EVOLUTION OF THE INTEREST IN HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY 46

First conservation movements before the outbreak of the Second World
War 46
The Second World War. Consequences on built heritage 52
The limited heritage appraisal in the Plan for Plymouth 54
Implementation of the Plan for Plymouth: substitution of the prewar
urban core and creation of a new heritage 63
Interventions on three significant buildings damaged by the Second
World War: St Andrew's Church, the Guildhall and Charles Church 73
The achievements of the Plymouth Barbican Trust in reversing heritage
destruction on the Barbican 77
Inner city regeneration focusing on the value of heritage as an economic
resource 81
The new leading role of communities, restoration and mixing uses 87

CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF HERITAGE PROTECTION IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY 99

Conservation areas, listed buildings and registers for different purposes.
The role of English Heritage and the City Council 99
Analysis of the character, assets with statutory protection and
buildings at risk in each conservation area already designated or
proposed 102
General conclusions regarding listing and heritage at risk, and
comparison with other cities 113

- Evolution of listing criteria in Plymouth, focusing on the case of the Barbican 116
- The debate of designating a conservation area in the City Centre 120

TOURISM IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY 123

HISTORY OF THE TOURIST SECTOR IN PLYMOUTH 123

- The tourist model before the Second World War 123
- Consequences of the war on tourist attractions and facilities and postwar recovery 128
- Crisis of the tourist model and search for new markets 132
- The achievements of the Plymouth Marketing Bureau in promotion and creation of new attractions 135
- Changes in management organisations and focus on new visitors profiles 137
- Evolution of tourist referents in historic guidebooks 148

PRESENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF TOURISM-RELATED ACTIVITIES IN PLYMOUTH 164

- Approach to the tourist model of the city 164
- Visitors characteristics and economic impact 173
- Internal and external accessibility 177
- Main tourist resources and services 184

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES INVOLVED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TOURIST-HISTORIC CITY 200

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON CULTURE AND HERITAGE 203

- Main actors involved in culture and heritage-related initiatives 302
- Significant initiatives focused on culture and heritage 206

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON TOURISM 217

- Main actors involved in tourism promotion and management 217
- Significant initiatives focused on tourism 219

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON URBAN PLANNING 224

- Main actors involved in urban planning 224
- Significant initiatives focused on urban planning 226

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 245

- Main actors involved in initiatives related to economic development 245
- Significant initiatives focused on economic development 249

CONCLUSIONS 261

REFERENCES 267

It is very generous of the author, Dr Barrera-Fernandez, to invite me to contribute an introduction to this book which has evolved from the work for his doctoral thesis at the University of Malaga. As someone who has lived in the city of Plymouth for some years, and has also been involved in the development of the sociology and anthropology of tourism, I have been aware of the ways in which the city has changed and is continuing to change in relation to the development of urban cultural tourism. My initial training as an anthropologist also taught me the value of the outsider view, and this book provides such a perspective, as sometimes the insiders cannot see the wider picture. However it is also the case that sometimes the insiders can see the detail that the outsider cannot. Dr Barrera-Fernandez successfully negotiates these two perspectives to produce a detailed portrait of a city on the brink of change.

All cities are of course unique, even if they share generic characteristics, and Plymouth's unique qualities stem from its geographic location and the role that the city played in the development of the British Empire and maritime exploration. Set on the south west coast with a large natural harbour, Plymouth offered both a haven from, and access to, both the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean. It was here that Francis Drake awaited news of the Spanish Armada: an incident that has been mythologised as a key moment in British History, and it was from here that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed to what is now the USA, an episode that also became mythologised as the founding moment of that nation.

Unlike other port cities in the UK such as (among others) Bristol, Liverpool and Southampton, Plymouth is a city that was built around, and for, the Royal Navy, not maritime trade, and was once the largest naval base in Europe. As someone whose idea of leisure is to explore the surrounding countryside of my city on foot, I am constantly reminded of the military history of the place. Paths lead past old fortifications, gun emplacements, and the military camps that once ringed the city, some dating back centuries, others to the conflicts of the 20th century, sometimes buried under tangles of vegetation in seemingly unlikely places, some now only indicated by the surviving boundary stones that mark the land as MoD (Ministry of Defence) property.

The military is still here, although much reduced in numbers. There are still barracks in the city itself, one for the Royal Artillery in the imposing Citadel

that rises above Plymouth Sound, and one in Stonehouse for the Marines. The Royal Navy dockyards still function as such, though much reduced in size from its heyday, and some dockyard land is now being released from MoD ownership and will be utilised for future development.

Plymouth's links to the military defined its development in many ways, not least as a result of the extensive bomb damage the city experienced during WW2. As a significant naval base Plymouth was of course an obvious target, and in common with many other places, the civilian population as much as any military installations were targeted. The result left much of the city centre in ruins, but it was the response to this destruction which had a profound effect on the appearance of the city, which still resonates today, and is fully explored later in his volume. In essence the rebuilding swept away the pre-war city centre, and replaced in with new buildings around two axes: one running north south, the other east – west.

It is not my intention to attempt a full explanation of the consequences of such developments, which are fully dealt with throughout this volume. For now it is sufficient to say that the city centre is characterised by post-war architecture of mixed quality, some very good, some less so, with an enclave of older properties which includes some buildings and a street layout dating from medieval times centred around the old harbour, known as The Barbican. It is this enclave, along with Plymouth Hoe, that comprises the main tourist area of the city.

As a city that is based on the military industrial needs of servicing an empire and protecting shipping lanes, the processes of deindustrialisation that had such a profound effect on all the developed economies in the latter part of the 20th century, were not as badly felt in Plymouth, at least to start with. Other cities began to diversify by commodifying their post-industrial assets as reinvented spaces of tourism and leisure, such as the Albert Dock in Liverpool (among many others). It was however the wider global political context that finally propelled Plymouth into the post-industrial age: the end of the Cold War. The naval dockyards – the mainstay of the local economy – contracted significantly throughout the 1990s as both the UK surface fleet and the army were cut back and reduced in response to a lessening of global political tensions, the city was then confronted with the need to diversify its economy.

Those who have lived in the city longer than I have often refer – with a palpable sense of exasperation – to the apparent complacency and inertia of local politics, and the length of time it has taken for urban projects to get from the drawing board to actual realisation, if they make it all. That I think was a fair assessment of the situation during the 1990s and early years of the 21st century, but the more recent period, and that covered in this book,

actually shows a significant change in attitudes both towards the urban environment of the city, and also the use of tourism and culture as a means to both enhance the city and attract tourists.

Although set in the south west of Britain, a region that attracts a large volume of tourists, the city has underperformed in relation to the rest of the region when it comes to visitor numbers and spend. The reasons for this are complex, and beyond the remit of this brief introduction, but are more fully spelt out in the latter chapters of this volume. Poor (and past) urban management has to be a factor, along perhaps with the actual city centre itself: perhaps still too modern for an age dominated by a common view that heritage is (by definition) that which is non-modern. While a heritage cityscape is an obvious attraction for the tourist market, the public perception that heritage cannot be anything 20th century is very deep rooted. Of course this may change as buildings of the post-war era are reassessed and revalued, and Plymouth is certainly not the only city that faces this problem.

The use of culture as means to attract tourists as well as enhancing city living is not a new concept, but one which has, in recent years, almost become the new urban orthodoxy, and Plymouth is no exception. Having lagged behind as it were for some years, the city is rapidly catching up. The city now stages many public events throughout the year while also seeking to encourage the creative industries. One of the key factors here has been the development of a number of public private partnerships, and a more active role by the city council and other key players such as the university. Such initiatives, detailed in the following chapters below, have introduced a new dynamic to city management that has freed itself from the political inertia of the past.

Of course as with many plans and proposals, some will come to fruition and others not, large infrastructural projects require investment that cannot be sourced within the city itself; EU structural funds are not so readily available as they once were, and while some central government funding is available, the current national regime of fiscal austerity makes the task that bit harder and restricts the actions of the local council. On the other hand, the council does have powers to control the nature and scale of developments (to some extent) to protect and enhance the heritage of the city, and actively encourages the development of culture (in the widest sense of the term) while at the same time having to respond to wider circumstances and challenges.

As with all analyses, behind the detail there are wider conceptual issues. This book addresses problems that are facing many urban areas: how to best manage and conserve the urban fabric while at the same time recognising

that urban areas are dynamic systems, not static entities, and as such, are ever changing and evolving in response to new circumstances. The original socio-political regime that saw the development of the city – the need to project maritime power – has long passed, but the city is now seeking to locate itself within a new global context, but one of culture, not empire.

Kevin Meethan
Plymouth 2016

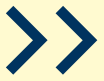
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INTRODUCTION RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

In recent years, many cities have decided to develop urban and cultural tourism as a means to activate their economy and regenerate their historical areas in a context of physical decay and loss of activities.

In European cities, the introduction of new tourist uses commonly occurs in the urban areas that have been recognized for their heritage value: the historic city. These areas reflect the evolution of cities from their origin to the present day and their model for the future. Historic cities normally concentrate most of the heritage assets and they usually have a well-defined character, distinct from recent extensions. European countries have similar patterns in the protection and management of historic cities, although some differences in planning and management can be observed. In this research the particularities of the British model have been studied.

The historic areas of some European cities have attracted a significant number of tourists for centuries. Well-known examples include Bath, Heidelberg and Florence, which are today consolidated heritage tourism destinations. In these cities, tourism is often the dominant activity and heritage conservation has become a priority, being many of them included in the list of World Heritage. This phenomenon has been studied by several researchers.

On the other hand, a number of cities where tourism was a secondary sector have chosen to turn it into a major economic activity in recent years. These cities present a competitive disadvantage compared to the earlier, with a less recognized heritage and lack of major cultural attractions. In many cases, extensive industrial and port areas have remained vacant due to the

economic changes brought by globalization. These cities were not prepared to attract large numbers of visitors and they are undergoing a rapid transformation process, especially complex in the historic city because it is where most of the attractions, secondary activities and visitors are concentrated in a fragile environment. This research focuses on the explained phenomenon, the goal is to analyze the tourist use of the historic city and how this process affects to urban heritage.

The first objective is to analyze the specific framework of heritage preservation and management in the United Kingdom. One city has been taken as case study, in it the first objective is to study how the heritage framework has evolved and which is the current framework in relation to legislation and the role of administrations involved. The next objective is to study the historic evolution of urban tourism and the current relevance of tourism-related activities. After that, there is a need to study how different stakeholders and initiatives affect the tourist use of the historic city, dividing them into four aspects: heritage and culture, tourism, urban planning and economy.

The research questions are the following:

1. How has heritage protection and management of the historic city evolved in the city?
2. What is the current framework for the preservation of the historic city as a heritage asset?
3. How has the city's tourist model evolved, especially in relation to the use of heritage assets?
4. What is the presence and importance of tourism activities today? What is the role of heritage in the city's tourism model?
5. What are the actors and initiatives intervening in the tourist use of the historic city in relation to culture and heritage, tourism, urban planning and economic development?

The research has been focused on Plymouth, UK. In this country, visits to cities are growing at a higher rate than to other destinations¹. More than half of the tourists coming to the UK have history and culture as their main motivation and most of the visitors to English historic places visit historic cities.²

1 VisitScotland, VisitWales, VisitEngland. The GB day visitor. Statistics 2012. VisitScotland, VisitWales, VisitEngland; 2013. It can be found at: Day Visits (Great Britain Day Visits Survey) [Internet]. London: VisitBritain; [cited 2014 Sep 15]. Available from: <http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/major-tourism-surveys/dayvisitors/>

2 Culture and heritage. Topic profile. VisitBritain; 2010. It can be found at: Culture and heritage [Internet]. London: VisitBritain; [cited 2014 Sep 15]. Available from: <http://www.visitbritain.org/insightsandstatistics/topics/cultureheritage/>

Plymouth is a medium size, multifunctional city with regional relevance, peripheral in relation to the metropolis. It is located in the most visited region of the country by nationals and one of the most visited by foreign tourists³.

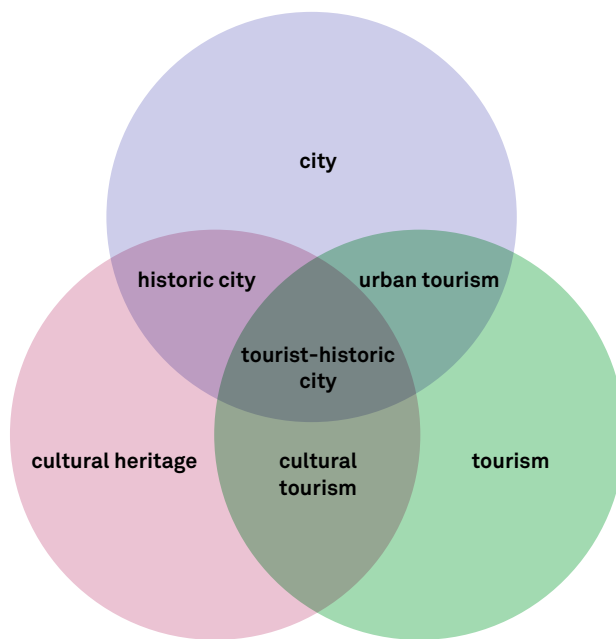
The city has its own tradition in receiving visitors. Although it is not a major traditional heritage or cultural destination, it has made an effort to attract a greater number of cultural and urban tourists, offering a complementary product in its region. Tourism is seen as a solution to the loss of urban activities and jobs. Tourism development is rooted in its rich heritage and the creation or upgrading of other attractions. The city has linked tourism development with the development of a new image of an open and cosmopolitan city. In addition, it follows the trend of celebrating big events to attract tourists and to transmit its aspirations. Furthermore, it is in process of adapting the port area to accommodate tourism, shopping and leisure activities. Finally, the city has supported the development of creative activities, trying to concentrate them on specialized neighbourhoods.

The general work plan is based on Brito's approach⁴ to the concept of the tourist-historic city⁵. It consists of analysis of the historic city as a heritage asset, study of the urban cultural tourism phenomenon and work on the definition and management of the tourist-historic city. It is divided in the following steps: firstly, the evolution and current framework of heritage preservation are presented, focusing on heritage regulations, urban plans including heritage-related policies, statutory lists and local management tools. Secondly, the history of tourism and current model are analyzed through a selection of historic and current guidebooks, information presented to visitors, tourism strategies, urban plans including tourism-related policies and fieldwork to reflect the physical distribution of tourist attractions and services. Thirdly, actors and initiatives intervening in the tourist use of the historic city are studied, in relation to culture and heritage, tourism and urban planning. In the study of actors and initiatives involved in the encouragement of tourist use of the historic city, our contribution has been the introduction of the economic dimension to the main policies considered by Brito, since it is necessary to ensure the sustainability of the model and it is closely related to other policies.

3 South West Observatory. Tourism (Culture, state of the South West 2011). [Internet]. Taunton: South West Observatory; [cited 2014 Sep 15]. Available from: <http://www.swo.org.uk/state-of-the-south-west-2011/culture/tourism/#.UjWUt8YaiDo>

4 Brito M. Ciudades históricas como destinos patrimoniales. Una mirada comparada: España y Brasil. Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura; 2009.

5 Ashworth GJ, Tunbridge JE. The tourist-historic city. Retrospect and the Prospect of Managing the Heritage City. Oxford: Pergamon; 2000.



Creation of a tourist-historic city. Source: the author, based on: Brito M. Ciudades historicas como destinos patrimoniales. Una mirada comparada: Espana y Brasil. Seville: Junta de Andalucia, Consejeria de Cultura; 2009. p. 65.

The analysis of the British model has been made through the conceptualisation of heritage, legal framework, weight of the public, private and third sectors, distribution of duties among public agencies, funding and listing process.

In the case study the process begins with an analysis of the evolution of heritage preservation and management since late 19th century until the first decade of 21st century through a qualitative research based on documents from public archives, urban plans, administrative documents and selected authors. The current framework is studied taking into account the designation of protected historic sectors, national and local listing, heritage at risk, evolution of listing criteria and comparison with other cities from the region.

The study area includes neighbourhoods where there has been an act of official recognition of their heritage value, either by being included in national protection figures, because their inclusion is under debate or because they have been subject to local plans including heritage preservation policies. When it has been necessary, elements outside the selected area but having an impact inside have been treated.

The evolution of urban tourism is based on documents from public archives, urban plans, administrative documents and selected authors. There is a

specific section for the evolution of references appearing in guidebooks from 1820 to 1990, following the methodology of Marine-Roig⁶ and Galí Espelt⁷. References have been given a specific value and grouped in thematic categories that reflect the evolution on the interest to visit the city. The study of historic tourist guidebooks has served to analyze the evolution of the most relevant aspects presented to visitors and to compare them with the currently promoted, with special reference to the heritage assets that have attracted tourists in the past and today.

The impact of tourism-related activities is based on the definition of the tourist system made by De la Calle Vaquero⁸. Data has been collected from fieldwork, leaflets, webpages, routes, current guidebooks, direction signs, panels and plaques. References have been given a specific value and grouped in categories. Information has been processed using a virtual cartography tool, following the methodology of Salerno, Casonato and Villa⁹ and Olukole and Balogun.¹⁰

The working process has been divided in preparatory phase, capture of information, transfer of information, presentation and extraction of conclusions. In the phase of capture of information a tour across the streets and public spaces was done, writing down every element's location, name and references. Activities carried out in protected buildings and spaces were distinguished. In this case, four categories were created and each of the elements was registered as an entry. Capture and transfer of information process have been systematized and entries have always the same structure. Tags are used as a descriptor of entries from different categories. Entries work like files and follow this structure:

- Name of the element.
- Category. It is the basic classification.
- Tag. It is useful to create subgroups and to distinguish common features of elements belonging to different categories.
- Photography of the element.
- Small description.
- Conservation area. If the plot is located in a conservation area.

6 Marine-Roig E. The image and identity of the Catalan coast as a tourist destination in twentieth-century tourist guidebooks. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*. 2011; 9 (2): 118-139.

7 Galí Espelt N. La imatge turística del patrimoni monumental de Girona. Girona: Universitat de Girona; 2005. / Galí Espelt N, Donaire Benito JA. The social construction of the image of Girona: a methodological approach. *Tourism Management*. 2005; 26: 777-785.

8 De la Calle Vaquero M. La ciudad histórica como destino turístico. Barcelona: Ariel; 2006.

9 Salerno R, Casonato C, Villa D. Sharing heritage: the urban ecomuseum in Milan experiences of participation and new information technologies. Paper presented at the IX International Forum Le Vie dei Mercanti. S.A.V.E. Heritage. Aversa, Capri, 2011 June 9-11.

10 Olukole TO, Balogun E. Geographical information systems database of cultural heritage resources of Osogbo and their tourism potential. Paper presented at the IX International Forum Le Vie dei Mercanti. S.A.V.E. Heritage. Aversa, Capri, 2011 June 9-11.

- Architectural protection. It specifies the typology and the architectural degree of protection (if there is any), according to the National Heritage List for England or local lists.
- Other comments. Particular features related to the conservation, author, etc.

In the phase of presentation of information thirteen intensity maps were produced depending on the different elements and conclusions.

The study of stakeholders and initiatives on policies affecting management of tourist use in the historic city is based on fieldwork and qualitative analysis of plans and projects from the public administration, public-private agencies, private companies and third sector organisations. They include policies applied or having a direct influence on the management of the tourist-historic city between 2010 and 2014.

As a whole, the following resources have been used in this research: bibliographic sources from experts in the research field, sources from administrations involved, international agreements in heritage and tourism, current and historic legislation, statistical data, current and historic local urban planning, minutes, current and historic cartography, current and historic orthophotos, current and historic photographs, fieldwork, interviews with actors involved and current and historic press articles.



THE HISTORIC CITY IN EUROPE

HERITAGE VALUES AND RECENT TRENDS IN ITS TOURIST USE

18

Two of the main values traditionally recognised in old neighbourhoods are linked to aesthetics and historicity¹¹. The aesthetic value is related to taste and at certain times it has gained strength in reaction to unattractive new urban environments, this trend may result in some cases in museification of the historic city. The value of historicity is related to the evocation of a period or important event for today's society and can turn into nostalgia. In addition, old districts are given a value of psychological stability as a link between the past, present and future.

Historic districts also have a value as places where collective identity and memory reside¹². This is related to the value of frequent use and testimony of a community's culture. In this case, conflicts arise when there are social groups that do not feel represented.

Since the 1970s, it is recognised that historic urban areas are useful for enhancing people's contemporary life¹³. Furthermore, historic urban fabric has been widely used since the 1990s to achieve urban regeneration and as an economic resource¹⁴. It is recognized today that urban heritage contributes to make a more sustainable city.¹⁵

Historic urban areas were first taken into account in their role as a framework for monuments and because of the historic relationships established

11 Ashworth GJ, Tunbridge JE. Op cit. p. 10.

12 Choay F. Alegoría del patrimonio. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili; 2007.

13 Aguirre Arias B. Del concepto de bien histórico-artístico al de patrimonio cultural. Revista Electrónica DU&P. Diseño Urbano y Paisaje (Santiago de Chile). 2007; 4 (11): 1-34. p. 28.

14 García Hernández M. Turismo y conjuntos monumentales. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch; 2003. p. 41.

15 The Charter of Krakow 2000. Principles for conservation and restoration of built heritage.

with them. This idea changed after the contributions of Gregotti and the Franceschini Commission, who considered that historic areas are cultural assets on their own, since they are a testimony of a living urban culture.¹⁶

Due to the extensive loss of heritage and urban population around the 60s, linking heritage conservation and urban regeneration became a priority. Integral conservation approaches extended this consideration by linking heritage protection with community engagement.¹⁷

Subsequently, the Charter of Krakow of 2000 emphasised the territorial dimension of the historic city and its changing nature, which required developing new mechanisms of adaptative management. One of the latest innovations has been the introduction of the concept of historic urban landscape by the Vienna Memorandum of 2005. It considers spaces and elements in many cases lacking a specific interest but contributing to the character of the area.¹⁸

In relation to the tourist use of historic cities, it was not until the 1970s that international charters started to make references about the damages caused by overuse of cultural assets. The Charter of Cultural Tourism of 1976¹⁹ was especially relevant, since it put protection over any other interest. Other agreements developed this point of view, among them the Acapulco Document of 1982²⁰ was significant for its defence of the value of authenticity.

Other agreements of the 1980s and 1990s were focused on offering a responsible interpretation of the local culture and on respecting the tolerance levels of the host community and the environment. The Declaration of Zacatecas of 1998²¹ considered that tourism should contribute financially

to the conservation and improvement of the urban environment in order to balance its negative effects.

The International Cultural Tourism Charter of 1999²² was relevant because it gave priority to the cooperation of public and private bodies, host communities

16 Bassols Coma M. Instrumentos legales de intervención en los Conjuntos Históricos. In: Primeras Jornadas de Planeamiento Especial para los Conjuntos Históricos. Santiago de Compostela: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia; 1989.

17 The Declaration of Amsterdam, 1975. It can be found at: ICOMOS [Internet]. International Council on Monuments and Sites; [cited 2014 Sep 10]. Available from: <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/169-the-declaration-of-amsterdam>

18 Conti A. El espacio público como lugar y su importancia en las teorías sobre patrimonio. In: Cuadernos: Espacio público, ciudad y conjuntos históricos. Seville: Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico; 2008. p. 28.

19 The Charter of Cultural Tourism. ICOMOS. 1976. Brussels.

20 Acapulco Document. World Tourism Organisation. 1982.

21 The Zacatecas Declaration. Zacatecas, 1998 Nov.

22 International Cultural Tourism Charter. ICOMOS. Mexico, 1999.

and tourism stakeholders in order to develop sustainable tourism plans that ensure heritage preservation. Another important contribution was the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism of 1999²³, which proposed to open privately owned assets to the public and to develop restorations being respectful to heritage values.

Nevertheless, when speaking about tourist use of the historic city, a first step to do is defining the phenomenon. There is no single definition of urban cultural tourism and of the segments that it covers. In Europe, cultural and urban tourism segments are closely linked, as it is common for visitors to a city to make some cultural activities, the same as many cultural tourists visiting cities end up immersed in urban tourism activities²⁴. This confluence has many names. However, the World Tourism Organization²⁵ opts for urban cultural tourism.

The lack of a single definition usually happens when studying tourist segments basing on activities and it is reasonable considering that boundaries between segments tend to dilute, since motivations and activities are becoming less exclusive of particular segments. In addition, there is little identification of visitors as cultural tourists, it tends to be more difficult to establish homogeneous groups of tourists, differences between visitors and residents in leisure time tend to disappear, and tourists' interest in co-designing their travel experience is rising. Therefore, segmentation focused on lifestyle, aspirations, attitudes, opinions and interests could be more useful, such as the Ark Leisure classification.

The traditional core of urban cultural tourism is composed of elements such as heritage, art, architecture and literature. The periphery includes the different lifestyles and the creative industries. There is currently a growing interest on these peripheral elements.²⁶

As mentioned before, urban cultural tourists have in common their low degree of identification as such tourists. Donaire Benito²⁷ has established classifications according to their degree of cultural motivation. However,

23 Global Code of Ethics in Tourism. World Tourism Organisation. 1999.

24 Bonet i Agustí L. Turismo Cultural: Una reflexió desde la ciencia económica. Paper included in Portal Iberoamericano de Gestión Cultural for its inclusión in Análisis Sectoriales: Estudio Compartido sobre "Turismo y Cultura". 2003 June. p. 3.

25 World Tourism Organisation and European Tourism Commission. El turismo urbano y la cultura. La experiencia europea. Madrid: World Tourism Organisation; 2005. p. VI.

26 Ibidem. p. 44.

27 Donaire Benito JA. Turismo cultural. Entre la experiencia y el ritual. Bellcaire: Ediciones Vitella; 2012.

other authors, such as Ashworth²⁸, Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois²⁹, consider that these classifications are not helpful, since culture is only one of the components of the motivations and leisure activities undertaken by tourists, with the exception of a highly motivated small group.

The list of activities developed by urban cultural tourists is very broad and their profile is diverse as well. Nevertheless, they generally share a level of income and education above average and a constant search for new destinations.³⁰

Urban cultural tourism is a growing phenomenon in the world and in Europe in particular³¹. One of its advantages is that it can exist in non-traditional destinations. It is also a useful tool to counteract the decline of other tourist segments and urban activities. Furthermore, it is less seasonal than other segments.³²

The growth of urban cultural tourism has been influenced by many factors, such as the fragmentation of holidays³³, the organisation of the travel without intermediaries, the increase of the level of education and exchange programs³⁴, the existence of a single currency, an aging population, the diversification of lifestyles, the increasing power of media and fashion, the loss of importance of the household as a unit of consumption, the reaction against dominant forms of behaviour³⁵, the search for cultural authenticity, the sense of nostalgia³⁶, the high return of investment in heritage restorations³⁷ and the possibility of exploiting free resources, such as the urban environment.³⁸

Tourism can contribute to the funding of heritage conservation, the maintenance of urban services and the creation of new facilities and events.

28 Ashworth GJ. *Historicidad, turismo y política urbana: exploración de la relación entre los tres factores*. Revista PH (Seville). 2003; 42: 57-72. p. 63.

29 Jansen-Verbeke M, Lievois E. *Analysing heritage resources for urban tourism in European cities*. In: Pearce DG, Butler RW. *Contemporary issues in tourism development*. London and New York: Routledge; 2001. p. 81-107. p. 89.

30 World Tourism Organisation. *Turismo: Panorama 2020. Volumen 7. Previsiones mundiales y perfiles de los segmentos de mercado*. Madrid: Organización Mundial del Turismo; 2002. p. 102-103.

31 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *The Impact of Culture on Tourism*. Mexico: SECTUR; 2009. Cited in: Ministerio de Cultura. *Patrimonio Cultural de España. La economía del patrimonio cultural*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura; 2009. p. 93.

32 Burtenshaw D, Bateman M, Ashworth GJ. *The European city. A western perspective*. Londres: David Fulton Publishers; 1991. p. 141.

33 Consejería de Turismo y Comercio. *Balance del año turístico en Andalucía 2011*. Málaga: Empresa Pública para la Gestión del Turismo y del Deporte de Andalucía, S.A.; 2012. p. 136-138.

34 Eurostat. *Eurobarometer 67.1*; 2007.

35 Urry J. *The tourist gaze. Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage; 1990. p. 14.

36 Richards G. *Cultural attractions and European tourism*. Oxon and New York: CABI Publishing; 2001. p. 6.

37 Bowitz E, Ibenholt K. *Economic impacts of cultural heritage-Research and perspectives*. Journal of Cultural Heritage. 2009; 10: 1-8. p. 2.

38 Jansen-Verbeke M, Lievois E. *Op cit*. p. 89.

It also has a positive impact on the image of the city to residents and potential investors³⁹. However, the benefits for the city decrease with an increasing dependence on tourism.⁴⁰

One of the main negative effects of tourism in the city is the need for constant public investment in infrastructure, attractions, planning and promotion to keep competitiveness. Public investment is sometimes focused on facilities which are not necessary for residents. Moreover, concentration of visitors leads to overuse of cultural assets and monofunctionality⁴¹. Finally, tourism can lead to museification and trivialisation of the local culture.

Many European cities have linked the development of urban cultural tourism strategies with urban regeneration. A common result is that rundown historic neighbourhoods become centres of leisure, consumption and spectacle. Since these areas are normally the symbolic spaces of the city as a whole, they become also the framework for transmitting the aspirations of the city. As a result, restored buildings live together with new architectural icons⁴², especially museums or cultural centres, which serve as an element of prestige and to show the importance that the city gives to culture. Public spaces in tourist areas are also renovated following attractive designs, tending to simplify the urban experience.

In regeneration processes to create tourist areas, there is a selection of the most comprehensible heritage assets. This process can lead to conflicts regarding the lack of representation of this heritage for the local community⁴³. Heritage selection is valid for the duration of the economic

benefit, which is ephemeral by nature and as a result, new heritage products must be continuously created. The other side of the heritage selection process is the neglect of the less spectacular assets or the elements that are more difficult to transform into tourist products.⁴⁴

39 Meethan K. Consuming (in) the civilized city. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 1996; 23 (2): 322-340. p. 323.

40 Ashworth GJ, Page SJ. Urban tourism research: recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism Management*. 2011; 32: 1-15. p. 1.

41 André M, Cortés I, López J. Turismo cultural: cuando el recurso cultural supera al destino turístico. *El caso de Figueres*. XII Simposio Internacional de Turismo y Ocio. Barcelona, 2003 Apr 3-4. p. 7.

42 Negussie E. Implications of neo-liberalism for built heritage management: institutional and ownership structures in Ireland and Sweden. *Urban Studies*. 2006; 43 (10): 1.803-1.824.

43 Troitiño Vinuesa MA, Troitiño Torralba L. Historic cities and tourism: functional dynamics and urban policy. *The Open Urban Studies Journal*. 2010; 3: 47-57.

44 Batista da Costa E. Patrimônio e território urbano em cartas patrimoniais do século XX. *Finisterra*. 2012; 93: 5-28.

As a result of the processes explained, homogenous tourist spaces are created. These spaces have in common their look as a stage⁴⁵, where urban life is depicted lacking its wealth of nuances. They are frozen in time and predictable because of the models they follow. In addition, they lack the mix of activities and users which are typical of urban spaces.

One of the main aspects to be taken into account to achieve a more balanced distribution of the benefits of urban cultural tourism and reduce its negative consequences is to consider social and cultural aspirations of the local community and to promote a tourist model respecting its identity. To deliver this objective it is useful to encourage participation in the definition of tourism policies⁴⁶, to explain both benefits and negative effects of tourism to the local population, and to study the carrying capacity, although it is particularly difficult to establish limits in urban areas.

Regarding urban regeneration, efforts should be made to create facilities focusing on residents needs rather than on spectacular effects⁴⁷. Moreover, a mix of uses and the maintenance of local businesses should be encouraged.

According to Cooper, Fletcher, Fyall, Gilbert and Wanhill⁴⁸, the commitment to a more sustainable model can be helpful for targeting potential visitors that are aware of social and environmental issues and attracted to the liveliness and authenticity of the place.

When linking tourism with urban regeneration, there is a part of the city that requires special attention: the waterfront. The presence of a waterfront provides a competitive advantage to cities. Its regeneration for tourism and leisure uses is a solution to the decline of port facilities and it is related to the significant increase in cruise traffic.

In general, all projects of this kind follow the same models, from the first interventions in Baltimore and other cities in USA, through their adaptation to European cities to their current globalization⁴⁹. In the first phase in the 1960s-1970s, only leisure activities were established. In the next decade residences were introduced. After that, in the 1990s spectacular architectural projects were developed coinciding with mega-events. Finally, in the 21st

45 Biddulph M. Urban design, regeneration and the entrepreneurial city. *Progress in Planning*. 2011; 76: 63-103.

46 Nyseth T, Sognnaes J. Preservation of old towns in Norway: heritage discourses, community processes and the new cultural economy. *Cities*. 2013; 31: 69-75.

47 Department for Culture, Media & Sport. Culture at the heart of regeneration. Summary of responses.

48 Cooper C, Fletcher J, Fyall A, Gilbert D, Wanhill S. *Tourism: principles and practice*. Financial Times Prentice Hall; 2008.

49 Ward SV. Cities are fun! Inventing and spreading the Baltimore model of cultural urbanism. In: Monclús J, Guardia M (eds.). *Culture, urbanism and planning*. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2006. 271-286. p. 277.

century factors of competitiveness are differentiation and maintenance of the local port identity.⁵⁰

A common negative effect of these projects is that they contribute to the substitution of traditional port activities and loss of heritage assets. Some of the difficulties in planning these spaces are the existence of physical barriers between the port and the rest of the city, the participation of various government agencies⁵¹ and the increasing security requirements.

There is a substantial difference in the presence of built heritage depending on whether the port has a military or commercial origin. In addition, there is sometimes a rich natural heritage⁵². Finally, integration of the meanings that the port has in the city's history and culture has to be considered.

Another trend in the development of urban cultural tourism is the concentration of creative activities in specific neighbourhoods. There is a growing interest in the peripheral components of cultural tourism, where the interest lies in the working process of the creators⁵³. It is related to the evolution of cities from centres of material production to generators of experiences and messages. In these cities, creative industries are the producers of meanings. The activities and environments developed around these businesses are attractive to tourists who share the same interests and lifestyles, finally becoming co-producers of their own experiences.⁵⁴

Creative products are infinitely renewable and serve to communicate a message of modernity and innovation⁵⁵. Many cities have failed in their attempt to develop a creative tourism model because of just focusing on attracting members of the so-called "creative class", without taking into account the inclusion of the rest of the society and the impact on other policies. In addition, there is a dilemma: tourists seek creative spontaneity and authenticity but these aspects die with excessive planning.⁵⁶

50 Andrade Marqués MJ, Blasco López J. Puerto-ciudad. Estudio comparativo de buenas prácticas. Málaga: Servicio de Programas Europeos del Ayuntamiento de Málaga; 2012. p. 16-17.

51 Alemany Llovera J. El frente marítimo, entre el urbanismo y la planificación portuaria. *Portus*. 2005; 10: 2-3.

52 Howard P, Pinder D. Cultural heritage and sustainability in the coastal zone: experiences in south west England. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*. 2003; 4: 57-68. p. 58.

53 Richards G, Wilson J (eds.). *Tourism, creativity and development*. London y Nueva York: Routledge; 2007.

54 Bernad Monferrer E. Eventos y ciudad: los eventos como elementos clave para la proyección territorial. *Revista de Comunicación y Nuevas Tecnologías*. Actas ICONO 14-nº 8. II Congreso de Ciudades Creativas. Madrid, 2011 Oct. p. 1714.

55 Richards G (ed.). *Cultural tourism in Europe*. Association for Tourism and Leisure Education; 2005. p. 67.

56 Maitland R. Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*. 2010; 4 (3): 176-185. p. 183.

According to Chapple, Jackson and Martin⁵⁷, the trend to concentrate creative industries and tourists in specific neighbourhoods began in USA in the 1970s and there are now examples worldwide. In order to be successful, there must be good communication between independent creators, public agencies and companies developing commercial products⁵⁸. In some cases, neighbourhoods are generated from the public administration based on planning and investment on cultural attractions. In other cases, these neighbourhoods are created by the creators in an informal way.

Those districts have common features, such as the mixture of lifestyles, an extensive programme of events and a varied range of cafes, bars and nightlife. Pedestrian areas prevail, they usually have an elegant design and serve as a framework for street art. Built and non-material heritage is used as a source of inspiration and as a way of rooting the businesses in the local culture⁵⁹. These areas initially become attractive to consumers and tourists looking for something different and authentic, followed by property developers and finally by wealthy newcomers.

The shift from classic cultural tourism to creative tourism has to do with city marketing strategies, since cities that strive to be attractive for tourists also become more exciting for residents and potential investors thanks to the regeneration of areas, new facilities and infrastructures, and the new image transmitted.

In marketing strategies, the city is identified with a few elements, such as iconic architecture or spectacular spaces. Due to the strong competition and the endless reproduction of the same models, aspects like built heritage and cultural events have become a competitive advantage. The promotion of a city as “cultural” has the advantage of generating less opposition than other attributes⁶⁰. Moreover, it makes the city attractive to live in and new meanings are added to its products and services. A selection process takes place one more time, hiding the layers of urban history and rejecting cultural complexity.⁶¹

In order to develop a long-term marketing strategy, it is needed to meet external expectations with the demands of the residents and marketing

57 Chapple K, Jackson S, Martin AJ. Concentrating creativity: the planning of formal and informal arts districts. *City, Culture and Society*. 2010; 1: 225-234. p. 226.

58 Cohendet P, Grandadam D, Simon L. Rethinking urban creativity: lessons from Barcelona and Montreal. *City, Culture and Society*. 2011; 2: 151-158.

59 Santagata W, Russo AP, Segre G. Tourism quality labels: an incentive for the sustainable development of creative clusters as tourist attractions? In: Richards G, Wilson J (eds.). *Op cit*. p. 108.

60 Zukin S. *The cultures of cities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; 1996. p. 12.

61 Eshuis J, Edwards A. Branding the city: the democratic legitimacy of a new mode of governance. *Urban Studies*. 2013; 50 (5): 1066-1082.

topics must be representative of the local culture. Otherwise, there is a risk of summarizing the collective identity in a simple logo and an advertising campaign.

As part of marketing strategies, major events can be a useful tool to attract visitors thanks to their uniqueness and strong media coverage. In some cases, investment in hosting events is more profitable than restoring properties or building infrastructures and facilities⁶². It also allows for greater differentiation between cities. As a result, many cities have focused their tourist strategy on designing a varied annual programme of events.

Hosting events has some negative effects as well. Some of them cause a disproportionate expenditure of public money at the expense of residents' needs. Many infrastructures become underused if projections of visitors are not met and they sometimes lose their function once the event is over. In addition, because of the great amount of cities that celebrate all kinds of events, the competitive advantage that they bring about is diminishing.

Finally, events are also used to transmit a new image of the city and to increase local pride. In mega-events such as the European Capital of Culture, the positive impact on the city's image is produced since the bidding stage⁶³. As a result, the number of cities bidding for the title has risen dramatically. Cities eventually chosen carry out a number of common strategies and interventions that can be grouped into interventions on buildings and spaces, urban marketing, tourism promotion and development of the creative economy.⁶⁴

After making an approach to current trends in urban cultural tourism, the most important features of the tourist-historic city are explained below.

Among the singular models of tourist-historic city, the waterfront one is particularly relevant for this research. In those cities, the port has gradually lost its centrality and, when it becomes obsolete, a part is included in the tourist-historic city through the installation of new commercial and recreational functions.⁶⁵

In order to create a tourist-historic city, first of all there is a need of identifying an urban area and a group of assets deemed to have heritage

62 Richards G, Palmer R. Eventful cities. Cultural management and urban revitalization. Elsevier; 2010. p. 1-37.

63 Giroud M, Grésillon B. Devenir capitale européenne de la culture : principes, enjeux et nouvelle donne concurrentielle. Cahiers de géographie du Québec. 2011; 55 (155): 237-253.

64 Meethan K, Barrera Fernández D. Urban transformations from being designated European Capital of Culture. Paper presented at the International Seminar of World Events and Urban Change. Seville, 2012 Nov 26-28. 384-392.

65 Ashworth GJ, Tunbridge JE. Op cit. p. 88.

value. Subsequently, the selection is accentuated through tourist promotion and the use of an even smaller group of buildings and spaces. New attractions are also created to respond clearly to the expectations of visitors. A conflict might be generated when the heritage assets presented to visitors are not representative for the local community.⁶⁶

Due to space limitations, accessibility is a particularly sensitive issue in tourist-historic cities. In order to study the location of attractions, activities and tourist services, the tourism system⁶⁷ is a useful tool. It generally differentiates between primary resources that attract tourists, and secondary resources that complement them, although the boundaries between both groups are not precise. Heritage as a primary resource has different degrees of functionality according to the coexistence of tourist uses and other activities⁶⁸. The concentration of secondary resources such as hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops contribute to the expulsion of other uses and, as a result, of residents.

Participation of different actors from the public, private and third sectors is desirable in order to reduce long-term conflict, provide legitimacy to the policies applied in managing the tourist-historic city and get an overview of the various interests coming together in the same spaces and assets⁶⁹. Understanding the relationships between sectors is increasingly necessary because of the reduction of functions traditionally performed by the public administration.

In general terms, there is no integrated structure for managing the tourist-historic city. There are instead various degrees of coordination between tourism, cultural, urban and economic development policies. The success of the management model depends on the common conception of reference, the definition of specific objectives and actions and the ability of the actors involved to work together⁷⁰. In addition, it is necessary to consider at an early step whether the local assets and visitor expectations can justify an intervention towards improving tourist activity, what type of destination is desirable, how the needs of residents and tourists are going to be balanced, how accessibility to heritage assets is going to be achieved and what management structures are needed.⁷¹

66 Ward C. Probing identity, integration and adaptation: Big questions, little answers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 2013; 37: 391-404.

67 De la Calle Vaquero M. La ciudad histórica como destino turístico. *Op cit.* p. 22-25.

68 Troitiño Vínuesa MA, Troitiño Torralba L (dir.). Estudio sobre la funcionalidad turística del patrimonio cultural del municipio de Carmona y estrategias de actuación. Joint work between Grupo de Investigación Turismo, Patrimonio y Desarrollo, Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico and Ayuntamiento de Carmona. 2011. p. 14-15.

69 Velasco González M. Gestión turística del patrimonio cultural: enfoques para un desarrollo sostenible del turismo cultural. *Cuadernos de Turismo*. 2009; 23: 237-253. p. 240.

70 Velasco González M. La política turística. Una arena de acción autónoma. *Cuadernos de Turismo*. 2011; 27: 953-969. p. 958.

71 Brito M. *Op cit.* p. 35.

When heritage conservation joins economic profit without any other consideration, it results usually in luxury developments where the historic environment provides a component of distinction. Therefore, participation of the local community is also necessary. Involvement of non-profit organisations serves to increase the sense of belonging and the representation of minorities in the group of preserved heritage assets⁷². They also help to correct the balance of costs and benefits, secure funding and collaborate in safeguard, dissemination and maintenance.

Public-private partnerships are increasingly common in urban regeneration processes, with a risk of prioritizing business interests over heritage conservation. Concerning urban planning, the main challenges are to manage the spatial and temporal concentration of visitors and the demand for larger and more complex facilities and infrastructures.⁷³

Focusing on the regional differences in Europe regarding protection and management of urban heritage, it is possible to observe that there has been a similar process regarding heritage protection across Europe. Groups of experts interested in the past created a public opinion in favour of preservation and pressure groups were founded with more or less success depending on the country⁷⁴. At the same time, public administrations began to list and legislate. In urban areas, heritage conservation was finally linked to urban planning.

In the European Union, heritage policies depend on each country. There is a wide variety in the distribution of powers between public institutions but the tendency is to a greater role of local authorities and semi-public agencies. There are large differences between countries in the number of protected areas and in the size and ability of influence of conservation groups.

Conceptually, in the English speaking countries, heritage is understood as something that is transmitted to descendants. Its legal tradition considers the society's self-regulation ability and laws are not rigidly hierarchical, which gives great flexibility of interpretation⁷⁵. Moreover, administrations are relatively more efficient in ensuring observance than in the South. From non-catholic religious tradition rises the role of non-profit organisations against institutions and municipal power against the state. In these

72 Cortés Puya T. Recuperación del patrimonio cultural urbano como recurso turístico. Doctoral thesis, dir. Troitiño Vinuesa MA. Departamento de Geografía Humana, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002. p. 153.

73 Russo AP, Van der Borg J. Planning considerations for cultural tourism: a case study of four European cities. *Tourism Management*. 2002; 23: 631-637.

74 Smith H, Luque-Azcona EJ. The historical development of built heritage awareness and conservation policies: a comparison of two World Heritage Sites: Edinburgh and Salvador do Bahia. *GeoJournal*. 2012; 77: 399-415.

75 Bouazza Ariño O. La planificación territorial en Gran Bretaña. Especial referencia al sector turístico. Cizur Menor: Editorial Aranzadi, Thomson Reuters; 2009. p. 28.

countries, heritage has a didactic function, hence the importance of interpretation, recreations of historic events and settings⁷⁶. Heritage has a value as social representation, and because of that there is an effort to include minorities. Private initiative and owners assume relevant responsibilities in heritage conservation. In managing the built heritage, there is a focus on economic autonomy and competitiveness for funds, due to the reduction of public funding⁷⁷. Non-profit organisations have a variety of functions, some of them own heritage assets and are responsible for their management and some others give advice to the administration. Heritage assets must be useful for the community and become part of the society of today. As a result, their integration in urban regeneration operations is essential. Especially in the UK, there has traditionally been a strong nostalgic component, which has received a boost due to its deindustrialization, the loss of the colonies and its specialization in attracting visitors looking for history, heritage and the quaint.⁷⁸

Focusing on the British model of heritage preservation, there is a predominance of public-private partnerships, deregulation and restriction of functions of the administration. This model was born in the 1980s and has continued evolving⁷⁹. In England, it is common for laws to be passed by the British Parliament but implemented by local authorities⁸⁰. Local authorities have the ability to designate conservation areas and they are responsible for its preservation and enhancement. Local authorities also have their own lists of assets deemed to have cultural heritage value, as well as other tools to ensure the conservation of assets. The distribution of powers between different tiers of administration and semi-public agencies often changes. As a result, negotiation plays a key role. A singular initiative is Heritage Lottery Fund, which funds projects following a competitive criterion.

English Heritage assumed the explained philosophy since its origin. In the listing process, a remarkable feature is the facility for anyone to propose the inclusion of an element, and the consideration of a wide variety of heritage assets, including elements of the urban landscape. Listing process is not restricted by aspects such as ownership or the presence of certain administrations, thus including state assets, military sites, ports, etc. In the listing process there is a concern about the representation of different social groups. In addition, there is a control of listed elements at risk.

76 Gómez Martínez J. Dos museologías. Las tradiciones anglosajona y mediterránea: diferencias y contactos. Gijón: Ediciones Trea; 2006. p. 279-296.

77 Rico D. Apuntes. Conceptos de patrimonio. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona. Unpublished. p. 9.

78 Urry J. Op cit. p. 96-98.

79 Stevenson N, Airey D, Miller G. Tourism policy making: the policymakers' perspectives. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 2008; 35 (3): 732-750.

80 Ashworth GJ, Howard P. *European heritage planning and management*. Exeter y Portland: Intellect Books; 1999. p. 31-32.

The initial conservation movement has led to a certain consensus about the need to integrate heritage preservation with other policies. Conservation is linked to diverse objectives, such as economic development, urban regeneration or the reduction of the carbon footprint.⁸¹

An interesting aspect is the use of the concept of “built environment”, “historic environment” or just “environment”, in all kinds of policies. It focuses on the context in which citizens live and leads to a concern about having a quality urban landscape that integrates both the past, represented by built heritage, the present and the future, represented by contemporary architecture and attractive urban spaces. Another widespread concept is “enhancement”, it has a broader perspective than concepts such as rehabilitation or conservation and it pursues an active integration of heritage as a protagonist of the neighbourhood’s character. A third innovative concept is precisely that of “character”, which implies a concern about the features that make the neighbourhood special and cannot be reduced to a list of physical elements.

The distinction between cultural and natural heritage is not as marked as in other countries, as it shows that conservation areas are classified as figures for protecting historic areas and open spaces, along with figures for protecting natural environments and the landscape. This integration can also be observed in the philosophy of the National Trust and other non-profit groups, and in the typology of the Country House, which incorporates both kinds of heritage.

In England, buffer zones are not formally defined. Relevant features in the relationship between heritage protection and urban planning are the process of public information and social participation when reviewing plans, and the discretionary nature of the process of granting construction permit⁸². It does not mean that any intervention is permitted, it is just that the weight of custom and precedent makes detailed regulation unnecessary.

Involvement of citizens in heritage-related matters is deeply rooted and the role of conservation groups is recognized by law. Non-profit organisations develop functions such as fundraising, organizing events, advising institutions and owners, maintenance, restoration, guide service and administrative tasks⁸³. In some cases these groups are the owners of the properties.

81 Pendlebury J, Strange I. Urban conservation and the shaping of the English city. *Town Planning Review*. 2011; 82 (4): 361-392.

82 English Heritage. *Heritage Counts 2012*, England. Tenth Anniversary Edition. p. 15-17.

83 Heritage Link. *Making consultation matter. A survey of voluntary sector experience of local authority consultation on land-use planning*. 2006. p. 12.



APPROACH TO THE CITY OF PLYMOUTH

The city of Plymouth is located in the south of Devon, England. It is placed between the mouths of the rivers Plym and Tamar, where they join the Plymouth Sound via their estuaries, the Cattewater and the Hamoaze respectively. The rugged and irregular limestone coastline forms a number of natural harbours which determine the city's urban shape. Plymouth Sound forms a shelter at the entrance of the English Channel from the Atlantic Ocean, which has determined the historic importance of the city as a naval base. The geographical position of the city also contributed to make it one of the most relevant ports regarding emigration and trade with the colonies. Nowadays, the relation of the city with the sea is visible in the main part of Plymouth's built heritage, as well as in many cultural and economic features.

With its nearly 260,000 inhabitants, Plymouth is the largest city on the south coast of England and it is the major centre of population west of Bristol. The city is the shopping centre of Devon and Cornwall, which is one of the most popular tourist areas in the United Kingdom. The tourist sector has been well represented since the 19th century due to its own assets, such as the waterfront, the mild weather and associated amenities, its ship and rail connections and the proximity to Dartmoor, the Cornish countryside and nearby seaside resorts like Torbay, known as the English Riviera.

Since the last decades, the city is improving its attractiveness thanks to the development of regeneration and enhancement plans in the waterfront and historic neighbourhoods, the introduction of recreation activities in the ports, the upgrade of cultural, commercial and leisure attractions and the organisation of far-reaching events.



European Union Plymouth
United Kingdom

Location of the United Kingdom within the European Union. Source: the author



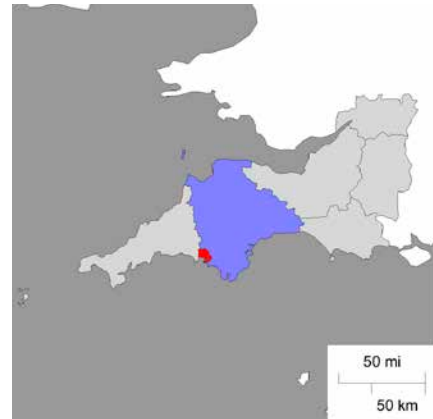
United Kingdom Plymouth
England

Location of England within the United Kingdom. Source: the author



England Plymouth
South West

Location of the South West within England. Source: the author



South West Plymouth
Devon

Location of Devon within the South West. Source: the author

> THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP OF PLYMOUTH AND THE SEA. A CITY OF NAVIGATORS AND EMIGRANTS

Some of the most prominent British voyages of discovery departed from Plymouth, including Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation, Captain James Cook's passages to Australia and the Pacific, Charles Darwin's scientific mission on the Beagle and Robert Falcon Scott's expedition to the South Pole. Moreover, the city was the last English port visited by the Pilgrim Fathers on board the Mayflower before crossing the Atlantic and settling in Cape Cod,

Massachusetts, in 1620. Not only was Plymouth recognised as a departure point for Puritan emigration to New England, but it also had a relevant role in emigration to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. As a result of this rich history, fifty cities are named Plymouth around the world.

Plymouth's ports have had historic importance thanks to their trade connections with Southern Europe, Africa and America. The approach channel from the Sound is deep enough to accommodate large vessels, as well as easy to defend from the surrounding cliffs and Drake's Island. The location of the city in the far west of England made it the last port of call in trans-Atlantic voyages. It achieved its golden age in 1614-1620, when it was the sixth British trading port. Depending on the age, some of the main exports have been tin, wool, timber, copper, limestone, granite, china clay and fish, and among the main imports wine, corn, timber, coal, fruits, vegetables and petrol can be found. The city was particularly involved in the Newfoundland fisheries⁸⁴.

Count Magalotti described the atmosphere of the city in 1669 as follows:

*"The life of the city is navigation. The inhabitants export lead and tin in greater quantities than any other article, and with these they go to the Canaries and to the Western Islands. To Barbadoes, in the New World, and in every part of Europe, they act as carriers conveying merchandize from place to place at great profit to themselves. Hence it is that, in Plymouth, only women and boys are to be seen; the greater part of the men living at sea".*⁸⁵

In the last decades, road has largely replaced coastal and rail distribution of goods and ocean liners have been superseded by airplanes. As a result, the city stands nowadays in a peripheral position, away from the main car, rail and airplane routes in the United Kingdom and Europe.

Industrial and military ports, as well as other military sites, have traditionally been barriers between the city and the waterfront. The lack of relation was reinforced by the difficult topography, especially by the high grounds of the Hoe. The situation started to change with the decline of commercial and naval ports and the increasing perception of the sea as a source of leisure, nowadays the traditional port activities are being replaced by new ones. Devonport stands still as a Navy dockyard and it has incorporated a nuclear submarines base. Sutton Harbour has been turned into a marina and leisure area, along with parts of the Hamoaze and Cattewater, only the latter retains trade activity. Millbay flourished in the mid 19th century sending steamers to the United States of America and it had its own railway station which saved a day or more of travel to London. The movement of trade, mail and passengers led to the opening of the first hotels, such as the Duke of Cornwall in 1862,

⁸⁴ Gill C. Sutton Harbour. 2nd ed. Launceston: Loe Books; 1976. p. 25-30.

⁸⁵ Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Single volume edition, first published in two volumes 1966 and 1979. Tiverton: Devon Books; 1993. p. 165.

which is still in use. The port has experienced a substantial growth in ferry services since the 1970s thanks to the routes to Roscoff and Santander, and plans for upgrading its cruise terminal are under discussion.

The relationship of Plymouth with the sea is not limited to port activity. The city is base of a number of renowned institutions related to marine life, such as Plymouth Marine Laboratory, National Marine Aquarium, Marine Biological Laboratory of the United Kingdom and Marine Institute of the University, with a new building opened in September 2012.

Among the eight priority sectors in the South West's economy, marine activities are the largest contributor to the city's economy. From 1998 to 2009, the number of people working for marine-related businesses rose 30% up to 7,000 employees and its contribution to the city's Gross Value Added increased 58% up to 232 million pounds⁸⁶. Marine and maritime sector represents 12% of direct job and 19% of all employment in Plymouth taking into account indirect jobs. It stands for the 25% of the city's total Gross Value Added.⁸⁷

➤ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MILITARY FORCES IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORY AND URBAN SHAPE

Plymouth has a long military tradition. It has been a base for the Royal Fleet since Edward I gathered 325 ships to sail against France in 1254. The city occupied an important defensive position, controlling the Atlantic approaches to the UK and northern Europe. Plymouth played a key role in the defeat of the Spanish Armada and in the Napoleonic Wars. Furthermore, Plymouth Gin owes its popularity to the Royal Navy, which has exported the product around the world since 1793.

Plymouth's defences were also the reason of the devastation of the city during the Second World War. In order to rebuild the city, the Plan for Plymouth was delivered, which completely changed the central urban areas and defined Plymouth's urban shape ever since.

Most of the city's built heritage owes its existence to the army. Nikolaus Pevsner pointed out in 1951 the following:

86 ECON online [Internet]. Economic Systems Consultancy & Research and the South West Regional Development Agency; c1998-[updated 2011 Mar; cited 2014 Aug 7]. GVA; sub-regions; Plymouth; RDA priority sectors [5 screens]. FTE workers; sub-regions; Plymouth; RDA priority sectors [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.economicsystems.co.uk/south-west/index.php>

87 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 1. Prepared for Plymouth City Council; 2010. p. 102-103.

*“Plymouth makes one realise how peaceable the architecture of England is. It is the only British city whose existence appears to be centred on war. With Naval Dockyard and Naval Hospital, Victualling Yard and Citadel, Marine Barracks and Raglan Barracks, and the chain of forts around, nearly all its principal accents are naval or military”.*⁸⁸

The Royal Citadel is the largest monument in Plymouth, it hosts the 29 Commando Regiment of the Royal Artillery and public access is limited, serving as a massive barrier between the Barbican and the waterfront. Devonport Dockyard was founded in 1692 in response to the new French dock at Brest, the prosperity of the town was parallel to the growth of the dockyard and it stands nowadays as the largest naval base in Western Europe⁸⁹. However, employment in the naval sector has been significantly reduced since the 1980s, leading to some deprivation problems in the western neighbourhoods. Mount Batten became in 1928 the home of two flying boat squadrons of the RAF, it also hosted the headquarters of No 19 Group Royal Air Force Coastal Command and the station finally closed in 1992. Other main monuments related to the armed forces are Royal William Victualling Yard, Royal Marines Barracks and Royal Naval Hospital in Stonehouse. Furthermore, the waterfront open area of the Hoe was in the past military ground kept clear, as well as Mount Wise and Devonport Park.

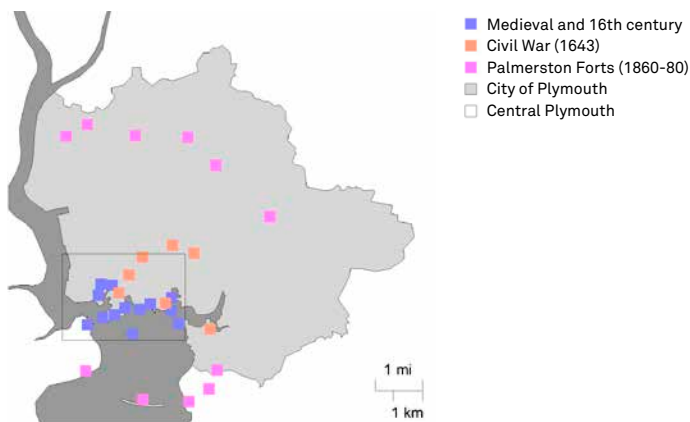
35

Waterfront defences were reinforced by rings of fortifications inland, which were built further north due to the city's extension, the topography and improvements in the firing range of the artillery. In the medieval period, Sutton Harbour was protected by a city wall. During the English Civil War, fortifications were built around the harbour at Mount Batten, Stonehouse, Pennycomequick, Mutley and Lipson. In the 1860s, Palmerston forts were erected further from the original settlement.

Military sites and their high perimeter walls have inhibited Plymouth from developing fully as a waterfront city. This situation is visible in the Royal Citadel and Devonport, although it has partly reversed since the decrease of naval activity and the release of Ministry of Defence's land in Royal William Yard, Mount Wise, South Yard Storage Enclave and Mount Batten. The future of the dockyard is uncertain and the city is taking advantage of its former military sites, its geographical environment and its maritime history to attract new visitors, residents and firms in a shift to a more leisure activities-based economy.

88 Pevsner N. *The Buildings of England*. South Devon edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books; 1952.

89 Royal Navy [Internet]. London: Secretary of State for Defence; 2012 [cited 2014 Aug 7]. Devonport Naval Base. Available from: <http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/The-Fleet/Naval-Bases/Devonport>



Principal historic fortifications. *Source:* the author, based on: Alan Baxter & Associates. Plymouth rapid urban character study. Prepared for English Heritage South West Region; 2005. p. 15.



- | | | |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| ■ Current military sites | ■ Former military sites | 8 Royal Naval Hospital |
| 1 HMNB Devonport | 5 Devonport Park and Mt Wise (ground kept clear) | 9 Drake's Island |
| 2 Royal Marines Barracks | 6 Royal William Victualling Yard | 10 The Hoe (ground kept clear) |
| 3 Royal Citadel | 7 Devil's Point Defences | 11 RAF Mount Batten) |
| 4 South Yard Storage Enclave | | |

Current and former military sites in central Plymouth. *Source:* the author.

> LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH

Plymouth is a Unitary Authority, thus it is responsible for a variety of services that are administered separately by Non-Metropolitan Counties and Non-Metropolitan Districts elsewhere. In particular, the city has its own powers in heritage preservation, tourism improvement, urban planning and economic development within the national legal and administrative framework. Devon County Council has influential powers on tourism promotion.

Devon and Cornwall are the area of influence of the city and Plymouth's Travel to Work Area includes towns in both counties. For statistical and policy-making purposes, the city is divided into Localities, Wards, Neighbourhoods and Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs). The study area belongs to South West and South East Localities; to Devonport, St Peter and the Waterfront and Drake Wards; to Devonport, Stonehouse, City Centre and Greenbank & University Neighbourhoods; and to 026D, 026E, 027A, 027B, 027C, 027D, 027E, 029A, 029B, 029C, 029D and 029E LSOAs.

In the four Neighbourhoods that form part of the study area there are 37,614 inhabitants, of which 13,513 people live in Greenbank and University, 10,476 in Stonehouse, 7,281 in the City Centre and 6,344 in Devonport.⁹⁰

There are significant differences between districts regarding quality of life aspects. Some areas of Plympton, Plymstock and the north east are within the 20% least deprived areas in England. West of the River Plym, the waterfront, the Tamar shoreline and northern areas stand within the 20% most deprived ones. Furthermore, Union Street and central Devonport are among the 5% most deprived areas in England⁹¹. Taking into account the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2010, the most deprived LSOAs within the study area are 029C and 027B. IMD 2010 considers income, employment, health deprivation and disability, education skills and training, barriers to housing and services, crime and the living environment.⁹²

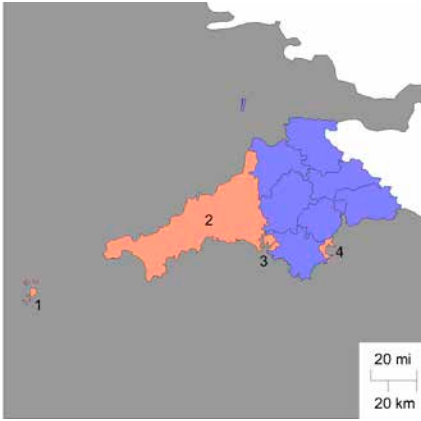
Plymouth's economy grew in the period 1999-2009 thanks to the public, business and financial services sectors, surpassing average rates in the UK. The downturn of 2008/9 affected particularly manufacturing, distribution, retail and construction.⁹³

90 Plymouth Informed [Internet]. Plymouth: City Council; 2012 [cited 2014 Aug 7]. Annual population numbers by neighbourhood from GP register; original source: Public Health Plymouth; 2011. Available from: <http://plymouthinformed.zubed.com/>

91 South West Observatory Core Unit. Indices of Deprivation 2010-Plymouth Summary. Taunton: South West Observatory; 2011.

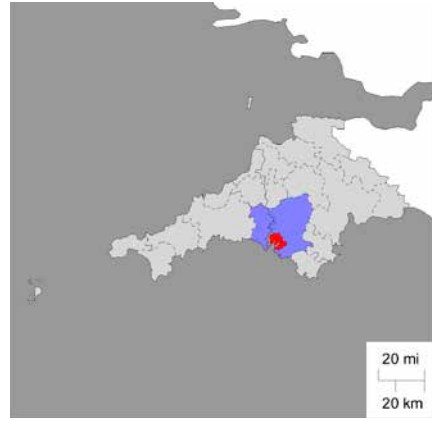
92 Plymouth Informed [Internet]. Op cit. Social and place wellbeing, deprivation (IMD 2010); original source: Department for Communities and Local Government. The English Indices of Deprivation 2010; 2011. Available from: <http://plymouthinformed.zubed.com/>

93 Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership. Plymouth's economic review. Issue 1. Prepared by the Economic Intelligence sub-group (Plymouth Growth Board); 2011. p. 5.



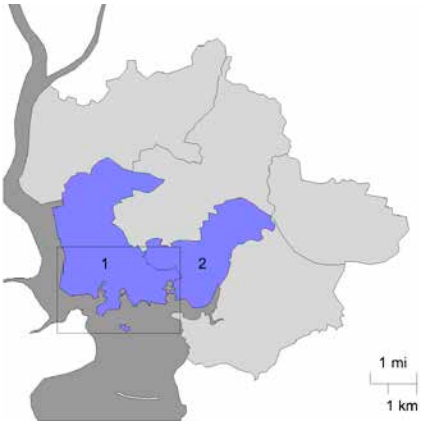
- Devon (Non-Metropolitan County)
- Districts in Devon
- Unitary Authorities
- 1 Isles of Scilly
- 2 Cornwall
- 3 City of Plymouth
- 4 Torbay

Local and County administration in Devon and Cornwall. Source: the author.



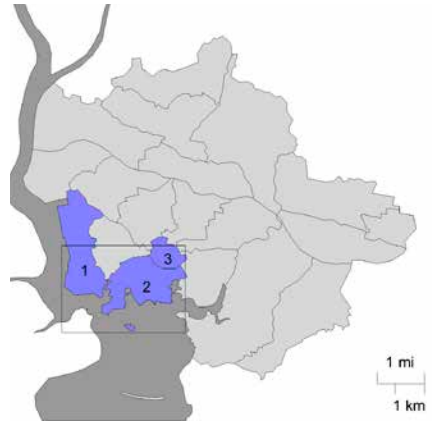
- Devon and Cornwall
- Plymouth TTWA
- City of Plymouth
- County division
- - TTWA division

Travel to Work Areas in Devon and Cornwall. Source: the author, based on: Baker Associates. Plymouth Travel to Work Area Settlements Roles and Relationships Study. Final report. On behalf of Plymouth City Council; 2010.



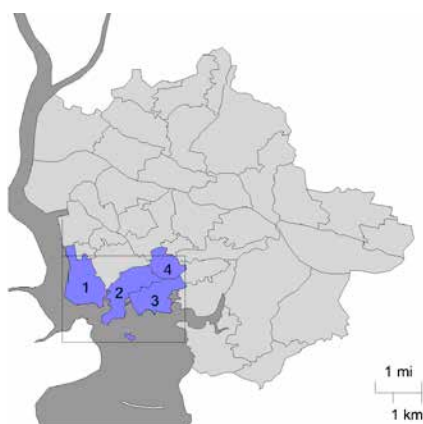
- City of Plymouth
- Localities within the study area
- 1 South West
- 2 South East
- Central Plymouth

Localities in the study area. Source: the author, based on: NHS, Plymouth City Council. The new Plymouth neighbourhoods and the modified localities. Public Health Plymouth; 2012. p. 8.



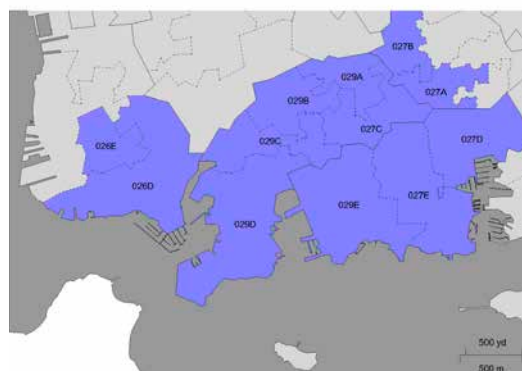
- City of Plymouth
- Wards within the study area
- 1 Devonport
- 2 St Peter and the Waterfront
- 3 Drake
- Central Plymouth

Wards in the study area. Source: the author, based on: NHS, Plymouth City Council. Op cit. p. 10.



- City of Plymouth
- Neighbourhoods within the study area
- 1 Devonport
- 2 Stonehouse
- 3 City Centre
- 4 Greenbank & University
- Central Plymouth

Neighbourhoods in the study area. Source: the author, based on: NHS, Plymouth City Council. Op cit. p. 7.



- City of Plymouth
- LSOAs within the study area
- - LSOA division
- Neighbourhood division

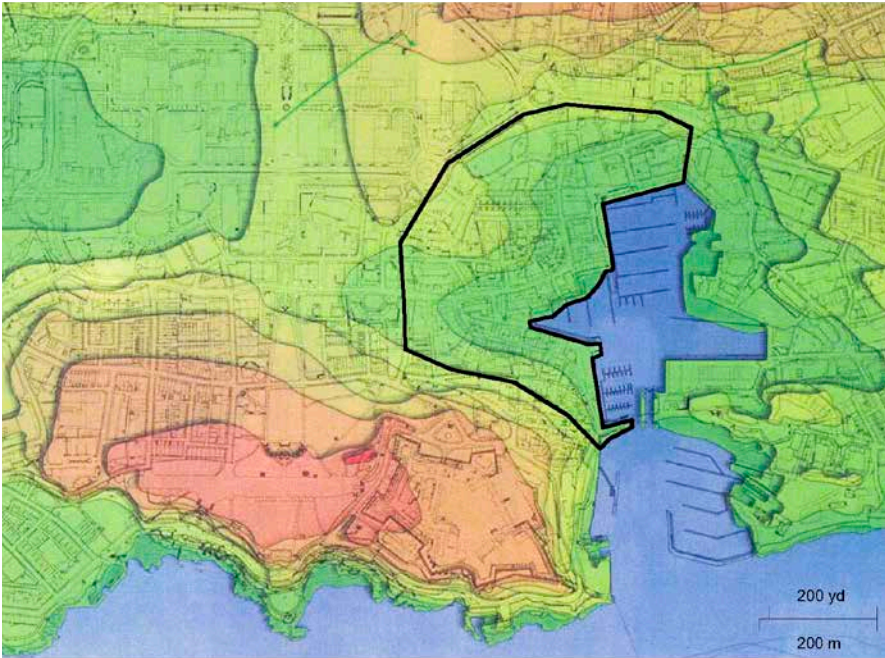
Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the study area. Source: the author, based on: NHS, Plymouth City Council. Op cit. p. 9.

> URBAN HISTORY: FROM THE THREE TOWNS TO THE PLAN FOR PLYMOUTH

The rugged topography of current Plymouth was created at the end of the Ice Age, when River Tamar, River Plym and other streams carried large quantities of melted water giving shape to the cliffs and valleys. Natural harbours appeared where these rivers joined the sea at Sutton Pool, Millbay and Stonehouse Creek. The early settlements clustered in the lower lands around them and they gave place to the Three Towns of Devonport, Stonehouse and Plymouth or Sutton which did not become a single city until 1914.

Sutton, lately known as Plymouth, began as a Saxon fishing and farming settlement at the north western edge of Sutton Pool, a natural inlet protected from the prevailing southwestern gales by the limestone ridge of the Hoe. Plympton was the largest settlement but it was no longer a viable port since the River Plym silted up due to tin-mining on Dartmoor in the early medieval period. In 1254, Sutton received its market charter and by the time of Elizabeth I, Plymouth had become Britain's most important naval seaport⁹⁴. The city grew outside its walls to the south up to the Castle that defended the pool's entrance, creating the Barbican. The first St. Andrew's Church was built

⁹⁴ Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripaos P. Introducing Plymouth. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripaos P, editors. Plymouth: maritime city in transition. Plymouth: Polytechnic South West; 1991: 11-16. p. 11-12.



□ Plymouth, circa 1620

Topography and early settlement of Plymouth. Source: the author, based on: Plan of Plymouth, England [map]. Circa 1620. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Maps. Background plan: Shobbrook C. Environmental context, geography. In: University of Plymouth, School of Architecture & Design, Master of Architecture. Plymouth Briefing Document. 2011. p. 74.

at the north western edge of the village, on the same site as today's church, marking the prewar city centre.

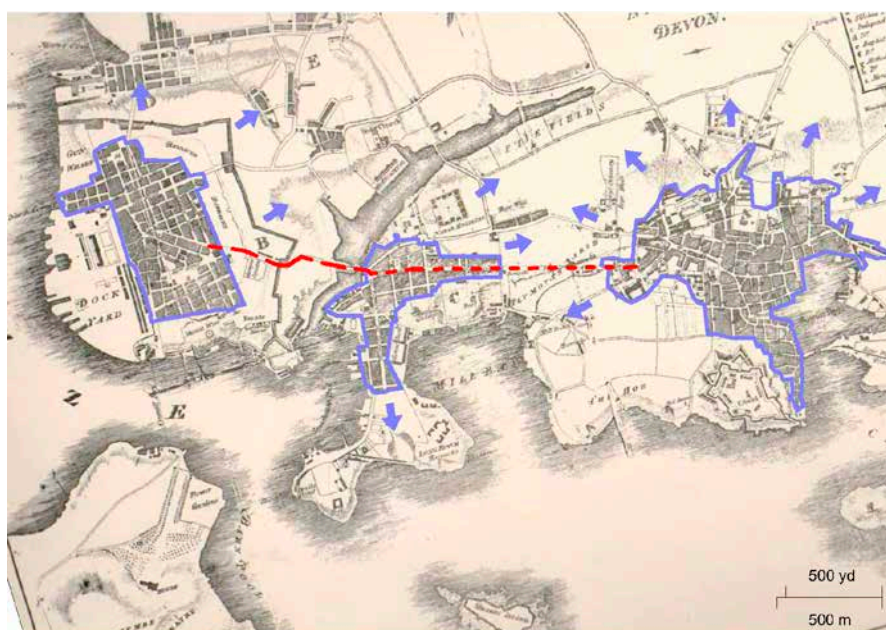
Stonehouse was first established as an Anglo-Saxon rural settlement located north of its peninsula between Stonehouse Creek, which is now Victoria Park, and the sour pool north of Millbay, which separated the town from Plymouth and was reclaimed to build Union Street. The later history of Stonehouse is linked to the development of Devonport Dockyard and the provision for fashionable residential areas and naval support facilities, including the Royal Naval Hospital, Military Hospital, the Devonport Town Lines, Royal Marine Barracks, Millbay Barracks, Royal William Victualling Yard and Stonehouse Redoubt and Battery.

The dockyards, first known as Plymouth Docks, were established in 1692. The docks grew considerably over the following 250 years and a settlement was established to house the workers. In 1836 it achieved its own town charter and the old name was replaced for Devonport. The dockyard has always been a major employer, in 1981 it accounted for 38,755 jobs, or 31.7 per cent of those employed in the area⁹⁵, since that time its importance has

⁹⁵ Bishop P. The role of defence in a local economy: the case of Plymouth. Plymouth: South West Economy Unit, Plymouth Polytechnic; 1986.

decreased and some parts of the dockyard have been subject to considerable regeneration plans.

The Three Towns grew separately, although well connected because of their proximity and a strong commercial, administrative, demographic and religious relation. Nevertheless, public buildings, shops, entertainments and housing were spread across the city. The construction of Union Street in 1815, designed by John Foulston, joined the Three Towns by road for the first time. By the end of the 19th century, Stonehouse had covered its peninsula, and Devonport and Plymouth had occupied the land between them, seeing their boundaries extended. In 1914 a referendum was held and the Three Towns were finally amalgamated in the borough of Plymouth. In 1928 Plymouth achieved City status and in 1967 the boundaries were extended to include the suburbs of Plymstock and Plympton.

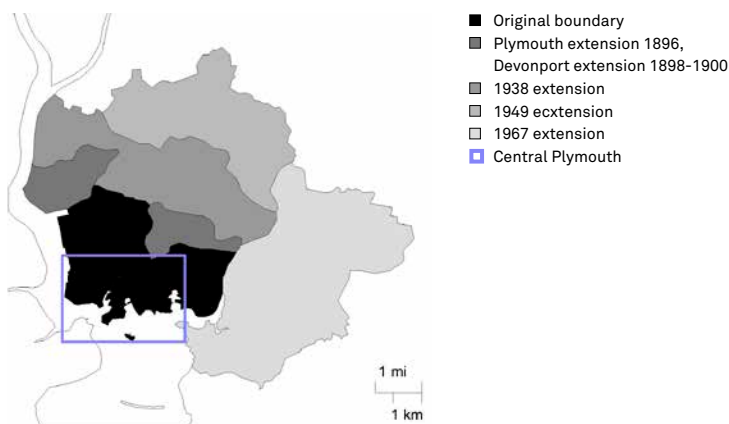


- Devonport, Stonehouse and Plymouth in 1820
- - Unionstreet (laid out 1812-1820)
- ➔ Extension direction

The Three Towns in 1820, extension directions and Union Street. Source: the author. Background plan: Cooke J, engraver. Borough of Plymouth [map]. 1820. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, 2404/18.

The city was severely damaged during World War II, most of the destruction was concentrated during the Plymouth Blitz between 20-21 March 1941⁹⁶. The air raids reduced much of the city to rubble and an extensive reconstruction was needed, which came in the form of the Plan for Plymouth, designed by Sir

⁹⁶ A complete description of this period can be found at Twyford HP, Robinson C. It came to our door: Plymouth in World War II-a journalist's eye witness account. Plymouth: Pen and Ink Publishing; 2006.



Extension of Plymouth's boundaries. Source: the author, based on: Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. p. 275.

Patrick Abercrombie and James Paton Watson. The most visible legacy of the Plan is the complete replacement of the City Centre.

➤ PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY AREA

In Plymouth, as in the rest of England, conservation areas are the instruments that determine which neighbourhoods must be preserved according to their heritage values. They were introduced in 1967⁹⁷ and are currently defined as “areas of special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance”.⁹⁸

Plymouth was the second city in England having a designated conservation area designated, namely the Barbican in 1967. The historic division in three towns partly explains the current distribution of conservation areas and listed buildings in Plymouth, which form a group of unconnected pieces of different scale and with diverse urban and architectural features, opposite to the more common case of a city growing from only one original core. The other main reason is the extensive war destruction and the replacement of large areas by the Plan for Plymouth that left a gap in the otherwise likely continuity of the conservation areas.

For this research, conservation areas in central Plymouth have been considered, these areas were located within the historic Three Towns. Other conservation areas such as Mannamead, Plympton St Maurice, Stoke, Tamerton Foliot and Turnchapel have not been taking into account because they have only been incorporated to the city since the latest extensions, their urban evolution

⁹⁷ Civic Amenities Act of 1967 (July 27, 1967).

⁹⁸ Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act of 1990. Pub. 1990, reprinted 2002. Part II, art. 69 (1) (a) (May 24, 1990).

does not closely relate to the main area and there is not a significant tourist activity.

The conservation areas that have been considered are the following ones, in order of year of designation:

- Barbican: designated in 1967 and extended in 1977.⁹⁹
- Stonehouse Peninsula: partly designated in 1969 and 1999, partly extended in 1977, joined and extended in 2007.¹⁰⁰
- Millfields: designated in 1977.¹⁰¹
- North Stonehouse: partly designated in 1977 and 1999, partly extended in 1995, joined and extended in 2007.¹⁰²
- The Hoe: designated in 1977 and extended in 2009.¹⁰³
- Adelaide Street: designated in 1999.¹⁰⁴
- Devonport: designated in 1999 and extended in 2006.¹⁰⁵
- Union Street: designated in 2001.¹⁰⁶
- Ebrington Street: designated in 2008.¹⁰⁷

Apart from the areas above mentioned the designation of the City Centre as a conservation area is a source of frequent debate in the city and has either voices for and against. One view is to consider the City Centre as a whole, there is not a consensus about the area to cover so far but it would probably include the sector located within the inner ring, north of Notte Street up to the railway station. This area would consider most of the footprint of the reconstruction envisaged by the Plan for Plymouth and the idea is supported among others by English Heritage, the architect Jeremy Gould and the local historian Chris Robinson.

On the other hand, the City Council supports the designation of just the southern blocks of the Plan for Plymouth's lay out, namely the area around Royal Parade, south of New George Street. This sector was the first to be developed, it is the closest one to the Plan's vision and it gathers most of the buildings of higher quality, since construction quality decreased going north because of investment reduction and lack of demand.

99 Plymouth City Council. Barbican Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6-7.

100 Plymouth City Council. Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6.

101 Plymouth City Council. Millfields Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6.

102 Plymouth City Council. North Stonehouse Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6.

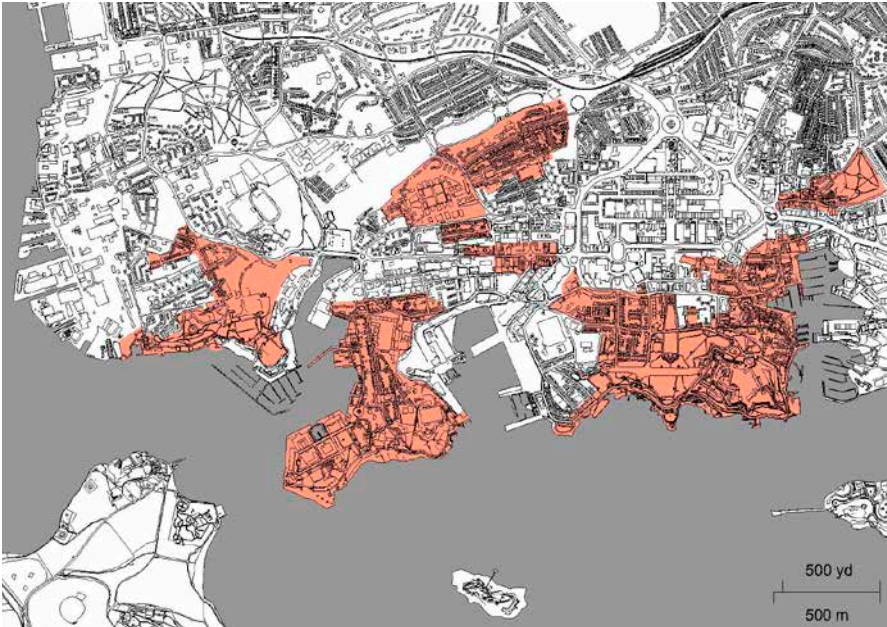
103 Plymouth City Council. The Hoe Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2008. p. 6-7.

104 Plymouth City Council. Adelaide Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6.

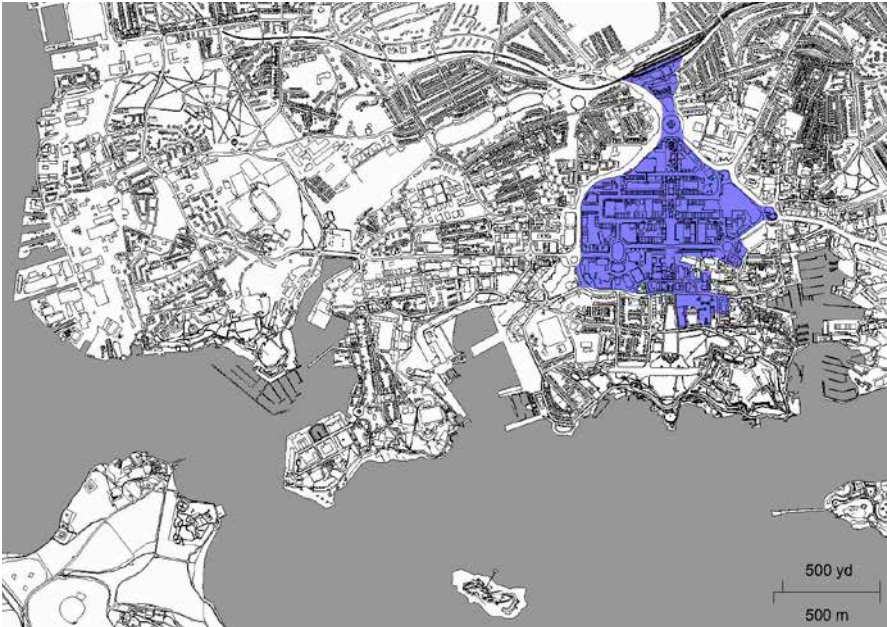
105 Plymouth City Council. Devonport Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6-7.

106 Plymouth City Council. Union Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 6.

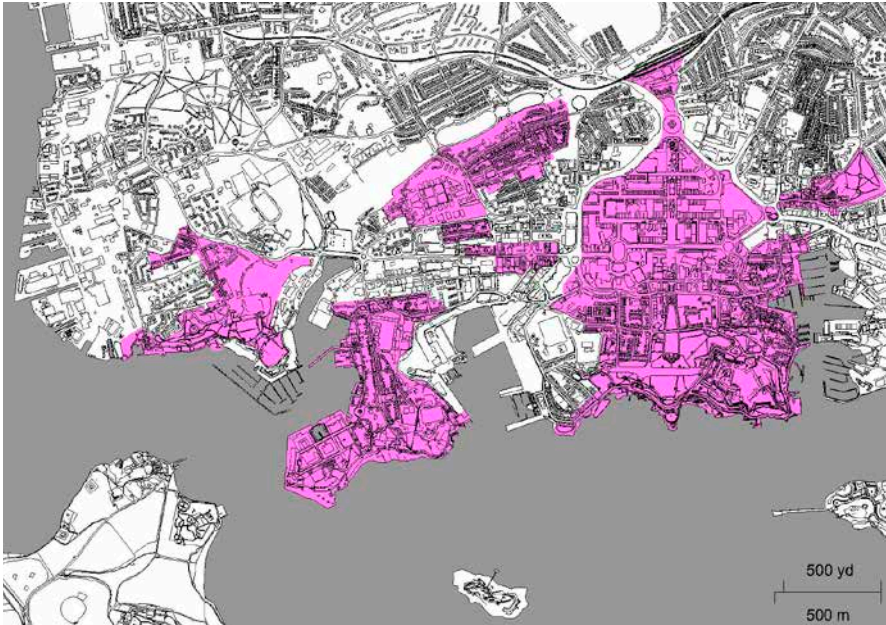
107 Plymouth City Council. Ebrington Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2008. p. 6-7.



Designated conservation areas in central Plymouth. Delimitation and description of each one are treated below. Source: the author, based on: conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans. Op cit.



Proposal for designating a City Centre conservation area. Source: the author.



Study area. Source: the author.

For this research, the first of the options is considered because it covers the footprint of the reconstruction of central Plymouth by the Plan. Thus, the distinctive character of the whole area in terms of urban lay out, architectural style, volumes and streetscape is considered. The chosen boundaries are Western Approach, North Cross and the railway station, Colburg Street, Charles Street, Charles Cross, Exeter Street and the boundaries of The Hoe and Barbican Conservation Areas.

Finally, the study area is the result of joining the designated conservation areas and the proposal for a new City Centre conservation area. The study area covers the neighbourhoods with strongest heritage interest as well as the most visited places in central Plymouth. When it is necessary for some specific issues, the surrounding areas are considered.



PROTECTION OF URBAN HERITAGE IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY

46

The following section is divided into two parts. In the first one, an analysis of the evolution of preservation and management of the historic city of Plymouth is presented. The second part is a study of the current situation regarding conservation areas, statutory listed buildings and other local listing policies.

EVOLUTION OF THE INTEREST IN HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY

Six stages have been distinguished regarding the evolution of the interest in heritage preservation in Plymouth's historic city, namely the prewar antecedents, the consequences of the Second World War, the considerations included in the Plan for Plymouth, the reconstruction carried out, an earlier stage of regeneration plans focusing on economic development and a second phase centred on the participation of communities. Apart from these periods, the reconstruction of the three main monuments and the achievements of the Plymouth Barbican Trust will be treated separately.



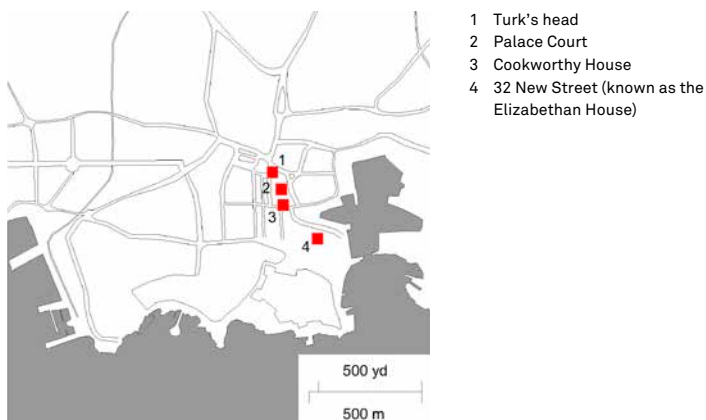
FIRST CONSERVATION MOVEMENTS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

This section is focused on the opposition by prominent persons to the demolition of a handful of remarkable buildings, following the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris. Opposition extended in the 1920s and 1930s when slum clearance programmes threatened the whole Barbican.

A remarkable achievement of this time was the purchase and restoration by public subscription of the Elizabethan House. Another significant step of heritage preservation in prewar years was the elaboration of registers of buildings of historic or architectural interest. Conservation organisations created in this period have been crucial in preserving the city's built heritage ever since.

Before the Second World War, living conditions in the old neighbourhoods of Plymouth were extremely poor. There was a density of 230 people to the acre in some areas ($56,832 \text{ inhab./km}^2$)¹⁰⁸. Another major problem of those days was traffic congestion, it was said that Plymouth had the worst situation in the UK outside London.¹⁰⁹

The Barbican had long become a slum neighbourhood but many Elizabethan and older buildings were still standing until the end of the 19th century. That was possible because in Victorian times the upper classes moved to new houses in the outskirts of the town thanks to road improvements and the old buildings were changed into multi-tenanted homes for the poorest people. Buildings were scarcely maintained by landlords mostly interested in getting rents. In this context, slum clearance and street widening were given priority at the expense of buildings deemed to have heritage merit. Opposition came by a group of local people heavily influenced by John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, and by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), which was founded in 1877 by William Morris. Their principle was to put protection ahead of restoration.



Location of the demolished Turk's Head, Palace Court and Cookworthy House, and the restored 32 New Street (currently known as the Elizabethan House) over the prewar street pattern. Source: the author.

108 Gould J, Gould C. *Plymouth planned: the architecture of the Plan for Plymouth 1943-1962*. Somerset: Jeremy and Caroline Gould Architects; 2000. p. 6.

109 Essex S, Brayshay M. Town versus country in the 1940s: planning the contested space of a city region in the aftermath of the Second World War. *The Town Planning Review*. 2005; 76 (3): 239-264. p. 246.

The Turk's Head was one of the first prominent buildings to be pulled down in the decade of 1860. At that time it was believed to be the oldest building in town and James Hine, a local architect, wrote in 1861 about it:

*"I was designed and put upon my foundations rather more than 400 years ago, and have to thank the Crusaders, who beat the Infidels in the Holy War, for my name. In my youthful days the good town I'm about to quit for ever hadn't as many hundreds as it now has thousands of people, but it had more friars of orders grey, white and black, than there are parsons of every shade in all modern Plymouth. Some of them were early patrons of mine, and ever and anon gave me a call, liking well my sign, but better still my sack and my jovial company. A church, a monastery, and a town cross were my near neighbours, and I thrived well in their company; and of my surrounding contemporaries (solid, gabled, and mullioned, and put together much as I am), there was hardly one that kept its head (or tiles) much higher than mine, for the tall and overhanging timbered houses, like my old friend in Notte Street, had not yet been thought of".*¹¹⁰

William Henry Kearley Wright, the city librarian, stated about the demolition of Hoe Gate in the same decade:

*"for it does appear something like an act of vandalism to remove so ornamental a structure, especially as the street itself is not a much-used thoroughfare".*¹¹¹

Another remarkable building which was pulled down in this period was the Palace Court in the 1870s, where Catherine of Aragon had stayed. Soon after, Cookworthy House, a building of Queen Anne period, was demolished as well.

Demolitions and building of blocks of flats involved the disappearance of the old townscape. In 1901, William Henry Kearley Wright expressed his opinion as follows:

*"In common with nearly all the old streets of Plymouth the hand of the destroyer has been busy, and these fine gabled houses have been demolished to give place to newer and less picturesque dwellings. In this way old Plymouth is vanishing and new Plymouth is arising in all the glory of new bricks and ugly stucco to the disgust of lovers of the picturesque on the one hand, but to the joy of the utilitarian to the other".*¹¹²

Not only demolitions were carried out in this period. The main monuments, such as St Andrew's Church and Charles Church, were restored several times in their lives and the Guildhall was rebuilt. In the 1920s, the Prysten House

110 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Plymouth: Pen & Ink; 2007. p. 19.

111 Wright WHK. Handbook to Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport. 1878.

112 Eldred CE, Wright WHK. Streets of old Plymouth. Plymouth: JH Keys, 1901.

was restored coinciding with the achievement by Plymouth of the City status, St Andrew's was expected to be turned into a cathedral and the Prysten House would have been the new cathedral offices. The restoration was carried out by the architect Arthur Southcombe Parker as a consultant, who was also involved in the preservation of the Old Customs House.

After the First World War, there was a national trend of rejecting the old in favour of a brand new world, which led to the demolition of John Foulston's Theatre Royal to give way to the Royal Cinema. In the 1920s and 1930s, slum clearance plans increased as did opposition. The lack of interest of the Corporation for Plymouth's heritage contrasted with the demand showed by people from the United States of America, who purchased substantial architectural remains. Old buildings were pulled down around St Andrew Street, High Street and Treville Street, as a consequence, more 17th century buildings were lost during the 1930s than during the Second World War. Pressures arose to create a Housing Committee to establish priorities to repair buildings and avoid demolition. Charles Bracken, headmaster of Plymouth Corporation Grammar School, pointed out about the issue:

*"The moral is that the necessary steps to save these odd buildings should have been taken earlier and that it should be the business of any Housing Committee to consider what they can save rather than wait for protests and appeals from without".*¹¹³

49

At the same time, the Corporation was pressed to stop clearance of the Barbican and to do some house improvements as well as to build new blocks of flats without disturbing the street layout.

The trend started to reverse and the symbol of the new conservation movement was the rescue of 32 New Street, currently known as the Elizabethan House. A temporary organisation was created in 1927 to stop its demolition, known as the Old Plymouth Fund. In the management committee were Arthur Southcombe Parker, Charles Bracken, architect and MP Sir Philip Pilditch and Viscount Astor. The Fund was supported by Lady Astor as well. The members raised money to buy the building and restore it.

The building was originally a merchant's house built in the early 17th century, in last times it had been converted into a multi-tenanted property. The façade is remarkable due to two jetties with bracketed oriels to both upper floors. The interior retains its original plan and an example of a circular staircase which was common to many buildings in the area. Carved architectural woodwork from demolished houses was introduced after the restoration.¹¹⁴

113 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 54.

114 Cherry B, Pevsner N. The buildings of England: Devon. First edition 1952, revised 1989, 1991 and 2004. New Haven and London: Yale University Press; 2004. p. 662.



The Elizabethan House nowadays.
Source: the author.

The main objective in the restoration was to keep old work and supplement it with new one in weaker parts. Thus, original structural framework, including walls, frame and roof timbers are all original. The additional buildings in the garden were demolished, allowing the creation of the Elizabethan Gardens.

This success of the Old Plymouth Fund in the restoration of the Elizabethan House led to the creation of the Old Plymouth Society in 1929. It pushed the Corporation to create a Committee with the Museum and themselves in order to establish means of protection of privately owned buildings. The Committee was in charge of examining the buildings, reporting their condition and deciding the best means of preventing them from being destroyed or damaged. If demolition was necessary, the valuable parts were acquired by the museum. Moreover, the Society presented a new plan to the Corporation to replace its general slum clearance programme for a new one limited to the buildings in worst condition. It considered the retention of the street pattern, the removal of poor buildings added at the rear of notable buildings and the building of new block of flats sympathetic to the character of the area to rehouse the population.

The Old Plymouth Society¹¹⁵ had a strong legacy in Plymouth's built heritage preservation. After the Second World War, slum clearance programmes threatened the Barbican one more time and the Society induced the creation of the Plymouth Barbican Association, now Plymouth Barbican Trust, which will be treated below. In the sixties, the organisation lost its original energy and the last meeting of members took place in 1968. However, in 1992 it

¹¹⁵ Old Plymouth Society [Internet]. Plymouth: Old Plymouth Society; c2012-[cited 2014 Aug 9]. Home [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.oldplymouthsociety.net/index.php>

experienced a rebirth. Nowadays it has around two hundred and fifty members who organise a year round programme of lectures, visits to places not open to the general public, walks and publications with the aim of promoting interest and research into, and the preservation of, Plymouth's heritage.

Finally, in the decades before the Second World War, the first registers of buildings of heritage merit were elaborated by the same authors who were involved in stopping demolition of remarkable buildings. It was a way to denounce losses and raise awareness of the threats.

The first work of this kind was a publication of drawings called "The Nooks and Corners of Old Plymouth" by John McDonald, a local artist, in 1883. Later in 1913, Sibyl Jerram made a similar compilation of architectural pieces including drawings of doorways, alley ways, stairwells, fireplaces, cupboards and exterior views of old Plymouth properties. In 1901, Charles E Eldred and William Henry Kearley Wright made a register of old buildings following the one proposed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1896 for London. They included properties still standing and those that had been lost within living memory.

Arthur Southcombe Parker compiled in 1914-1918 a register entitled "Civic Survey: Antiquarian Survey of Old Plymouth". Buildings were coded as "worthy", "desirable" or "very desirable" to preserve. It included front elevations and interior details, such as ceilings, staircases, covings, balustrade, door frames, window frames and corner cupboards.

Around 1928-1930, Arthur Southcombe Parker and Charles Bracken made a list of buildings worth preserving, called "Ancient Buildings Survey for the Newly-Formed Old Plymouth Society", and stated:

"We have seriously neglected our heritage during the last fifty or a hundred years. We have allowed many glorious relics to be wantonly destroyed. Plymouth should be the great Elizabethan centre of England, but that fact has been somewhat lost sight of, and now we are hardly cognizant of what still exists in our midst. I have taken the trouble to prepare a list, and it is surprising to see what still remains".¹¹⁶

The list was updated in 1938 and entitled "Plymouth's Schedule of Ancient Buildings Whose Preservation as a Whole or in Part is Desirable". Between the two lists, a third of all buildings singled out as being worth of preservation had been lost, almost all of them ageing more than 200 years.

116 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 43.



THE SECOND WORLD WAR. CONSEQUENCES ON BUILT HERITAGE

In this section, the damages caused by World War II on built heritage will be treated. Apart from destruction caused by war, many other buildings were knocked down in order to avoid the image of a city in ruins.

In Summer 1940, France was occupied and the city was within easy reach of the Luftwaffe based in Brittany. Plymouth was a main objective for its military infrastructure, including the naval dockyard, the Royal Air Force base and large army garrisons. The city suffered 59 raids, being those on 20-21 March and 21-29 April 1941 the most severe. Most of the damage was caused by incendiary bombs. In the first main raid over 10,000 bombs were dropped in the first 10 minutes of attack that lasted more than three hours. The water pipes were broken and as a result, the emergency services could not stop the spreading fires¹¹⁷. Moreover, when the cathedral city of Lübeck was bombed by the Royal Air Force in March 1942, Hitler decided to launch a series of reprisal raids to some English cities, following the Baedeker tourist guide to select the targets. On 23-25 April, Exeter was the first to be hit and Plymouth was located in the flying route.

Raids reduced large parts of central Plymouth to rubble. Pevsner described the situation in 1952 as follows:

*"Plymouth, with just over 200,000 inhabitants, is the largest city in Devon-in fact, the only large city in Devon. It is also one of the worst war-damaged cities in Britain, and so, at the time of writing, its centre is not a picture to be described in terms of architecture, but of dust or mud and rubble and weirdly shaped fragments of walls. This novel setting helps a few of the remaining buildings (e.g. the Guildhall) but denies Plymouth that urban individuality which Stonehouse and Devonport have been fortunate to preserve".*¹¹⁸

As a result, Plymouth was one of the most severely damaged cities in England along with Coventry, Exeter, Bristol and London. The city was the most heavily bombed city in the UK per surface and per population. The population fell from almost quarter a million to 119,000 inhabitants¹¹⁹, shops moved from the City Centre to other premises in the northern neighbourhoods and the city's rate income fell by one third.¹²⁰

117 Goodridge J. No half-and-half-affair: the Plan for Plymouth, 1943. South West papers in geography. 1983; Postwar Plymouth: planning and reconstruction essays marking the fortieth anniversary of the 1943 Plan for Plymouth; 8: 7-21. p. 8.

118 Pevsner N. Op cit.

119 Goodridge J. Op cit. p. 8.

120 Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. A Plan for Plymouth, the report prepared for the City Council. Plymouth: Underhill; 1943. p. 5.

After the Blitz, almost 4,000 houses were destroyed or damaged beyond repair and other 18,000 suffered severe damage. Furthermore, 23 schools, 11 clubs, 10 cinemas, 7 hotels, 8 hospitals, 150 public houses, more than 80 businesses and 40 churches were ruined, St Andrew's and Charles Church among them. The public services such as gas, electricity, water and public transport were disrupted many times. Some of the principal buildings left in ruins were Stonehouse Town Hall, Plymouth Guildhall and Municipal Offices, Law Courts, General Post Office, Public Library and Promenade Pier¹²¹. Nevertheless, the Barbican escaped almost entirely the bombing, only 1% of the buildings beyond repair were located in the neighbourhood. Among the main buildings that outlived the war were Lloyd's Bank, Derry's Clock, Odeon Cinema, Car Sales at Colin Campbell Court, Telephone Exchange, Methodist Church and Western Morning News headquarters.

The City Council's priority was to remove the ruins from the streets. Many buildings of architectural or historic significance that had been damaged but still possible to repair were swept away as well, preparing the ground for reconstruction plans. Arthur Southcombe Parker described the situation in June 1943 as follows:

*"There are three kinds of demolitions: by the Corporation, by owners, by war damage. Of these the Corporation is the largest and most reprehensible agent and their work is done without due consideration or enlightenment in any form. Owner's demolitions are done with the purpose of benefiting their pockets and without knowledge of the loss incurred to the City, while the War demolitions are partly necessary for safety but in some cases appear to be part of a concerted effort of clearing everything away for the sake of creating a clean sheet irrespective of whether the buildings are good or sound or not".*¹²²

The significant damage caused to built heritage motivated Charles Bracken and others to compile a new register in November and December 1942, called "Present state of the ancient buildings of Plymouth". The register indicated what was left of the ancient buildings that had been recorded in previous lists. By that time, the national listing legislation had suggested to consider all buildings dating prior to 1830, just before the Industrial Revolution extension, as a result almost all Barbican buildings were considered.

121 Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. p. 262.

122 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 57.



THE LIMITED HERITAGE APPRAISAL IN THE PLAN FOR PLYMOUTH

This section focuses on how built heritage was considered in the Plan for Plymouth. The Plan caused the replacement of the city's core, all the buildings interfering with the new layout and the citizens' emotional references. Nevertheless, the Plan contributed to create a new heritage that has not been fully recognised yet.

War destruction and reconstruction is a common pattern to many British and European cities which illustrates a key period in 20th century history. This importance has been recognised by the designation of Le Havre's city centre as a World Heritage Site in 2005, planned by Auguste Perret between 1945 and 1954. Within the British most severely bombed cities, only Plymouth renewed the whole of its city centre and its institutions.¹²³

Plymouth was an important garrison and a city in ruins was unacceptable and perceived bad for public morale. Even before the end of the raids, there was a growing local mood that highlighted the city's strength and the wish to a quick recovery from the damage. This attitude was supported by war propaganda, which stressed the most epic chapters of Plymouth's history and projected them to the future. Nothing represented it better as the dances on the Hoe after the attacks, which were a tradition in the city at war time. They took place during the Napoleonic Wars as well. The dances remembered Sir Francis Drake's game of bowls before the defeat of the Spanish Armada and this historic chapter was compared to the victory over the Nazis. Lord Astor described it as follows:

"[...] that same evening-only a few hours after the last plane had gone-I went up to the Hoe and was able to thank our people for not letting Hitler stop their music and open air dancing any more than Sir Francis Drake, in 1588, had allowed the Spanish Armada to stop his game of bowls".¹²⁴

This local mood was being actively spread at a national level through the State's control over the media. One of the ideas promoted was the vision of a "New Jerusalem" in the postwar reconstruction of British cities, generating expectations of a utopian future. There was a rejection of the past, which meant unemployment, poverty, disease and finally led to war, and a firm belief in the creation of a brand new future. According to Paterson¹²⁵, this optimism influenced the bold design of the Plan for Plymouth, so radically different in scale and character to the prewar city.

123 Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. p. 64.

124 Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 18.

125 Paterson AJ. The price paid for Plymouth's new City Centre: a study of those parts of pre-war Plymouth that survived the wartime bombing only to be demolished to make way for the post-war Plymouth Plan [dissertation]. Plymouth: Polytechnic School of Architecture; 1983. p. 32.

The Plan was prepared even before the bombings had stopped and maintaining the surviving areas was not a priority, as the Plan itself stated:

*“The opportunity is now before Plymouth to initiate a great scheme of civic rebuilding and development: out of the disasters of war to snatch a victory for the city of the future-to build better not only what has been destroyed, but also parts which, though left intact, are no longer worthy of her glorious past and her present heroism.”*¹²⁶

Several discussions were running at a national level on how to rebuild the State and the cities after the war. In January 1941, Tom Hopkinson published his “Plan for Britain”, that document included minimum standards about wages, employment, health, education and land use planning. It was the forerunner of the Beveridge Report, which was published in December 1943 and provided the basis of the modern Welfare State. During the war years, there was a public trend back to the spirit of community and demands for a better and more efficient use of the land were increasing. War experience exemplified that giving priority to the general interest was highly productive. There was a confidence that urban problems could be tackled by a mixture of physical development and planning, slums would be cleared and people would be re-housed on pleasant council estates in the suburbs, city centres would be comprehensively redeveloped and industry would be separated from housing.¹²⁷

55

The Plan for Plymouth was particularly influenced by the works of the Barlow Royal Commission on the Location of the Industrial Population, the Scott Committee on the Utilisation of Land in Rural Areas and the Uthwatt Committee on Land Values Compensation and Betterment.¹²⁸

The Uthwatt Committee recommended passing new legislation allowing local authorities to declare “reconstruction areas” over war damaged and obsolete areas, with power of land acquisition at 1939 standard values. This regulation was decisive in the implementation of the Plan for Plymouth.

The Barlow Royal Commission suggested solutions to the urban concentration of population and industry, its conclusions were published in 1940 in the Barlow Report, which was ignored until the Ministry of Works and Building was created in 1942. The Ministry of Works and Building was superseded by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, which published its advisory book in 1947, entitled “The Redevelopment of Central Areas”, it was heavily influenced by the plans for Coventry and Plymouth and by the ideas of Sir Patrick Abercrombie.¹²⁹

126 Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 11.

127 Gripaios P. The failure of regeneration policy in Britain. *Regional Studies*. 2002; 36 (5): 568-577. p. 571.

128 Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 10.

129 Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 65.

The problem of large towns was recognised as a matter of public interest and a planned decentralisation was envisaged, which led to the development of

the New Towns programme. New policies for transport, agriculture and the location of industry were adopted, providing a general framework while other decisions could be taken locally.

In urban planning in particular, the English 18th century was acclaimed. It represented the efforts to liberate society from the irrationalities of myth, religion and superstition and to replace them with rational forms of organisation and modes of thought. It was linked to the ideas of equality, liberty and universal reason¹³⁰. The planning of new towns and cities in Britain in the mid 20th century was largely based on this model and the Plan for Plymouth was its most clear example. According to Gould¹³¹, the Plan for Plymouth was the last in a long tradition of humanistic city planning that had begun in the Renaissance and had been formalised in the 19th century, it represented the city of the Welfare State. The city centre was completely rebuilt with a new shape based on an efficient road network, public space was maximised and traffic means were segregated, as did land uses. The plan was classicist, based on axes and symmetry, and uniform¹³². The plan is non-hierarchical, it was designed for an equal society devoted to education, work and culture.

This vision was followed at an early stage by many British cities such as Southampton, Portsmouth and Bristol. However, by 1947, many local authorities lost initial confidence and enthusiasm and retreated into a more conventional scheme due to lack of economic support or political will, local opposition, shortage of materials and workforce and bureaucratic restraints. Only Coventry and Plymouth maintained their faith in bold plans.¹³³

The planning of Plymouth's reconstruction was favoured by various political links. Lord Astor, the wartime major, had a direct connection with Lord Reith, Minister of Works and Buildings. Lady Astor was the MP for Plymouth Sutton and had a prominent voice in the House of Commons. Lord Astor invited Lord Reith to visit the city in July 1941, soon after the major raids. He advised the Council to plan boldly and comprehensively for postwar reconstruction, in order to be ready to bid for the limited government funds that might be

130 Harvey D. *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford: Blackwell; 1989. p. 12-13.

131 Gould J. *Plymouth: vision of a modern city*. Op cit. p. 63.

132 Willey D. Two tales of one city: alternative accounts for leisure and tourism in urban renewal in Plymouth, England, UK. *World Leisure & Recreation*. 1998; 40 (2): 22-29. p. 22-23.

133 Essex S, Brayshay M. Boldness diminished? The postwar battle to replan a bomb-damaged provincial city. *Urban History*. 2008; 35 (3): 437-461. p. 438.

available after the war¹³⁴. In that month, a first plan for reconstruction was presented by Councillor GP Holmes, which was rejected. It proposed a circular layout centred on Cornwall Street.

Before planning the reconstruction of Plymouth, Professor Patrick Abercrombie was already working in the reconstruction of London with Edward Lutyens, and in Kingston upon Hull with JH Forshaw. In Plymouth, the same strategy was adopted and he collaborated with James Paton Watson, the city engineer. Abercrombie was a member of the Barlow Commission and contributed to the formation of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, which was firmly against urban sprawl into the countryside, this idea heavily influenced the Plan for Plymouth.

The Plan for Plymouth was prepared during 1942, while bombs were still falling and with little public participation in order to avoid pressures from landowners and merchants. In fact, businessmen were some of the greatest opponents to the Plan because of the extensive redevelopment of undamaged buildings, the oversized extension of the new shopping area and the acquisition of land by the Council at low prices. One objector noted:

*"The fine city you plan, founded on injustice to the small tradesman and property owner, is doomed from the start, as anything must be which is built on sand".*¹³⁵

The document was finally completed by September 1943. The model and drawings were displayed at the City Art Gallery in April 1944 and its basic principles were approved by the Council in August 1944.

The Plan had to be particularly attractive for trade, as Plymouth was heavily dependent on its role as a regional shopping centre, and nearby towns were taking advantage of the departure of people and businesses caused by war. Attracting businesses would quickly restore the Council's rate income, more so when it was the new landowner. Another priority was to relocate working class families in newly built suburbs, since 25 per cent of the population were living in overcrowded conditions. The third problem that needed radical treatment was traffic congestion, since before the war there was car parking for only 180 vehicles.¹³⁶

Plymouth was Abercrombie's largest and most ambitious plan. He had not attempted anything on this scale before and precedents must be found elsewhere. According to Gould¹³⁷, the Plan was the first and last Beaux-Arts

134 Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 7.

135 Essex S, Brayshay M. Boldness diminished? The postwar battle to replan a bomb-damaged provincial city. Op cit. p. 461.

136 Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 32.

137 Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 6-7.



Armada Way, the main axis of the reconstructed City Centre. Source: the author.

plan in Great Britain. It was influenced by Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse and the concept diagram was very similar to Louis de Soissons's Welwyn Garden City. It relates to the international City Beautiful Movement, which influenced the planning of Chicago, New Delhi, Le Havre and Canberra. It has also been associated with Albert Speer's mostly unrealised plan for Berlin. The coherent architectural treatment was inspired by the style of Edward Lutyens and the neo-classicism of Bath and Cheltenham. The grid was inspired by the Georgian plan of Edinburgh's New Town and its relationship to the older city. The main cross street at Plymouth, Royal Parade, is similar in composition to Princes Street in Edinburgh: commercial on one side and monumental on the other.

The Plan for Plymouth was a development plan in which caring about built heritage was not central. However, it had to decide which elements were significant enough to be kept and which of them should give way to new developments. The historic street pattern was completely replaced in the central area of the town and only the buildings having a strong significance or not interfering the new street layout were saved.

The Plan proposed to move to other places some of the buildings that were located on the site of new streets, such as Prudential Assurance Offices, New Post Office, Bank of England, Westminster Bank and Lloyds Bank¹³⁸. None of those buildings were finally relocated, only Derry's Clock was moved from its original central position to an irrelevant one.

¹³⁸ Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 77.



Derry's Clock nowadays, located at the back of the current Theatre Royal behind a car park. Source: the author.

The Royal Citadel was acknowledged as one of Plymouth's most precious historic assets. Late additions were proposed to be removed, both within and without, like Marine Biological Laboratory, which was heavily criticised for its juxtaposition with the wall of the Citadel.

There was no discussion regarding the preservation of the two main churches, namely Charles Church and St Andrew's Parish Church. Of both of them only a shell remained. The former was preserved as an open-air church in memory to the forty churches destroyed. Sadly, it was left inside the central island of a roundabout and it is not accessible. The latter was rebuilt contrasting the new parts with the old ones.

The Hoe is probably the most known space in Plymouth. Not only was it preserved, but it also achieved a key position as one of the two foci of the new main axis.

The new main axis led from North Railway Station down the centre and up to the Hoe. It was crossed by parallel streets and enclosed by a road ring. It was suggested to be called "The Elizabethan Way" to commemorate Queen Elizabeth I times, which was the golden age in the city's history and the name of the following sovereign too, Queen Elizabeth II, in whose reign former glories were desired to be revived. It was designed as a decorative and monumental way, even compared to the Champs Elysées. The street was called Phoenix Street and finally Armada Way. Due to businessmen pressures, the street was made narrower to increase shopping surface. Building heights were too low for its width and its monumentality was partially lost.

The Plan gave special importance to the city gateways and the first impression that visitors got. The most important gateways were North Cross, the railway entrance, and Millbay, the port entrance. When arriving to Plymouth by train, visitors should have been able to see the structure of the city at a glance and an overview of the Hoe, the most precious Plymouth's setting, just leaving the station. However, this idea was hampered by the city's topography since Armada Way goes down to the centre and then up to the Hoe, thus, blocking an open view. Millbay port was proposed to be the maritime entrance to the city, hosting a conference centre and amusements such as an open-air theatre and a stadium. This area was located very close to the Hoe, the Barbican, the City Centre and the hotels and boarding houses precinct of West Hoe, and would have added more attractions to Plymouth as a holiday centre. These proposals were not finally developed. Other entrances taken into account, though less important at that time, were Roborough airport and Mount Batten flying boats base.

One of the key principles of the Plan was to segregate uses into precincts, where each sector related to an activity. The precincts idea came from Mr Aker Tripp, Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard, who envisaged a road system that dissected the town into a series of zones with pedestrian priority, discouraging through traffic¹³⁹. This idea was proposed to reduce the increasing number of accidents linked to the rising amount of vehicles on the streets.

Precincts were used to separate urban functions, in the same way that different uses were developed in distinct rooms inside a house. Scotland explained it in the summary of the Plan as follows:

*"What would anybody think of a house in which the washing was done in the parlour and the cooking in the bedroom? In the well-kept house, different rooms are used for different purposes. The scullery is the place where the washing is done, cooking is done in the kitchen, the bedrooms are used for sleeping, and the parlour is the place where the whole family goes in the evening for rest and recreation."*¹⁴⁰

Thus, special precincts were planned for hotels and boarding houses, shopping centre, government, offices, banks and insurance, theatres and cinemas, dwellings and culture.

A particular precinct was reserved for the Barbican, called "Historic Plymouth", which had surprisingly survived the Blitz. The Plan proposed to retain the neighbourhood as opposite to the modern City Centre, with a contrasting architecture, urban layout and streetscape. Ancient and modern

¹³⁹ Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Scotland A. A handbook of the Plymouth Plan, being a summary of the report prepared for the City Council by J. Paton Watson and Sir Patrick Abercrombie. London: Nisbet & Co.; 1945. p. 16.

was intended to stand side by side, each with its particular features. This idea could have been influenced by the Cerdà Plan for Barcelona, where the old city was broadly maintained and surrounded by the new extensions.

In order to reinforce the contrast with the new, it was recommended to build a wall around the neighbourhood, which was not finally carried out. The Parade was intended to be the local centre, including a Community Centre and cafes. It was located in a prominent position thanks to the short distance to the Mayflower Stone, which achieved a new political and tourist significance after the war alliance with USA.

The Plan's authors stated clearly that it was not their intention to create a pseudo-antique district, just to restore the ancient buildings and to preserve the old streets. Nevertheless, only the street pattern and a handful of buildings were meant to survive. Especially around the Parade, old buildings were to be replaced with something more in keeping the spirit of the past. Fortunately, proposals for the Barbican were delayed since attention was focused on the development of the City Centre and the housing suburbs.

The Plan gave priority to cars. Wide roads were designed with open curves and included fences along their edges, traffic islands, subways and pedestrian bridges. As a result, streets lost its character as a meeting place. Cars needed storage and car parks made their appearance in the city, occupying the new blocks' central spaces. Streets were forgotten and replaced with a classification of traffic routes under the exclusive control of specialised engineers. Nowadays, pedestrian-only streets were oversized and look empty in the evening when shops close, this effect is strengthened by the lack of other uses, especially residences.

The architecture of the Plan for Plymouth was influenced by ideas linking modern architecture with urban planning and visions of a new social order, spread in books such as "Planning Tomorrow's Britain", "When We Build Again" and "Building for the People"¹⁴¹. It adopted rationalism from the thirties and rejected Victorian style, which reminded to slums and congestion.

The Plan did not go deep into architectural design apart from volumes parameters, details were left to developers. Buildings were cubic in form and influenced by classical models. Façades were composed following the strict lines of the Plan, creating continuity in heights, cornices and rhythm in windows, which gave place to a uniform street scene. Architects worked hand in hand with artists and sculptors, who created a variety of details such as murals, reliefs, mosaics, sculptures, railings and stained glass windows. Some of the buildings including these art works are the Pannier Market, Guildhall, Crown Courts and St Andrew's Church.

141 Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 7.

Regarding building materials, Portland stone was widespread. Other buildings were in red-brick, influenced by the Western Morning News, one of the few red-brick buildings that survived the Blitz and postwar reconstruction. When money started to run out, more red-brick, reconstructed Portland stone and prefabricated panels were used than real stone. Controls were relaxed after the retirement of Paton Watson in 1958 and the variety of materials increased. Moreover, cheap built shops were easier to rent and quality decreased while reconstruction made progress north of Royal Parade.¹⁴²

The Plan was not limited to the City Centre and gave suggestions for Stonehouse and Devonport as well, although in a much more general way.

Devonport's centre was completely blotted out and the Admiralty wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to extend the dockyard, which meant the virtual disappearance of the neighbourhood. The idea was regarded as positive for the whole city since the dockyard was the main employer in Plymouth so finally Devonport's shopping premises were forced to relocate in the new City Centre. As Scotland pointed out:

*"The needs of the Royal Navy must be met. It is our "Sure Shield" and if an extended Devonport Dockyard is necessary for the efficiency of the Fleet, Devonport people will proudly accept the loss of their town. Their loss is the gain of the nation as a whole and of Plymouth in particular; for, as already stated, the continuance of the Dockyard means that Plymouth's future is assured."*¹⁴³

The Admiralty changed its position several times during the following years and eventually, land requirements were much smaller than firstly demanded. Uncertainty arose even before the Plan was finished and the authors submitted an alternative proposal in case the dockyard extension did not take place. The proposal followed the same principles as for the City Centre and was never developed. It conceived a central commercial avenue and a new street pattern, where only the Devonport Column and Foulston's Guildhall would have been preserved.

The plans for Stonehouse were substantially different. The existing buildings were proposed to be wiped out since many of them had already been reduced to rubble and over one half of the remaining structures were more than 75 years old. The area north of Union Street was set for dwellings and the southern sector down to Millbay Docks was kept for industries.

¹⁴² Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 21-33.

¹⁴³ Scotland A. Op cit. p. 28.

➤ IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN FOR PLYMOUTH: SUBSTITUTION OF THE PREWAR URBAN CORE AND CREATION OF A NEW HERITAGE

This section focuses on the implementation of the Plan for Plymouth. The results lacked the magnificence suggested on paper. Fortunately, the proposal to save just a few buildings on the Barbican was not delivered since interest was focused on the new City Centre.

Before reconstruction began, it was necessary to proceed without the pressure of former owners and tenants. The Town and Country Planning Act 1947 established controls over private property for public interest and the nationalisation of developments rights. It set out the regulation allowing local authorities to purchase bombed land and Plymouth was the first to make a Compulsory Purchase Order. Thus, extensive war damaged areas were acquired at 1939 values. This initiative was approved to avoid the general inflation of property prices encouraged by land speculation, which would have increased the cost of reconstruction.

The first kerbstone of the new City Centre was laid on March 1947, in Raleigh Lane. The first section of the main cross formed by Royal Parade and Armada Way was opened in October 1947 by the King. After that, the reconstruction process developed at a steady pace. The enormous project was deeply dependant on public funding and money increasingly run out while reconstruction was making progress to the north. Moreover, demand for business units decreased due to oversupply. The progressive reduction of urban and architectural quality can be observed, local materials and construction methods gave way to standardised processes and Portland stone replaced the local limestone.

63



Point where the reconstruction of Plymouth began in Derry's Cross. Source: the author.



The Civic Centre, main tower.
Source: the author.

Nevertheless, the City Centre hosts a number of works of some of the most recognised architects in the United Kingdom. Patrick Abercrombie was the best known planner of his time and won the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture in 1946. Other Gold Medalists who worked in Plymouth were Giles Scott, Curtis Green, John Murray Easton and Howard Robertson. Some of the RIBA prize winners who worked in the city were Thomas Tait, William Crabtree, Louis de Soissons, Easton & Robertson, Christopher Green and Geoffrey Jellicoe. Other prestigious architects who participated in Plymouth's reconstruction were Colin Cakes, Lucas Roberts & Brown, Hector Stirling and Ian Ritchie.¹⁴⁴

The new City Centre concentrates some of the best examples of British architecture of the fifties. Two remarkable examples are the Civic Centre and the City Market.

The Civic Centre was listed grade II in 2007. It is the highest building in town, standing as a focal point for the whole city and for Armada Way in particular. The first plans were designed by Hector Stirling in 1951 and finally the Council appointed Jellicoe & Partners in 1957 to develop the project. Its construction finished in 1962.

The idea for the Civic Centre included in the Plan for Plymouth consisted of a group of buildings around a square. Stirling modified the concept to erect the first high-rise building in the city, of fourteen storeys, in heavy contrast with the indifferent low-key buildings of the first postwar years. The complex is

¹⁴⁴ Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 103.



Roof of Plymouth's City Market. Source: the author.

divided into a main volume and a podium. The main volume has a V-shaped canopy on the roof that gives its particular character. Its façade is made of horizontally striped cladding of different textures. The southern podium consists of two elevated storeys connected to the main volume. The podium and the main volume create a square initially planned to host civic ceremonies, concerts and exhibitions. It was finally designed with ponds and informal gardens under the trees, which had belonged to prewar Westwell Gardens and were preserved. The Civic Centre included a wide range of artworks in the inside and some of them still survive, such as glass mosaics, painted ceilings and glass engravings.

Plymouth City Market, formerly known as Plymouth Pannier Market, was built in 1959-1960, it was listed grade II in 2003. It is the only major building in the City Centre designed by local architects, namely Paul Pearn and Ken Bingham. As in the case of the Civic Centre, the general composition of the City Centre buildings was rejected, the market is a hall 40 ft (12,2 m) high with seven great concrete frames 150 ft (45,7 m) long¹⁴⁵. The innovative structural system was designed by Albin Chronowicz, it allowed a greater speed of construction with less shell shuttering and scaffolding. Shell concrete had been pioneered in Germany before the war, but was only widely adopted in Britain when shortages of steel and timber made it an ideal solution for bridging large spans without columns¹⁴⁶. Between the shells, thin concrete vaults were incorporated forming roof lights, providing natural light to the inside.

¹⁴⁵ Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 30.

¹⁴⁶ The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Swindon: English Heritage [cited 2014 Aug 14]. Pannier Market, City of Plymouth Unitary Authority, list entry number 1350321; screens 3-4 [5 screens]. Available from: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1350321&search>

In the outside, undulating canopies on the south and north sides were created, which were influenced by Jane Drew's Thameside restaurant at the Festival of Britain 1951. In the inside, the building was decorated with paintings and murals by David Weeks.

The 1952 Plan¹⁴⁷ was the document that developed the Plan for Plymouth. It partly modified the original layout and it was the one which was finally brought to reality. The document included a report of areas destroyed or severely damaged beyond repair; the most affected ones were West Hoe with 62% of its buildings gutted, the City Centre with 39%, South Stonehouse with 27% and North Stonehouse with 22%¹⁴⁸. It can be observed that although extensively ruined, there were still a large proportion of buildings that could have been repaired; many of them were disregarded because of their age and to proceed with the reconstruction plans without obstacles.

Preservation of surviving buildings depended on economic cost-effectiveness. Thus, different types of dwellings were developed in each neighbourhood. In Devonport, there was an extensive replacement to give place to council flats, since people could not have been able to pay the high rents involved on restoring existing buildings. In the Barbican, many properties were converted into smaller dwellings and civic uses, and in Durnford Street a wide conversion into boarding houses was planned.

A provisional list including buildings of historic or architectural interest was prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in pursuance of Section 30 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, seven of those buildings and one more were scheduled as ancient monuments by the Ministry of Works¹⁴⁹. The buildings included in the list had to be preserved unless there was a reason of public interest to make the contrary, thus keeping a balance between planning needs and a particular building's merit. Therefore, the 1952 Plan stated that buildings coming into conflict with the reconstruction plans should be demolished, the same for those that were in poor condition or were in an area designated for other use. As a result, among the 262 buildings provisionally listed I or II, 43 were destroyed because they were in conflict with reconstructions plans. On the other hand, twenty buildings were due for restoration, namely the Guildhall, Lockyer Street 1-8, Penlee Gardens 1 and 2, the Prysten House, St Andrew's Church and Wyndham Square 12-16, 23 and 24.

The 1952 plan included the preservation of a few remarkable buildings in the Barbican, the area was considered one of Plymouth's main tourist attractions.

¹⁴⁷ Paton Watson J. *City of Plymouth Development Plan*, 1952 submission. 1952.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem. *Central areas of comprehensive development*. p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ v Paton Watson J. *City of Plymouth Development Plan*, 1952 submission. *Op cit*. Report of survey. p. 81-83.

However, its survival as a whole was threatened one more time. In 1949, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings had been appointed by the Council to prepare a plan for the Barbican, which proposed knocking down the less valuable buildings and restoring the rest. The author of the plan was John E Macgregor. It included many recommendations, something that the Old Plymouth Society and the Chamber of Commerce had been long demanding, but this plan never came into reality. Two visions coexisted regarding the Elizabethan district. The first one supported its complete reconstruction, Alderman HM Bert Medland stated that "The Barbican is a slum area. It should be treated as such"¹⁵⁰. On the other side stood the Chamber of Commerce, which criticised the only focus of the Reconstruction Committee on dwelling houses, condemning the Barbican as a mere residential area. This vision was supported by the Royal Fine Arts Commission, who visited the area in July 1955 and remarked that

"the Barbican is an area of exceptional architectural and historic interest, and special measures are required to ensure the preservation of its existing character in any redevelopment".¹⁵¹

Demolitions went on and by the mid-1950s more 16th and 17th century buildings had been destroyed by reconstruction plans than by the Blitz¹⁵². The situation motivated an increasing popular opposition. As soon as in 1953, 7,400 citizens addressed a petition to the Prime Minister appealing against further demolition.¹⁵³

The Housing Subsidies Act of 1956 permitted the Council to getting a grant from the British Government for every house that was pulled down because it was declared unfit to live in, with the condition that a new dwelling was built in substitution. Thus, 56 houses were joined in a Compulsory Purchase Order, many of them with architectural or historical interest. As a result, almost the whole area between Lambhay Hill and Southside Street was endangered, with the exception of the Elizabethan House. In the same year, the oldest inn building in town, the Ring o' Bells, was pulled down for a road widening. That action was widely criticised, since the Ring o' Bells was a 16th century building listed grade II in 1951.

Opposition to the actions explained motivated the creation of the Plymouth Barbican Association in 1957, which will be treated below.

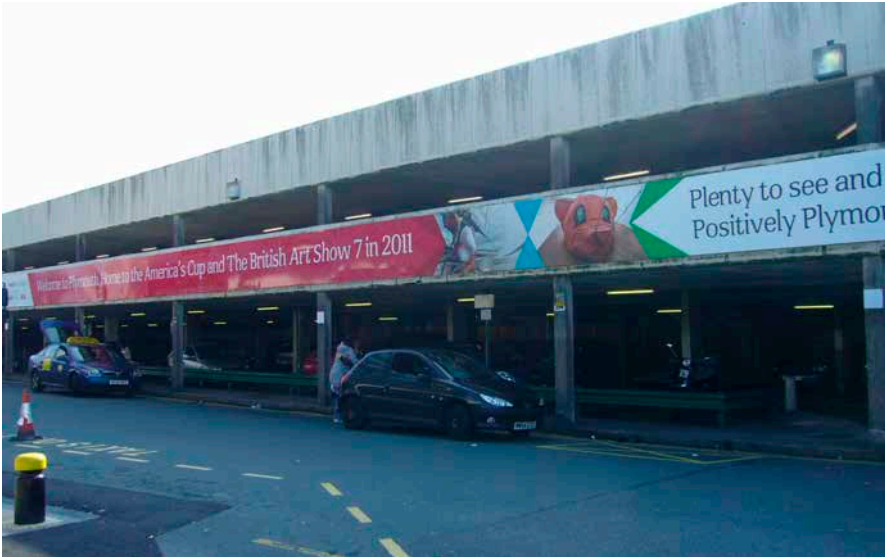
The completion of the Civic Centre in 1962 marked the end of Plymouth's reconstruction. The Reconstruction Committee was dismantled in 1961 and the subsequent works were left to developers and the Council's departments.

¹⁵⁰ Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 84.

¹⁵¹ Idem.

¹⁵² Freeman M. City's jewel. The Plymouth Herald. 2007 Nov 21. p. 14 (col. 3).

¹⁵³ Paterson AJ. Op cit. p. 42.



Current view from North Cross railway station, showing a car park. Source: the author.

After twenty years, some of the proposals of the Plan for Plymouth were achieved, some aspects were developed otherwise and other ones proved to have been inaccurate or optimistic in excess.

Plymouth reconstruction was successful on raising a completely new inner-city from ruins, efficient and planned, solving many of its prewar problems. However, one of the aspects that the Plan for Plymouth could not expect was the overwhelming increase of vehicles on the streets, as the Plan itself remarks:

*"In the USA it (the rate between cars and persons) is nearly one to every six persons. We do not foresee this proportion being attained in England. There will be a very substantial increase. We have allowed in our plan for the main traffic routes to carry twice their prewar loads".*¹⁵⁴

Designing for cars was a priority that was partially balanced with pedestrianisation policies in the following decades. Segregation by motorways, flyovers and underpasses was common to many UK cities rebuilt at that time, it was a consequence of the provisions of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, in which land use was clearly separated from social and economic planning¹⁵⁵. The City Centre is nowadays an island surrounded by a traffic ring, the links with the outer neighbourhoods were solved by subways or pedestrian bridges, some of which were changed later for level crossings.

Car parking was originally provided on-street and inside the service courts. As needs increased, the yards were filled up and new multi-storey car parks

¹⁵⁴ Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 33.

¹⁵⁵ Gripaos P. Op cit. p. 571.



Multi-storey car parks in the City Centre that make a negative contribution to the area.
Source: the author.

were built instead of other uses, detracting pedestrians to move around. It is especially visible at the northern side of the City Centre, with examples such as Drake's Circus, Armada Centre and the blocks between Mayflower Street and Cornwall Street.

The Plan expected that multi-storey buildings could give an appropriate enclosure to the wide streets, protecting from weather conditions and providing upper floors for other uses. However, blocks are only two or three storeys high, giving a suburban image, links from north to south are limited, making it difficult to cross between parallel streets, and the interior courts were used for service access and car parking instead of gardens. The distinction between main streets and service streets was a very efficient solution at its time but it contributed to the lack of mixture of uses. Nowadays, the service courts remain underused, poorly designed and they offer an unattractive image for pedestrians.

The final layout differed from the Plan proposals in some key aspects. Armada Way and the rest of streets were reduced in width due to shoppers pressures¹⁵⁶. The elegant hotel at North Road Station was never built and there are no squares as such, just open spaces not enclosed enough.

Armada Way should have had two magnificent ends at North Cross and the Hoe, which were never completed as expected. Pedestrians from North Cross have to walk under an enormous roundabout and the access to the railway station is hidden by a hill. As a result, the first image that a visitor has when

¹⁵⁶ Essex S, Brayshay M. Vision, vested interest and pragmatism: who re-made Britain's blitzed cities? *Planning Perspectives*. 2007; 22 (4): 417-441. p. 426.

arriving by train is that of a car park, feeling like entering the city through a back door, opposite to the main gate that the Plan designed.

The streets of the City Centre were designed for traffic, when many of them were pedestrianised in the 1980s they were too wide to offer a busy atmosphere and they were filled up by semi-rural landscaping and a wide range of ornaments, signs and street furniture¹⁵⁷. This is particularly intense in Armada Way, which is not the main street it was intended to be, it looks like a suburban promenade instead, with small scale planting, bushes and curved benches. The excessive gardening and decoration in Armada Way obstructs the view to the Hoe, which was central in its conception. Furthermore, the wide and straight street gives a free way for southwest gales, which is one of the main weather conditions the historic city always tried to be protected from.

One of the major problems of the City Centre is the single use of precincts, it arose when reconstruction went on and it was increasingly difficult to find tenants for such a large extension of shopping surface. Prewar city centre contained 10.5 acres (4.2 ha) of ground-floor retail space, or 31.5 acres (12.8 ha) over three floors. The Plan allocated 27.5 acres (11.1 ha) for ground-floor retail provision, or 82.5 acres (33.4 ha) over three floors¹⁵⁸. A solution was found in the reduction in height. Banks occupied several units instead of concentrating them in Notte Street as was first proposed and the possibility of allowing housing was rejected since the beginning, but there was finally no profitable alternative as to locate some flats around Cornwall Street.

The result is a busy central area while shops are open but it turns deserted when they close. Lack of activity outside of business hours contributes to the area feeling unsafe and allows opportunities for antisocial behaviour. The problem of finding tenants increased when shopping trends shifted to indoor shopping centres. The developments of that kind, namely Armada Centre and Drake's Circus, are inward-looking spaces, deliberately opposite to the on-street shopping atmosphere that the Plan envisaged.

The development and implementation of the Plan lacked public participation. According to Willey¹⁵⁹, planners did not listen sufficiently to people's views, the Plan was too rigid and represented a top-down model of decision making. The lack of consultation resulted first by disenchantment, in the 1950s it led to disappointment when results were visible and nowadays it has turned into a lack of civic pride and sense of belonging.

¹⁵⁷ Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 106-113.

¹⁵⁸ Essex S, Brayshay M. Boldness diminished? The postwar battle to replan a bomb-damaged provincial city. Op cit. p. 454.

¹⁵⁹ Willey D. Op cit. p. 23.

As it has been previously explained, preservation of built heritage was not a priority in the reconstruction of Plymouth until opposition arose. 75% of damaged properties during the war were by fire¹⁶⁰, it means that many buildings had their masonry walls still standing and could have been restored. Prominent buildings did not escape the reconstruction process as well, as the Prudential Building, which had been badly damaged during the war but could have been saved if it would not have interfered with Armada Way. Another example was St Catherine's Church, which was pulled down to give way for the Civic Centre car park. St Andrew's Church was restored but it does not occupy the central position it had for centuries, furthermore, it is separated from the City Centre by Royal Parade and the new symbolic area is occupied by the Civic Centre and the Guildhall. Derry's Clock escaped the bombing but was moved from its original central location, standing nowadays at an insignificant site at the back of Theatre Royal and a multi-storey car park, facing the former Lloyd's Bank, which has been converted into a public house. Charles Church was intended to be a prominent war memorial but it was left in the middle of an inaccessible roundabout.

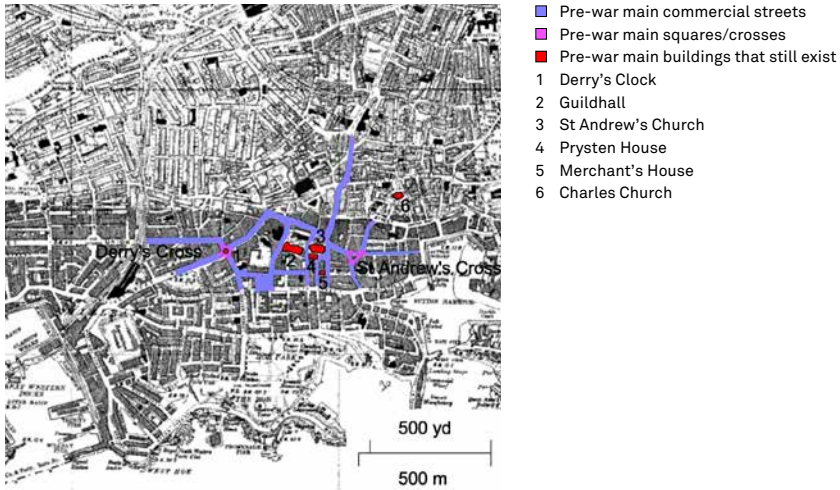
The reconstruction of the City Centre was not anchored enough in the former representative spaces and as a result, the City Centre is undervalued by many locals. The emotional image that many citizens had of their city was lost due to the demolition or displacement of landmarks and the alteration of their hierarchical position. Of special importance was the replacement of the historic city centre formed by Whimble Street, Bedford Street, Old Town Street and St Andrew's Street by the newly created cross between Armada Way and Royal Parade and the main shopping area located to the North-East.

Regarding the architecture of the City Centre, there is a significant contrast between the finest examples and the general character. According to Gould¹⁶¹, one of the reasons is that Plymouth did not have a strategic plan on how to develop the architecture and as a consequence, some incongruent projects were developed out of place. This is the case of the Pavilions, which were built outside the entertainment district, or the proliferation of car parks. Some interventions since the 1970s have deliberately rejected the general character of the area, as the hotel at Armada Centre, which faces a car park's roof and has nothing to do with the hotel at North Cross projected by the Plan. Another hotel tower was built on the approach to the Hoe, competing with the Civic Centre and the War Memorial in height but not in quality.

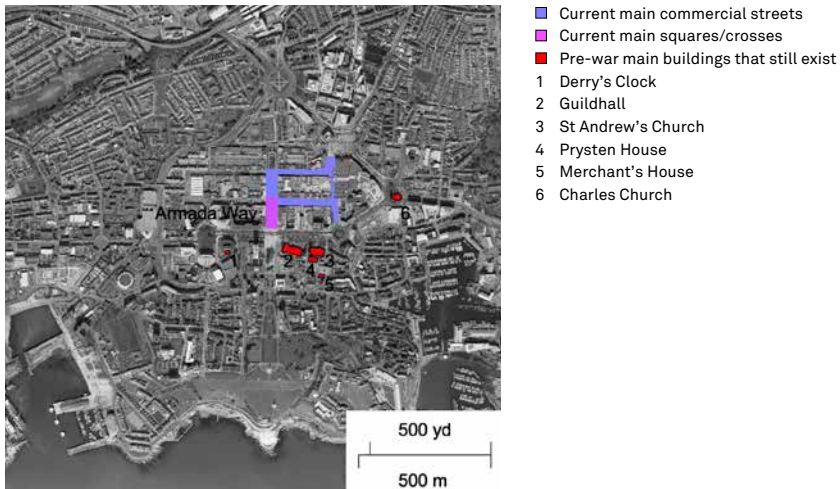
The Plan's vision of a high quality City Centre with boulevards and exciting architecture has been achieved only partially, especially along Royal Parade, Derry's Cross, St Andrew's Cross and Old Town Street. One reason was the

160 Paterson A.J. Op cit. p. 23.

161 Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 98.

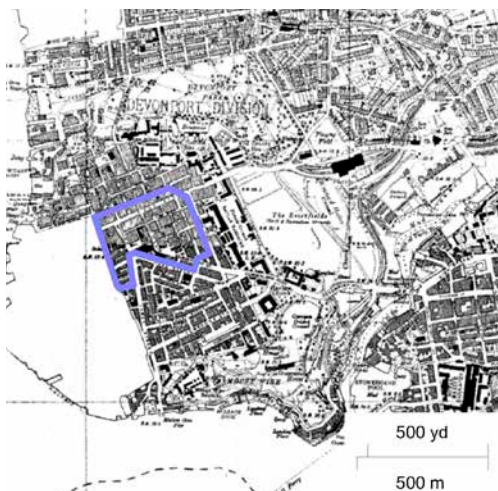


Prewar main commercial streets. Source: the author, based on: Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. Background plan: Plymouth [map]. 1930. Historic Digimap [Internet]. University of Edinburgh, Information Services, EDINA, Digimap collections [downloaded 2011 Sep 15]. Available under subscription from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/digimap/home>



Current main commercial streets. Source: the author. Background picture: Google maps [Internet]. Digital Globe, Getmapping plc, Infoterra Ltd & Bluesky, The Geoinformation Group [updated 2012; downloaded 2012 Aug 21]. Available from: <http://maps.google.es/maps>

need to a quick reconstruction, where quality was often sacrificed. Differences in land values and the commercial appeal of some parts meant that only certain areas were able to bear the higher costs of high quality buildings. The Plan was implemented over a long time, which meant that when priorities and commercial and retail requirements changed, the Plan was not flexible enough to adapt to these alterations.



□ South Yard Enclave: Devonport central area reclaimed by the Admiralty for the dockyards extension

Devonport central area acquired by the Naval Dockyards in 1957 over the 1930 map.
Source: the author, based on: Robinson C. A history of Devonport. Plymouth: Pen & Ink; 2010. p. 203. Background plan: Plymouth [map]. 1930. Op cit.

In the case of Devonport, the Admiralty changed from its 240 acres (97.12 ha) originally demanded to the 50 acres (20.23 ha) finally needed in 1957¹⁶². Although it was not as severe as previously expected, the neighbourhood was cut in two and whole roads and the central old street pattern vanished, including the market and much of the shopping centre. The alternative proposals included in the Plan were not developed and the building quality was very poor. The former busy streets gave way to a run-down neighbourhood and the remaining buildings were replaced by high-rise developments and high density council flats. These aspects, together with the commercial concentration in the rebuilt City Centre, has been a source of resentment in Devonport ever since.

73

> INTERVENTIONS ON THREE SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS DAMAGED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR: ST ANDREW'S CHURCH, THE GUILDHALL AND CHARLES CHURCH

The postwar reconstruction of the three main monuments of the city was given special attention. Each of them achieved a specific solution depending on the damage suffered and their location in the new street pattern.

St Andrew's is Plymouth's medieval parish church, it is the largest in Devon. It is a typical example of main church from the 15th century. The church was restored three times in history, the first by John Foulston in 1826, who

¹⁶² Robinson C. A history of Devonport. Plymouth: Pen & Ink; 2010. p. 203.



St. Andrew's Church nowadays. Source: the author.

removed much of the old woodwork. The second reconstruction took place in 1870-1874, by A. Norman & J. Hine, when a new pulpit was erected. In 1874-1875, Sir George Gilbert Scott directed the final restoration.

The church was left as an empty shell after the Blitz. The morning after the bombs fell, Miss Margaret Smith fixed a board over the north doorway proclaiming "Resurgam" (I shall rise again), the action touched the people's spirits and since then St Andrew's symbolized the general determination to recover from war devastation. The church was laid out with lawns and flower beds, religious services run during and after the war and there was no opposition to its reconstruction.

St Andrew's Church had always marked the town cross of Plymouth. Should the Plan for Plymouth had been fully implemented, St Andrew's Church and the Prysten House would have become the link between the new City Centre and the historic precinct¹⁶³. Nevertheless, the church occupies nowadays an irrelevant position, separated from the City Centre, surrounded by a vast open space and outside the new focal point.

The architect appointed for St Andrew's postwar restoration was Frederick Etchells. The façades recovered their medieval appearance and innovations came to the interior. The nave arcades were stabilized with cast continuous beams above the stonework. The new roof vaults were made of concrete shells, decorated with wooden ribs and plates. The new stained glass windows were designed by John Piper and Patrick Reyntiens, who had

¹⁶³ Scotland A. Op cit. p. 26.



The Guildhall nowadays. Source: the author.

already worked in the Festival of Britain and in many churches including Coventry Cathedral. The five eastern windows were abstract and brightly coloured, in contrast with the plain interior. The floor was replaced by a continuous black slates surface in such a way that nave, aisles and chancel became a unified space, following the contemporary rethinking of the relationship between the clergy and the congregation.¹⁶⁴

The case of the Guildhall was substantially different to the one of St Andrew's. The prewar Guildhall was built in 1870-1874 by A. Norman & J. Hine. It replaced the old one located in the cross between Whimble Street, High Street and Looe Street.

After the war, only an empty shell and the tower remained. The Plan for Plymouth's proposal was to preserve the tower in a new building. In 1948, the Committee approved the demolition of the ruins and it was not until 1951 when the Council agreed to rebuild it by a single vote of difference. The architect appointed was Hector J.W. Stirling. After years of debate, the agreement was to keep the Guildhall exterior to comfort the sentimentalists and give a modern interior without the defects of the old hall.¹⁶⁵

The most significant alteration in the building was the change of its main entrance from the north side to the west side, facing the new Civic Square. It entailed several changes in the interior, especially regarding distribution of seats in the main auditorium.

¹⁶⁴ Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 77.

¹⁶⁵ Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. p. 267.



Charles Church was left in ruins in the middle of a roundabout. Source: the author.

Two copper pyramid roofs were added to the towers, one octagonal for the small tower and one square for the main tower. The main entrance included a projecting coffered canopy inspired in the one designed by Fry & Drew's for the Thames Restaurant's roof at the Festival of Britain. It had similarities to the roof of the new Plymouth's Pannier Market designed by Walls & Pearn.¹⁶⁶

The main pitched roof and the gothic windows were restored and the rest of the interior was completely new. Brick and concrete were used instead of stone and flat roofs were added in the main building. The lobbies and the great hall had a rich decoration, including white terrazzo and white marble walls, bronze doors, a blue leather handrail, a decorated plaster ceiling designed by David Weeks and painted glass windows featuring local history scenes by FH Coventry. Three huge chandeliers hung from the ceiling, symbolising the old Three Towns of Plymouth¹⁶⁷. The reconstruction works finished in 1959.

Charles Church was built in the 17th century in gothic style. The western tower was completed in 1708, and in 1766 the former wooden spire was replaced by the current stone one. In 1828-1829, a new pulpit was added by JH Ball. In 1864, the interior was completely renovated by A Norman & J Hine. Later restorations took place in 1883 and 1889.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Gould J, Gould C. Op cit. p. 80.

¹⁶⁷ Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 36.

¹⁶⁸ Cherry B, Pevsner N. Op cit. p. 641.

After the war, the ruins were no longer an ecclesiastical property, the Church was not interested on reusing them and had expressed opposition to leaving them as a memorial. The Plan for Plymouth had intended to integrate the tower and the spire as a war memorial in the historic precinct.¹⁶⁹

As it has been explained, the ruins of the former church remain nowadays inaccessible at the middle of a roundabout. They are slightly below the ground level because it was necessary to change slopes for the road ring.

One of the most recent proposals to upgrade the area was included in David Mackay's Vision for Plymouth. It suggested the replacement of Bretonside bus station and the creation of a pedestrian promenade between Sutton Harbour and Charles Church.

➤ THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PLYMOUTH BARBICAN TRUST IN REVERSING HERITAGE DESTRUCTION ON THE BARBICAN

This section is dedicated to the work of Plymouth Barbican Trust in saving buildings from slum clearance. Thanks to the Trust, the Barbican started to change its character and became attractive for new people to live, trade and enjoy.

As it has been previously pointed out, the Plan for Plymouth did not take much care about the old buildings that survived the Blitz except for a few examples. The demolition of the Ring o' Bells was particularly opposed and the declaration of properties unfit for human habitation following the Housing Subsidies Act of 1956 favoured the rise of opposition against further destruction. It was particularly intense in the case of the Barbican, since the City Council classified the district as a slum.¹⁷⁰

In 1957, the City Council launched a plan to sweep away the area between Lambhay Hill and Southside Street, leaving the Elizabethan House alone. The Council explained its plans as follows:

"razing all the houses from Lambhay-hill right across Castle-street and New-street to the back of the Southside-street houses, demolishing enough slum properties and putting up enough blocks of flats to win the subsidies. The area would be treated simply as arousing project, a slum-clearance area, with 32, New-street standing alone and forlorn among the new and overpowering blocks".¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Freeman M. Op cit. p. 14 (col. 4).

¹⁷¹ Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 86.



Location of the Plymouth Barbican properties. Source: the author, based on maps given by its members.

Months later, the plan was extended to Looe Street area. Days after its announcement, a number of people met at the Arts Centre and agreed to fight under the umbrella of the Old Plymouth Society¹⁷², which had helped to save the Elizabethan House in the 1920s. The organisation created a sub-committee for the Barbican, which was called Old Plymouth Society Barbican Appeal Fund.

The new sub-committee persuaded the Council not to demolish buildings, providing they were not used as living accommodation. The Council accepted the proposal and found it positive to improve the neighbourhoods's character, stating the following:

*"People who were interested in preserving ancient and historic buildings on the Barbican should start a fund and buy them from the Corp at their site value. Provided that no-one lives in them they would not need to be pulled down. They could be converted into antique shops or old-world tea shops. They would revive the Barbican and it would become a world-wide attraction".*¹⁷³

The Council negotiated with the British Government to get the grants for reconstruction without needing to pull the old buildings down. Thus, the sub-committee was offered to lease six properties in New Street for 999 years if they could find guarantors for 100,000 pounds. The founding members came from the Old Plymouth Society and prominent local people joined, such as Crispin Gill, members of the Foot family and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

172 Gill C. Plymouth Barbican revived. Primera edición en 1966, revisada y replanteada en 1972. Plymouth: Plymouth Barbican Association; 1972. p. 6.

173 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 92.

Four of them put up 25,000 pounds each, chargeable against their estate¹⁷⁴. A limited company was created to manage the properties, which became the Plymouth Barbican Association, currently known as Plymouth Barbican Trust.

The Jacobean House at 36 Looe Street was the first building to be restored. After the success of the first steps, John E Macgregor was appointed for advice in what buildings should be kept and to control works in the leased buildings.

The Barbican Association was one of the first and became one of the largest conservation bodies in Britain¹⁷⁵. It defines itself as a non-profit making charity whose objectives are preserving buildings of historic or architectural value in the city. In 1971 it achieved national acknowledgement, when the Civic Trust published a report for the Department of the Environment stating that of 22 local buildings preservation trusts studied, the Barbican Association was the seventh largest in number of properties owned. According to the report, its success came from its independence, keeping ownership of the properties, operating in a small area, and an effective collaboration with national and local governments.¹⁷⁶

79

Nowadays, the association has restored and owns around thirty houses. The properties bring in 150,000 pounds in rent to continue vital restoration and maintenance¹⁷⁷. The association does not sell the restored buildings and it has become one of the larger landowners in the city. In the early sixties, a community of artists and craftspeople became attracted by the regenerated Barbican. Properties were let to small local businesses or converted into flats at affordable rents. The actions of the association encouraged other people to purchase and restore other buildings threatened by demolition orders, and the first restaurants, wine bars, pubs, night clubs and galleries settled in the area.

Apart from managing properties, the organisation has a remarkable position on leading heritage preservation and enhancement in Plymouth. One of its first projects was the improvement scheme of Southside Street, developed in 1961 in partnership with the City Council and the residents. In 1962, they fought a campaign to save Mount Batten Tower, which had been built at the same time as the Citadel and at that time was under jurisdiction of the Royal Air Force. Nowadays, the association provides plaques and contributes in the restoration of the Prysten House.

174 Freeman M. *Op cit.* p. 14 (col. 5).

175 *Ibidem.* (col. 3).

176 Gill C. Plymouth Barbican revived. *Op cit.* p. 14.

177 Freeman M. *Op cit.* p. 15 (col. 1).



Elizabethan Gardens, detail of an archway incorporated to the gardens.
Source: the author.

One of the key achievements of the association was the creation of the Elizabethan Gardens in 30-40 New Street, an open space of free admission that stands as one of the main heritage assets in the Barbican. The gardens were created in 1969-1970, in time for the celebration of the 350th Anniversary of the sailing of the Mayflower, with Alan Miller Williams as designer. Crowded tenements were removed, cottages in the backyards were demolished and gardens restored preserving the street lines. In the restoration, stonework from other demolished properties was used, such as the archway from the Hospital of the Poor's entrance of 1630, demolished in 1869 to make way for the current Guildhall. The gardens are divided into several parts, such as the knot garden, which were first established in England during Queen Elizabeth's reign and were very popular locally. The lower garden shows a layout from a typical English garden of the 17th century.¹⁷⁸

178 Robinson C, Robinson J. Plymouth Barbican Trust, Elizabethan Gardens (leaflet). 2011.

> INNER CITY REGENERATION FOCUSING ON THE VALUE OF HERITAGE AS AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE

Once reconstruction was entirely finished, it was the time to look back and redefine those aspects that were either not solved or needed a renovated attention. The local plans developed from the 1980s until the mid-1990s did not focus on growing anymore, they gave attention to the regeneration of the city in a context of reduction in dockyard employment, cuts in public spending and deregulation. In these plans, heritage enhancement achieved a key position as an asset for economic recovery.

In that period, British inner cities experienced a severe urban decay with a deep loss of population. The major conurbations lost 10% of their population from 1951-81 while the overall population of the UK grew by around 9%.¹⁷⁹

Loss of population was caused by deindustrialisation and the movement of economic activities to the outer suburbs, which were followed by many of the jobs, retail and leisure facilities. In some respects, outer areas became the most accessible locations and had other benefits, such as low crime rates, good health facilities, good schools and low costs of living. In general terms, inner cities were left for the most deprived social classes.¹⁸⁰

In order to shift the trend, the national government introduced modifications in the existing urban planning framework. The 1977 White Paper¹⁸¹ recommended to stop population dispersal in New Towns and to strengthen the economies of the inner cities by the creation of Inner City Partnerships¹⁸², which gave place to Urban Development Corporations. Some measures consisted of relaxation of planning controls, deregulation and creation of competitive grants for areas needing regeneration.

The idea was to improve the inner city's image and reduce constraints on competitiveness by offering enterprise land. The benefits would affect the disadvantaged residents and a much wider area. In this context, flagship schemes such as London Docklands were meant to improve the image of the whole east of the city and Albert Dock was supposed to do the same for Liverpool. Another initiative called Enterprise Zones incorporated relaxation in planning controls and subsidized rents in order to boost enterprise in inner cities.

179 Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions. Our towns and cities: the future delivery of urban renaissance. London: The Stationery Office; 2000.

180 Gripaios P. Op cit. p. 570.

181 Her Majesty's Government. Policy for the inner cities. London: The Stationery Office; 1977.

182 Shaw K, Robinson F. Learning from experience? Reflections on two decades of British urban policy. The Town Planning Review. 1998; 69 (1): 49-63.

Plymouth experienced the same general problems with the aggravating factor of the economic overdependence on the dockyards. With the Cold War arriving to an end, the Royal Navy did not need so many facilities and workers. In 1947, the dockyards employed 21,000 men, by 1981 jobs were reduced to 15,000 and by 1992 only 5,000 people worked in the dockyards.¹⁸³

The existence of government grants was of considerable importance in the 1980s, 37% of firms located in the Plymouth Travel to Work Area regarded Assisted Area status as the first or second most important locational advantage of the area¹⁸⁴. The study revealed the importance of the environmental attractiveness of the local area as well. In a context of cuts in regional aid, Plymouth made an effort of taking advantage of its maritime setting and heritage, which were viewed as important locational determinants especially by high technology industry. One of the most successful interventions in particular assets of that time was the restoration of the Merchant's House in 1977 and its reuse as a museum.

The first of the new generation plans was the Local Plan Area Studies 1980¹⁸⁵. The document included general proposals for the whole city and particular determinations for certain areas. Regarding heritage preservation, the plan protected public open space from further developments, particularly mentioning the importance of the limestone exposures at the waterfront. New controls over development proposals affecting scheduled ancient monuments, listed buildings, conservation areas and their settings were settled, and demolition was forbidden unless a specific consent was delivered.

In the case of the City Centre, the 1980 plan proposed its pedestrianisation and landscape enhancement. On the Hoe, new developments were not allowed except in vacant sites or foreshore enhancement schemes. A new road, Hoe Approach, was proposed in order to reduce congestion on the Barbican. In that neighbourhood, a cause for concern was the increase of tourist uses and new controls were fixed to keep a balance with other activities.

In Stonehouse, the plan gave up the long-standing idea of widening Union Street, since setting back buildings of architectural importance as the Palace Theatre would have been unfeasible. Nevertheless, a bus priority scheme was proposed, implying the widening of only certain stretches or the reduction of on-street parking. A complete regeneration was proposed for Stonehouse Peninsula, respecting its residential character and opening the possibility of using Millbay for leisure purposes. As in the case of Union Street, the Council

183 Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. p. 280.

184 Bishop P. Op cit.

185 Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan Area Studies. 1980.

abandoned the idea of widening Cremyll Street, which would have involved the loss of several listed buildings.

A new comprehensive plan was issued in 1987¹⁸⁶. One of its main contributions was to consider heritage in its broad sense, covering the whole physical environment, which included minerals, waterscape, nature conservation, archaeology, ancient monuments, listed buildings, conservation areas and townscape. The need of change was considered in balance with the need to conserve physical resources and protect people from the worst aspects of development. One of the principal objectives of the plan was to manage the conflict between short term economic considerations and the desire for a quality environment.

Landscape was considered to be beneficial for residents, since it provides a vision of natural features within the built environment and informal recreational resources. The importance of the water scene for Plymothians and visitors was acknowledged and the plan was committed to preserving it and improving public access to the water frontage. Two particular areas were designated as of ecological interest, namely the Hoe and Mount Wise. Regarding townscape, the 1987 plan promoted a high standard of design with controls over use, form, massing, materials and site treatment, including landscaping requirements and preservation of natural features and vistas.

Regarding ancient monuments, listed buildings and conservation areas, a new local list was created for buildings or structures of local interest apart from national registers. Further controls over development and demolitions were established within conservation areas and changes of use were conditioned to the preservation of the character and the buildings. Exceptions could be made if it was proved impossible to find a new use or tenant, in that case the Planning Authority and the City Museum were responsible for surveying demolitions, and works could only be carried out if rebuilding was to start in the short term.

Several policies were included for every single conservation area, trying to promote economic activity and tourism in some of them while preserving the character of the areas. Provisions for the Hoe were the same as in the Local Plan Area Studies 1980. In the Barbican, uses given priority were residences, tourism, fishing, other water-based industries, workshops, shops and services for the local community. In addition, there was a presumption against new proposals for uses threatening the balance of activities, such as premises selling hot food, restaurants, clubs, amusement arcades and offices.

In Stonehouse Peninsula, the plan discouraged to convert properties into flats and it promoted water-related activities particularly around Cremyll Street.

186 Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1982-1991. Adopted in 1987.



Cremyll Street. The street continues in a pier. Source: the author.

In the traditional area of Wyndham Square, non-residential uses were not permitted.

Apart from the local plans mentioned so far, other policies were as helpful in the regeneration of central Plymouth, namely the documents Tomorrow's Waterfront and Tomorrow's Plymouth, Civic Trust's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan and the Barbican Package.

The document called Tomorrow's Waterfront¹⁸⁷, developed in 1990 by the English Tourist Board, Plymouth City Council and Devon County Council, was focused on regenerating the waterfront through boosting economic activity, especially tourism. This objective was strongly linked to the preservation of the waterfront's heritage assets and their use as an economic resource. As the document mentions:

"This renaissance offers enormous social, cultural and economic benefits for the city and its people in the context of a rich historical past and a unique natural heritage of a spectacular coastline. This is a scarce resource and must be protected throughout the period of change that is about to transform one of the most famous waterfronts anywhere in the world. It is believed that the visions contained in this proposal have the potential to create a new Plymouth with a vibrant waterfront for people

¹⁸⁷ Plymouth City Council, Planning Department. Tomorrow's waterfront: a strategy for Plymouth waterfront. 1990.

*to live, work and play, a sought after destination for tourists and visitors, a sound economic base and bright future for generations yet to come; everything expected of a truly international maritime city".*¹⁸⁸

The document was developed in a context of pressures on public expenditure, cuts in the Ministry of Defence's budget and restrictions over local authority's resources. In order to develop the strategy, some weaknesses had to be solved, such as the existence of diverse organisations managing each part of the waterfront instead of a single Port Authority. The domination by the Ministry of Defence of some of the most significant stretches was particularly significant since the department was planning to release them.

One of the advantages found by the document was the maritime background of the city and the sea-related historic traditions. Another key aspect was the potential for international links thanks to the rich history of the city regarding discovery and navigation.

Six key initiatives were established, three of them management-related, namely the Waterfront Development Company which had the responsibility of coordinating the projects, the Waterfront Development Fund which was responsible for securing funding and the Waterfront Marketing Strategy which was in charge of promoting the area. A general initiative was to reduce traffic and on-street parking through creating pedestrian accesses and new transport means such as a light rail and train, which might also play a tourism role. The rest of the initiatives were physical developments in Devonport's South Yard, Royal William Yard and Drake's Island.

The initiatives had the objective to be in harmony with the local character. As the document pointed out:

*"The success of a rejuvenated Plymouth Waterfront will spring from its inherent characteristics which should be developed to their full potential and not by the imposition of alien characteristics. The strategy must recognise the aspirations and demands of the people of Plymouth as well as the potential demands of new businesses and visitors".*¹⁸⁹

In the military area of South Yard and the severely deprived South Devonport, the focus was on creating new jobs upon the local maritime skills, including a historic ship restoration area. In Royal William Yard, the proposal was to create a mixed use development of international relevance involving tourism, retail and commercial activities, linked to its unique historic heritage. Drake's Island was regarded as the symbol of the waterfront's renaissance, it was expected to launch an international design competition in order to find

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem. p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem. p. 3.

a new use that would take advantage of the extraordinary views from the island, its natural features and historic defences.

The document called Tomorrow's Plymouth¹⁹⁰, from 1991, was determined to improve the character of the City Centre, the Hoe, the Barbican and Devonport.

In the case of the City Centre, it paid special attention to car accessibility and public transport was disregarded. It proposed a further pedestrianisation to reduce conflict between pedestrians and vehicles and new car parks around Western Approach, Armada Centre, Bretonside and Colin Campbell Court.

In Armada Way, an attractive landscaping, open-air refreshment facilities and arcades were suggested, and a facelift was proposed for the Market and Colin Campbell Court. In Devonport, the proposal was to create new jobs based on tourism improvement. In 1984, the Devonport Guildhall was restored for the first time, it has recently been subject of a second restoration.

One of the document's priorities was to improve the relationship between the shopping streets and the tourist areas of the Barbican, the Hoe and Millbay through new paving, street furniture and signposting. In the Barbican, a pedestrian priority scheme was designed in connection with the new Hoe Approach Road, including a new car park and a pedestrian bridge linking both sides of Sutton Harbour.

The Barbican went in economic decline during the 1980s, many historic buildings were in poor condition and traffic and water pollution were major problems. To turn the situation, the Civic Trust was commissioned in 1991 to develop the Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan¹⁹¹. This document was the basis for two regeneration programmes, namely the Barbican Package 1992-1996 and the Barbican Regeneration Package 1995-2001. Furthermore, it settled the conservation policies that were developed in the subsequent Local Plans.

The main objective of the Civic Trust's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan 1991 was to boost the area's economy, to improve transport accessibility and infrastructure links, to enhance the quality of the built environment and to make public access to the waterfront easier. Some of the proposals included the renovation of Bretonside Coach Station, the relocation of the Fish Market in Coxside, the creation of the pedestrian link between the Barbican and Coxside already suggested in the Tomorrow's Waterfront document and the opening of the new National Marine Aquarium.

190 Plymouth City Council, Planning Department. *Tomorrow's Plymouth*. 1991.

191 Civic Trust, Regeneration Unit. *Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan*. London: Civic Trust; 1991.

The document included a complete report about panoramic views to and from the Barbican, as well as a study about landmarks, building condition and recent interventions detracting the character of the area. The conservation strategy included the creation of the local Buildings at Risk Register. Further controls over new developments were included in relation to shop fronts, scale, materials, colours or uses. Detailed proposals for enhancing the street scene were developed for Southside Street and the harbour front. The plan linked economic development with heritage enhancement and a quality built environment, this idea was further developed in the following regeneration plans.

The last programme of this period was the Barbican Package 1992-1996. It was funded by the European Union, British Government through the Urban Programme, Devon County Council, City Council, Sutton Harbour Company and other private sector entities. Its objectives were to consolidate the Barbican as a first class tourist attraction through improving visitor perception, attracting more visitors and spending, increasing local pride and stimulating private investment. A pedestrian priority scheme was introduced and a general facelift was carried out. The historic environment was enhanced and street lightning and public art initiatives were extended, enriching the image of the area¹⁹². However, in the same period, high rise buildings were allowed to be developed facing the northern side of the pool, too large compared to surrounding constructions. Some of these contemporary buildings were very innovative, such as the award winning Pinnacle Quay. Another remarkable example of that time is John Sparke House in New Street, highly sensitive to its location.

87

> | THE NEW LEADING ROLE OF COMMUNITIES, RESTORATION AND MIXING USES

Plans developed from the 1980s until the mid-1990s were over confident on property-led regeneration schemes and they gave way to a new focus in community-based initiatives. Emphasis was placed on enhancing linkages between economic, physical and social regeneration. All the programmes had in common an encouragement of public participation and a search for a balance of uses. To achieve their objectives, new partnerships were created between local authorities, businesses and voluntary and community organisations.

Those programmes were partially funded by the European Union and were delivered with the help of Regional Development Agencies. At a national

¹⁹² Plymouth City Council. Regenerating Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour. Bulletin 1-the story so far. Barbican exhibition. 1997.

level, one of the most influential programmes was the Single Regeneration Budget 1994-2004, which was modified and led to the New Deal for Communities 2001-2010.

The Barbican Regeneration Package 1995-2001 was funded by the European Union, British Government through the Single Regeneration Budget, English Heritage, National Lottery Fund, Devon County Council, Plymouth City Council, Sutton Harbour Company and other private sector-related organisations. Its objective was to balance tourism-related uses with other activities. Theatres, small artists and artisans were encouraged to occupy former vacant buildings after their restoration. The Barbican began to be marketed as “Plymouth’s historic artistic quarter” and as a vibrant “urban village” both for locals and visitors. Related to this new identity, it was proposed to create a gallery for the celebrated local artist Robert Lenkiewicz, a Barbican Archive and Heritage Centre and a Sutton Harbour Waterfront Trail. Improvements in shop fronts, advertisement, lighting and signage were also carried out.¹⁹³

In the period from 1993 to 1998, Plymouth Development Corporation regenerated three former military areas, namely Mount Batten, Mount Wise and Royal William Yard. These projects were part of the national urban-economic regeneration programme through Urban Development Corporations, the most ambitious being the one for London Docklands. Plymouth Development Corporation was the first regeneration agency in Plymouth. The corporation had to buy the land from the Ministry of Defence, and declared compulsory purchase orders. Land and property sales contributed to the funding of the projects. The three areas belonged to the most deprived ward in the United Kingdom at that time, with high rates of unemployment because of the loss of jobs in the military sector. For that reason, one of the corporation’s aims was to create employment among local communities and diversify the economic base. To achieve it, the organisation worked in partnership with private, public and voluntary sectors. Some of the actions developed consisted in training initiatives or grants to community businesses and small companies.¹⁹⁴

All the areas included several scheduled ancient monuments, listed buildings and a great part of the land belonged to designated conservation areas. Moreover, the three areas were waterfront sites and environmentally sensitive locations. These conditions led to a close collaboration between the Corporation and English Heritage.

193 Plymouth City Council. Regenerating Plymouth’s Barbican and Sutton Harbour. Bulletin 2-our future plans. Barbican exhibition. 1997.

194 Plymouth Development Corporation. Annual report 1994, Annual report 1998, Achievement report 1993-1998, Mount Wise.



- Plymouth Development Corporation area
- Single Regeneration Budget 1995 bid
- Single Regeneration Budget 1994 bid
- Plymouth Task Force area
- Urban Regeneration area

Urban regeneration areas.

Source: the author, based on:
Plymouth 2000 Partnership (Single Regeneration Budget) Limited.
Turning the tide. Plymouth's bid for the SRB challenge fund 1995. p. 6.

The regeneration of Royal William Victualling Yard was a long-standing project in the city and a very complex one. The area had been originally designed to be served by the sea, not to be accessible by land. If the intention was to convert it in a tourist and mixed use attraction, new approaches through Stonehouse Peninsula were needed. The neighbourhood is a designated conservation area with a residential character and narrow streets. To solve the problem, a new one-way system was developed in Durnford Street and a public square with bus drop off area was created at the entrance of the precinct. The uses proposed for the restored buildings varied from public houses, cafes, restaurants, a five star hotel, craft workshops, studios, a visitor interpretation centre, housing and a factory outlet shopping centre. The objective was to convert Royal William Yard into a major visitor attraction. In 1998, the responsibility of continuing the regeneration of the Victualling Yard was passed to English Partnerships and finally to the South West Regional Development Agency.

89



Royal William Victualling Yard, entrance to the marina and vie of Melville building.
Source: the author.



Swimming pools in Mount Wise.
Source: the author.

Stonehouse Peninsula had experienced a long period of decay before the Plymouth Development Corporation assumed the task of its regeneration. The actions developed included the demolition of derelict buildings, refurbishment of historic buildings and a comprehensive landscaping and environmental programme for the whole area, including its waterfront.

Mount Wise is one of the most stunning waterfront areas in Plymouth, with open views to the Sound, the Hamoaze and Mount Edgcumbe. The regeneration project included social housing, education facilities, an urban park and an ambitious waterfront enhancement programme. New open spaces were free of access, historic features were restored, the 1930s open-air swimming pools were renovated, interpretation facilities were provided, the Napoleonic Fort was restored, the historic pier was refurbished and a new viewing platform was built. One of the proposals finally not developed was to build a new hotel, which would have been the first to be opened in over 100 years in Devonport.

Between the years 1995 and 2003, another regeneration programme was developed under the umbrella of the Single Regeneration Budget for the deprived inner areas of the city from the dockyard to Cattedown, including Devonport, Stonehouse and Union Street, west side of West Hoe and the City Centre. In order to get the funds, every year a new bid was developed. The initiative was headed by Plymouth 2000 Partnership and it involved a wide range of bodies, including business representatives, voluntary organisations, neighbourhood associations, churches, local government agencies and the University.



Pembroke Street estate entrance. Source: the author.

The area covered was severely deprived, around 40% of the population were Council tenants, twice the city's average. It registered 35% of inner city crimes and near 40% of the residents were earning less than half the national average¹⁹⁵. Unemployment rate was 22.5%, significantly higher than Plymouth's overall of 8.5%. According to the Index of Local Conditions, areas scoring 6.8 or above were deemed to be deprived, which was the worst 7% nationally, the area registered a score of 19.14, the highest in England¹⁹⁶. Thus, the most urgent need was to reduce deprivation through employment, housing, community assistance in health, education and ethnic minorities and enhancing the environment. Initiatives focused on fostering local enterprises, encouraging community businesses, creating credit unions and housing cooperatives, supporting self-building initiatives and providing funding for small businesses.

A general renovation of Council estates was achieved, following the successful experience of the Pembroke Street Estate Action, in Devonport. In 1991, a number of Pembroke Street tenants joined in a residents group to put a halt to the deep social crisis they were immersed in, with unbearable figures in car vandalism, teenage pregnancy, crime and drug abuse. The group was granted funding to upgrade their homes and the environment, and in 1994 the Pembroke Street Estate Management Board was created¹⁹⁷. Since its creation, it has been considered a national example and it has achieved several awards.

195 Plymouth 2000 Partnership (Single Regeneration Budget) Limited. Turning the tide. Plymouth's bid for the SRB challenge fund 1995. p. 6-7.

196 Plymouth City Council. Stonehouse Area Plan. Approved in 1997. p. 11.

197 Pembroke Estate Management Board Ltd [Internet]. c2012 [cited 2014 Sep 3]. History. Available from: <http://www.pembrokestreet.co.uk/v.asp?rootid=6205>

The restoration of the Palace Theatre was one of the specific projects included in the programme that has not been carried out yet. It was proposed to be implemented through workshops with local people. Another project was the general facelift of Union Street, which had at that time 26 vacant premises and a neglected appearance. The proposal included lighting, repaving and public art. The long-standing proposed National Marine Aquarium was finally built and it now stands as one of the main tourist attractions in Sutton Harbour.

The Local Plan first alteration 1996¹⁹⁸ was issued following on from the various initiatives that had been produced those years. The document was based on the Plymouth Development Corporation initiatives and the Tomorrow's Waterfront vision.

As well as previous plans, it proposed general policies and specific actions for each area. One of its most innovative approaches was to open the conception of "built environment" not only to the historic townscape but also to the design of the future environment, demanding new developments to be sympathetic to their surroundings as well as of a contemporary good quality design.

Regarding conservation areas, an objective was to write appraisals of the existing areas and to designate new ones. The emphasis was put on renovation and re-use rather than demolition and redevelopment. Demolition consent was further restricted, it was not permitted when the building had a viable existing or alternative use or where the building or structures made a positive contribution to the character or appearance of the conservation area. If demolition was approved, there had to be a previous contract guaranteeing re-development. If a new development was to be settled within a conservation area, it was mandatory not only to avoid harming its character but also to preserve or positively contribute to its character. Controls over advertisements were also made more restrictive, not allowing hoardings, advertisements on flank walls or above fascia level.

Apart from conservation areas, new areas of archeological and historic interest and non-urban historic landscapes were designated. Alterations or extensions of listed buildings had to respect the period, style, plan, detail and material of the existing building or structure. The internal and external features of architectural or historic interest should be retained and changes of uses were only permitted when the character, structure and fabric of the buildings were secured, both internally and externally. The Buildings at Risk Register was renovated, it helped to prioritize the works to do following the English Heritage "degree of risk" scale. The register of buildings of local

198 Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1991-2001. First alteration. Adopted in 1996.



The Royal Naval Hospital. Source: the author.

architectural or historical importance was further developed to include the buildings formerly listed grade III by English Heritage.

93

The plan established new policies with the aim of enhancing the townscape, following the national Planning Policy Guidance 1, which stated that *“Local Planning Authorities should reject poor designs (...) for example those clearly out of scale or incompatible with their surroundings”*¹⁹⁹. Thus, new controls were established over form, massing, height, siting, layout, materials, design, impact on the visual quality of the area, effect on the skyline and local views, vistas and panoramas.

The plan included particular policies for some areas, namely the waterfront, the Barbican, the Royal Naval Hospital and Wyndham Square. Regarding the waterfront, the Council regarded it as the city’s trademark, with a great economic significance for business, industry, tourism and the environment. The environment itself was of vital importance in attracting new investment into the city’s economy. A main objective was to protect views and vistas and to limit the visual impact of the developments. An extension of the public domain was also proposed through programmes of environmental enhancement, street furniture, signage, information and landscaping.

The policies for the Barbican followed on from the plans developed before. A diversity of uses was sought in order to consolidate it as a place to live, work and visit. The Royal Naval Hospital was vacated in 1995 and new uses had to be found respecting the architectural and historic importance of the area.

¹⁹⁹ Planning Policy Guidance 1: general policy and principles. Pub. 1997. Design, art. 17.

A regeneration project was carried out including institutional, residential, small scale retail, services, commercial, storage for archiving, leisure, arts, culture, social and community uses. Finally, in the adjacent Wyndham Square area, proposals were focused on maintaining its residential character and keeping the original street pattern.

The First Deposit Local Plan 1995-2011²⁰⁰ was the first to incorporate sustainability criteria and strategic vision throughout the Local Agenda 21, the Sustainable Development Appraisal and the Plymouth 2020 Partnership's Pathfinder Strategy and Action Plan. The plan was organised into objectives, indicators and actions to achieve them.

Proposals were divided in citywide or specific for certain areas. One of the general projects regarding heritage management was to create a series of walkways and cycling ways along the waterfront, connecting both sides of Sutton Harbour, Devil's Point and Royal William Yard, as part of the South West Coast Path. Another proposal was the designation of historic sites and foci around Sutton Harbour and the waterfront, covering Stonehouse, Millbay and Devonport.

Heritage was regarded as an economic resource which needs to be nurtured not just for its own sake and for the enjoyment of local people, but also to promote the image of the city to investors and tourists.

New developments aiming to integrate and improve the city's both listed and unlisted heritage assets were encouraged. Specific targets were considered regarding conservation areas and buildings at risk, in particular the designation of two new conservation areas between 2001 and 2011 and the removal of a minimum of 75 buildings from the 1998 Buildings at Risk Register by 2005.

Specific policies in relation to archaeological heritage preservation were implemented, for both scheduled and unscheduled assets. If a development was to be carried out, an archaeological appraisal was required and it would not be allowed unless the importance of the development outweighed the significance of the remains.

In the case of listed buildings, developments had to preserve the building's appearance, character, setting and any features of special architectural or historic interest which it possessed, unless there was a clear public interest, there was no viable alternative use or the building was wholly beyond repair, among other reasons. Developments within conservation areas might only be permitted if they preserved or enhanced their character or appearance.

200 Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1995-2011. First Deposit. Adopted in 2001.

Layout, form, materials and changes of use were controlled and demolition of buildings having existing or alternative use was not permitted.

One of the main objectives of the local plan was to preserve landscape and the waterfront. New Landscape Protection Areas were designated in the unbuilt land within the city, in coordination with the City Museum. The aim was to protect them from heavy development pressures. The designated areas were the green wedges between developments in the northern suburbs, the estuaries, the coastline, hedgerows, streams and disused quarries. Regarding the waterfront, the plan focused on preserving the existing landform, natural features, buildings and groups of them, landmarks, street scene, public views and vistas.

Controls were established over existing heritage as well as over new developments regarding their quality and positive contribution to the environment, including landscapes, waterscapes and the green space network. Developments had to take care of frontages, height, backs, relationship with the streets, incorporation of street trees, works of art, street furniture.

The specific projects considered for each area were determined to improve economic activity. The City Centre was designated a Strategic Opportunity Area, its main objective was to change the low esteem Plymothians had for it through rising the sense of pride and ownership, creating a vibrant and lively area and enhancing its identity. Shopping upgrading was vital to maintain Plymouth's role as a regional retail centre. Buildings that made a positive contribution to the area were preserved, such as groups of architectural significance, important building lines reflecting the structure of the Plan for Plymouth, views, vistas and landmark buildings. Increasing the relationship with neighbouring areas was a priority in order to reduce the perception of the ring road as a barrier. Another proposal was to upgrade the gateways to the City Centre including car parks, the coach and railway station and pedestrian accesses. In the case of the railway station, the regeneration project included a new station, dwellings, commercial and leisure uses, a hotel and tourist facilities. So far, only a railway company office block and a hotel facing a car park have been developed in this vital gateway to the city.

Developing mixed uses and housing was suggested in order to attract people to visit the area during the evening. There were specific proposals for a new food and drink pavilion at Armada Way, including entertainment and tourist information. New mixed uses were proposed in the run-down Colin Campbell Court, which was intended to serve as a link between the City Centre, Union Street and Millbay. Mixed uses including leisure, hotels, tourist-related uses and retail were also proposed at Mayflower Street, New George Street, Derry's Cross and Bretonside. Drake's Circus shopping centre was proposed to be upgraded.



The Colonnade. Source: the author.

In the Barbican and the Hoe, regeneration was based on tourism, commerce and residences. The Barbican was regarded as a place where the needs of tourists, businesses and residents were balanced and derelict buildings were encouraged to be reused. The Hoe was seen as a quiet, attractive and well maintained place where the historic environment was preserved and enhanced. Mixed uses were proposed at Commercial Wharf, Phoenix Wharf, Moon Street, the Hoe Centre at Notte Street and Elphinstone, including leisure, marine and tourism-related retail, art and cultural facilities and food and drink uses. New dwellings were envisaged at Royal Parade, Moon Street, Lambhay Hill, Notte Street and Grand Hotel Street.

Foreshore interventions were encouraged to retain the historic slipways and landing stages, and to provide public access. On the Hoe, a heritage-based regeneration project was considered for Tinside Pool, this action was carried out. The pool and the Colonnade were restored and now offer free access. Around Sutton Harbour, a new heritage trail was proposed as part of a major heritage initiative around the water's edge, with guided tours from Plymouth Mayflower visitors centre as well as interpretative maps and signage.

In Millbay and Stonehouse, regeneration plans were based on residences, commerce and tourism. In Millbay Docks, there was a proposal to upgrade cruise facilities and the ferry port for the services that were running to France and Spain, associated with a mixed use development. The Grain Silo was encouraged to be included in the development, finding a new use sensitive to its historic interest. Unfortunately, the building was finally knocked down. In the case of Durnford Street and Emma Place, the objective was to maintain their residential character. For Royal William Yard, new

mixed uses were proposed joining tourism, retail, residences, offices, craft workshops, leisure, entertainment and tourism, community uses and a hotel. Although the final intervention has not included all of these uses, it has succeeded in opening the former military waterfront complex to the public. However, it is still perceived as a peripheral asset.

For Union Street, the designation of a conservation area was considered, which was finally carried out. The Palace Theatre was regarded as feasible for housing leisure and arts facilities, always respecting the historic character of the building.

Finally, in Devonport, regeneration was based in commerce and residences. In South Yard, a heritage based regeneration proposal included the long-standing idea of creating a Maritime Museum, together with marine industries, tourism, shopping, community and commercial uses. So far, none of these projects have been carried out. On Mount Wise, a mixed uses development was considered, including offices, residences, community services, sports facilities and a hotel. In order to increase visits, historic interpretation boards and pedestrian links were taken into account. A Conservation Plan for the historic defences was proposed, including the Redoubt, batteries, Admiralty House, dock lines, underground tunnels and shelters, archaeological remains and significant trees.

In Stonehouse, other specific projects were developed in that period. Of special relevance was the Stonehouse Area Plan 1997. The programme followed on from the 1996 Local Plan and got grants from the European Union, British Government through the Single Regeneration Budget, City Council and Plymouth Development Corporation. It covered the area of Brickfields, Union Street, Millfields, Millbay, Victoria Park, North Stonehouse and East Durnford Street.

The main objective of the plan was to reduce deprivation. Just to give some figures, Stonehouse reported 25.1% of total crime in the city even though it only consisted of 3.1% of the city's population²⁰¹. Physical regeneration was combined with social initiatives that involved employment, business, community facilities and new housing.

The conservation area boundaries were proposed to be extended to North Road West, Emma Place and Clarence Place. Contrary to what happens on the Hoe or the Barbican, in this area there was a lack of heritage interpretation and enhancement schemes were proposed to better interpret the cultural and historic importance of the neighbourhood. Incorporating public art in every

201 Plymouth City Council. Stonehouse Area Plan. Approved in 1997. p. 11.

intervention was seen as an opportunity to achieve the objective of spreading knowledge about the necessity of preserving the area.

A new management plan for traffic and parking was developed to favour pedestrians and cyclists. There was also a provision for environment and postwar buildings improvement. Developments in this area could affect the skyline of the city seen from the sea, therefore, the document established the need to control panoramic views, visually significant natural features and landmark buildings.

The document included particular proposals to upgrade Union Street through safety improvement and a mix of use. In order to solve the conflict between night clubs and housing, clubs were proposed to be relocated near the uninhabited areas of Millbay Docks and the Pavilions. Another suggestion was to enhance buildings and shop fronts that detracted from the appearance of the area. Two relevant buildings were subject to specific proposals, namely the New Palace Theatre and the Grain Silo. The New Palace Theatre was proposed to host a media centre, which has not been carried out and the building is going on decay. The Grain Silo was proposed to be integrated in a larger public art initiative but, as it has been explained, it was finally knocked down in 2009.

CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF HERITAGE PROTECTION IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY

This section studies the designation of conservation areas, statutory listing at a national and local level with their categories, heritage at risk registers and natural environment protection. The nine designated conservation areas and the City Centre will be treated separately in relation to the issues mentioned. After that, general figures regarding designated assets will be presented and compared with other cities. The case of the Barbican will be given special attention since it accounts with a number of listing records showing the evolution of designation criteria for almost a century. Finally, the debate of designating a new conservation area in the City Centre will be treated.

> CONSERVATION AREAS, LISTED BUILDINGS AND REGISTERS FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES. THE ROLE OF ENGLISH HERITAGE AND THE CITY COUNCIL

In this section, the current framework of heritage preservation in Plymouth is detailed. So far, nine conservation areas have been designated under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 and previous regulations in central Plymouth. In addition, the proposal for designating a City Centre conservation area is under debate. Conservation area boundaries establish the basis of several urban projects. Apart from conservation areas, other sectors are established in different local plans and initiatives in relation to their heritage interest, especially for regeneration purposes. These initiatives have sometimes influenced the redefinition of the boundaries of previously designated conservation areas or the creation of new ones.

As it has been explained in the introduction section, Plymouth's conservation areas form a system of unconnected pieces, its reason can be found in the particular urban history of the city. On one hand, current Plymouth was originated from three settlements that grew separately until 1914. On the other hand, the city was severely damaged in the Second World War. Postwar reconstruction contributed to sweep away large parts and especially the City Centre was completely replaced by the Plan for Plymouth, leaving a gap in the conservation areas network.

Since 1967, there have been two waves of conservation areas designations. The first one was between 1967 and 1977, when the Barbican, Durnford Street (it belongs nowadays to Stonehouse Peninsula), The Hoe, Millfields and Wyndham Square (it is now part of North Stonehouse) were designated. The Barbican and Durnford Street were also extended in the same period. The second wave took place between 1995 and 2009, when Emma Place (now

part of Stonehouse Peninsula), North Road West (now included in North Stonehouse), Adelaide Street, Union Street, Ebrington Street and Devonport were designated. In this period, Wyndham Square, The Hoe and Devonport were also extended. Durnford Street and Emma Place were joined in the Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area, which was extended as well. Wyndham Square and North Road West were amalgamated in the North Stonehouse Conservation Area, which was extended too.

Regarding the buildings and structures having a heritage value within the conservation areas, only those with the highest statutory protection have been taken into account in this research. It must be pointed out that not all the valuable buildings might achieve this recognition since the listing criteria is sensible to the priorities of each time and social groups. Nevertheless, the selection made offers a view of most of the buildings and structures that are subject to heritage-related policies as well as tourist interest.

English Heritage is responsible for creating and updating the National Heritage List for England²⁰², which contains listed buildings (grade I, II* and II), scheduled monuments, registered parks and gardens, registered battlefields and protected wreck sites. Within the study area there are examples of all of them except Registered Battlefields and Protected Wreck Sites. There is one of the latter in the Cattewater.

Furthermore, English Heritage maintains a Heritage at Risk Register, which may include buildings of all categories except listed buildings grade II. It helps prioritise action by English Heritage, local authorities, building preservation trusts, funding bodies, and all who can play a part in securing the future of this valuable heritage.²⁰³

Apart from the national list, Plymouth City Council has been compiling local lists for several purposes, such as buildings of townscape merit and buildings making a positive contribution to the area, considered in each Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. There used to be a Local List within the Local Plan, but it was only ever a material consideration. Once that expired and the Council started to use the Local Development Framework, the Local List was out-of-date because a number of buildings had already been listed, scheduled or demolished. With the introduction of Planning Policy Statement 5²⁰⁴, which allows the Council to designate

202 The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Swindon: English Heritage. Available from: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/advancedsearch.aspx>

203 English Heritage [Internet]. Swindon: English Heritage. Criteria for inclusion on the heritage at risk register [downloaded 2014 Aug 29]. Available from: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/f-j/har-criteria-for-inclusion.pdf>

204 Department for Communities and Local Government. Planning Policy Statement 5: planning for the historic environment. London: The Stationery Office; 2010.

heritage assets, the need for a Local List diminished and it gave way to a Historic Environment Record²⁰⁵. The new record included the former local Sites and Monuments Record compiled in 2003, which contains archaeological data for the entire city, and the Urban Archaeological Database compiled in 1998, which contains detailed archaeological information of the Barbican area. At the time of writing this section, it was being upgraded to turn it into an accessible database of the historic environment of the city, compiling English Heritage designated assets, aerial photographs, historic maps, reports, surveys and bibliographical information.²⁰⁶

The Council maintains a Buildings at Risk Register with guidance set by English Heritage. The survey was first carried out in 1992 and revised in 1998 and 2005. The 2005 list was divided into four levels of risk, namely level 1 (extreme risk), level 2 (grave risk), level 3 (at risk) and level 4 (vulnerable)²⁰⁷. It includes listed or scheduled buildings as well as buildings considered of townscape merit. The register seeks to promote the retention and reuse of buildings and structures identified as of historic or architectural merit falling in disrepair. These neglected buildings have a particularly negative effect on the quality of conservation areas. The register is a useful tool to focus attention on the problem and define its scale and needs for funds. For instance, the 1998 Plymouth Buildings at Risk Register was instrumental in providing the justification for a Heritage Lottery Fund "Townscape Heritage Initiative" scheme, together with funding from the Empty Homes Grant.

The register does not exercise a statutory control but a long term negotiation between the Council and owners to maximise opportunities for improving and managing the buildings. It establishes a presumption to retainment and, when removal is needed, a considered justification is mandatory is required. In case of demolition, every attempt is made to retain the quality materials and reuse them where appropriate in the new development proposals as they come forward.

Not only does Plymouth have a rich built heritage, but it also offers a number of remarkable landscape and natural spaces, some of which are part of the conservation areas considered in this research. Within the study area there are the following Sites of Special Scientific Interest: Plymouth Sound shores and cliffs, Devil's Point (Stonehouse Peninsula), Richmond Walk and Mount Wise (Devonport). Plymouth Sound has also status of Special Area of Conservation and European Marine Site. Finally, there are two County

205 Interview with Broomfield R, Historic Environment Officer. Plymouth City Council, Planning Services, Development Management. 2012 Feb 14.

206 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Aug 29]. Historic environment. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/creativityandculture/heritageandhistory/historicenvironment.htm>

207 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Aug 29]. Buildings at risk. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/buildingsatrisk> and Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Aug 29]. Overview of 2005. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/overview2005>

Plymouth Sound and its associated tributaries form a complex ria system particularly significant in terms of marine wildlife, due to the wide variety of salinity conditions, sedimentary and reef habitats. Habitats are divided in sandbanks slightly covered by seawater all the time, estuaries, large shallow inlets and bays. In the Sound flows the Tamar Estuary system, which comprises the estuaries of the rivers Tamar, Lynher and Tavy. The broader lower reaches of the rivers form extensive tidal mudflats supporting a rich invertebrates community and feeding colonies of water birds of European importance²⁰⁹. In the surroundings of the study area there are other natural landscapes and environments of European or national importance, particularly Dartmoor National Park, which lies just in the northern border of the city.

The outstanding surrounding landscapes determine the existence of strong links between the city and the country²¹⁰, and motivate several preservation policies, especially strong in the waterfront regarding heights, form, size and safeguard of views and panoramas.

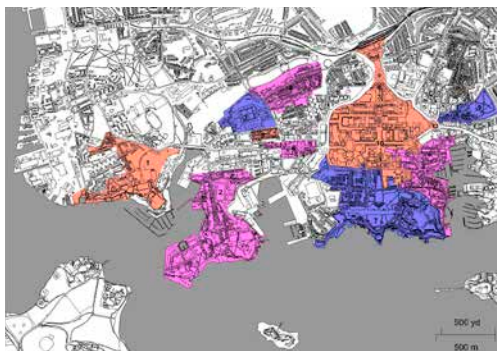
> ANALYSIS OF THE CHARACTER, ASSETS WITH STATUTORY PROTECTION AND BUILDINGS AT RISK IN EACH CONSERVATION AREA ALREADY DESIGNATED OR PROPOSED

Below, each designated conservation area and the City Centre will be described separately in order of designation date. All of them include a short presentation of their character and a register of listed or scheduled buildings, structures belonging to a local list and buildings being considered at risk. Elements with statutory protection have been extracted from the National Heritage List for England. Each Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan has been used for general approaches and work on current boundaries, buildings of townscape merit and buildings making a positive contribution to the area. English Heritage's Heritage at Risk Register and Plymouth City Council's Buildings at Risk Register 2005 have been

208 Joint Nature Conservation Committee [Internet]. Peterborough [cited 2014 Aug 29]. UK protected sites [7 pages]. Available from: <http://jncc.defra.gov.uk/page-4>

209 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 2. Prepared for Plymouth City Council; 2010. p. 73-74.

210 One of the principal links is the South West Coast Path, a National Trail 630 miles long (1,014 km) that goes along the coast from Bournemouth to Exmoor National Park. In central Plymouth it goes along the waterfront from Cattedown to Stonehouse Peninsula. Source: South West Coast Path [Internet]. Devon County Council, SW Coast Path Team; c2011 [cited 2014 Aug 29]. Interactive map. Available from: <http://www.southwestcoastpath.com/>



- 1 Devonport
- 2 Stonehouse Peninsula
- 3 Millfields
- 4 North Stonehouse
- 5 Adelaide
- 6 Union Street
- 7 The Hoe
- 8 The Barbican
- 9 Ebrington Street
- 10 City Centre (proposed)

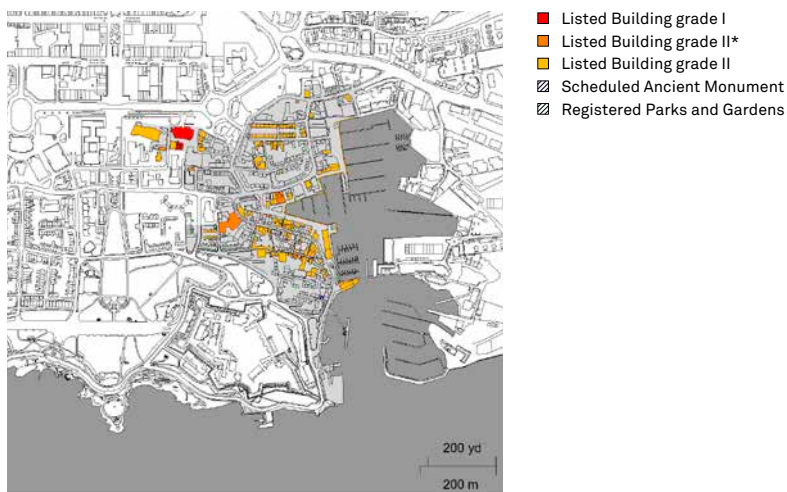
Study area: designated conservation areas in central Plymouth and the City Centre.
Source: the author, based on: conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans.
Op cit.

considered regarding buildings at risk. Particular information about buildings has been found in sources, such as the National Heritage List for England and Nikolaus Pevsner's register.

The Barbican Conservation Area comprises the greatest part of historic Plymouth that survived the Blitz and postwar reconstruction, including much of the 13th to 18th century's buildings. This area was the first settlement in Plymouth if we do not consider prehistoric and abandoned communities. It includes the Elizabethan suburb created south from the original settlement north west of Sutton Harbour to the medieval castle which guarded the harbour entrance. The area is located within the natural harbour of Sutton Pool and the slopes to St Andrew's Church and the Hoe. The current shoreline is a result of several land reclamation works. The Barbican area was the main trading centre until the 20th century and it suffered the consequences of increasing density and poverty in the industrial era. It escaped much of the war destruction and postwar redevelopment and now stands as one of the most vibrant neighbourhoods, especially focused on tourism, leisure, shopping and the arts.

In the Barbican Conservation Area there are 107 structures with statutory protection. Among them there are 2 buildings listed grade I, namely the Prysten House and the Church of St Andrew. There are also 10 buildings listed grade II*: 17 New Street, 33 St Andrew's Street, 34 and 36 New Street, 36 Looe Street, the Elizabethan House, the Gin Distillery, the New Custom House, the Old Custom House and the Synagogue. There are also 93 buildings listed grade II. Finally, 2 scheduled monuments can also be found, namely 17 New Street and the remains of Plymouth Castle. 24 of the structures were designated during the 1950s, 58 in the 1970s, 6 during the 1980s and 17 in the 1990s.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 55 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The 2005 local Buildings



Assets with statutory protection in the Barbican Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Barbican Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

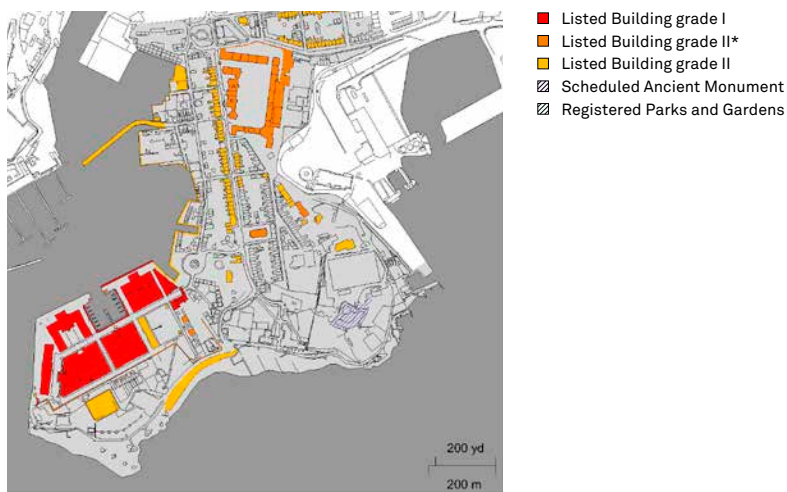
at Risk Register considered that only one building listed II* was at risk, namely the Elizabethan House at risk 3. 13 buildings listed grade II were at risk, 4 of which were at risk 2, 2 at risk 3 and 7 at risk 4.

Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area is located between Millbay Docks and Stonehouse Pool. Its main axis is Durnford Street, described by Pevsner²¹¹ as Plymouth's most complete 18th century street. It also comprises the historic building groups of Royal Marine Barracks and Royal William Victualling Yard. The area remained undeveloped with only some fortifications until the mid 18th century, when it achieved its suburban residential character. The area was mostly unaffected by war damage and postwar reconstruction. The history of Stonehouse Peninsula is intimately related to the development of military facilities in Plymouth. From the time of Henry VIII, defensive artillery towers were built at Devil's Point, Firestone Bay and Eastern King. Royal Marine Barracks were completed in 1783 and part of Devil's Point headland was sold in 1824 for the construction of the Royal William Victualling Yard.

The conservation area comprises five character sub-areas distinguished by their varied uses, topography and activities. They are Durnford Street, Royal Marine Barracks and Eastern King, Royal William Yard, Western King and the Waterfront and Emma Place / Millbay Road.

In the Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area there are 73 statutory protected structures. Among them there are 11 buildings listed grade I, all of them are part of the Royal William Victualling Yard complex, designed by the

211 Cherry B, Pevsner N. Op cit. p. 672.



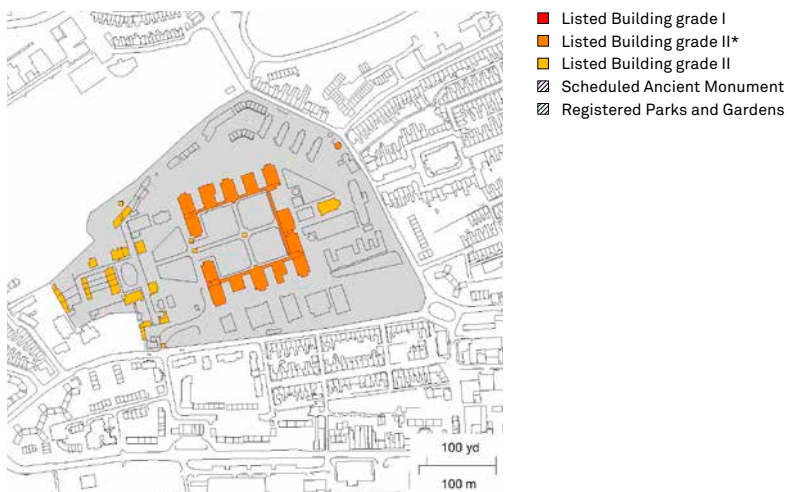
Assets with statutory protection in Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

architect John Rennie the Younger. There are also 13 buildings listed grade II* and 45 buildings listed grade II. Finally, 4 scheduled monuments can be found, 3 of them are coastal defences and the other one is the Stonehouse manor wall. 7 of the structures were designated during the 1950s, 32 in the 1970s, 2 during the 1980s, 27 in the 1990s and 1 after year 2000.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 17 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The national Heritage at Risk Register includes the Stonehouse manor wall because of its increasing risk of collapsing. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that 5 building listed grade II were at risk, 1 of which was at risk 1, 3 at risk 3 and 1 at risk 4.

Millfields Conservation Area covers the former Royal Naval Hospital. The original hospital was built after the 1739 war with Spain, together with the ones of Portsmouth and Chatham. Its main architects were Alexander Rovehead and Daniel Asher Alexander. It is one of the earliest examples of block system hospital development known as pavilion plan. Numerous buildings were added during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was significantly damaged in World War II with some blocks destroyed. The Ministry of Defence abandoned the site in 1995 and its use includes nowadays residences, offices, commerce and a school.

In Millfields Conservation Area there are 21 structures with statutory protection. Among them there are 2 buildings listed grade II*, namely the Quadrangle Centre and the Water Tower. There are also 19 buildings listed grade II. 15 of the structures were designated during the 1970s and 17 in the 1990s.



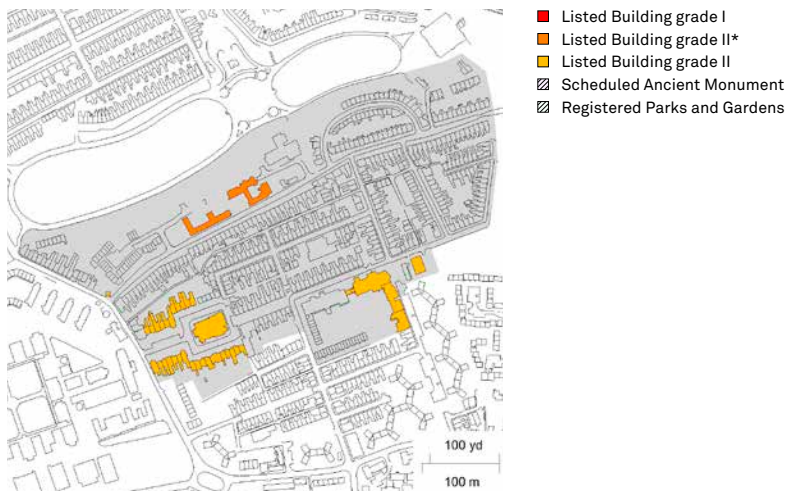
Assets with statutory protection in Millfields Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Millfields Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 11 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that only one building listed II* was at risk, namely the Water Tower at risk 2.

North Stonehouse Conservation Area comprises the residential terraces neighbourhoods of the northern part of Stonehouse. The greatest part of the area remained open farmland until 1830, when the construction of Wyndham Square started as part of a larger development between Plymouth and Stonehouse. The main architect in this area was John Foulston. It is predominately residential and includes some institutional buildings such as schools and churches. The area around Wyndham Square is a deliberately planned Victorian neighbourhood. It was laid out around Wyndham Street, a grand axis linking St Peter's Church at one end and Plymouth Cathedral and the Non-Conformist Church (Wyndham Hall) at the other. The streets form a gridiron pattern and are lined with two and three-storey terraces, the grandest of which are in Wyndham Square.

The conservation area comprises three character sub-areas distinguished primarily by their street layout. They are the terraces around Wyndham Square, the terraces facing Victoria Park and the area around Arundel Crescent.

In North Stonehouse Conservation Area there are 12 structures with statutory protection. Among them there are 2 buildings listed grade II*, namely St Dustan's Abbey and its school. There are also 10 buildings listed grade II. 8 of the structures were designated during the 1970s and 4 in the 1990s.

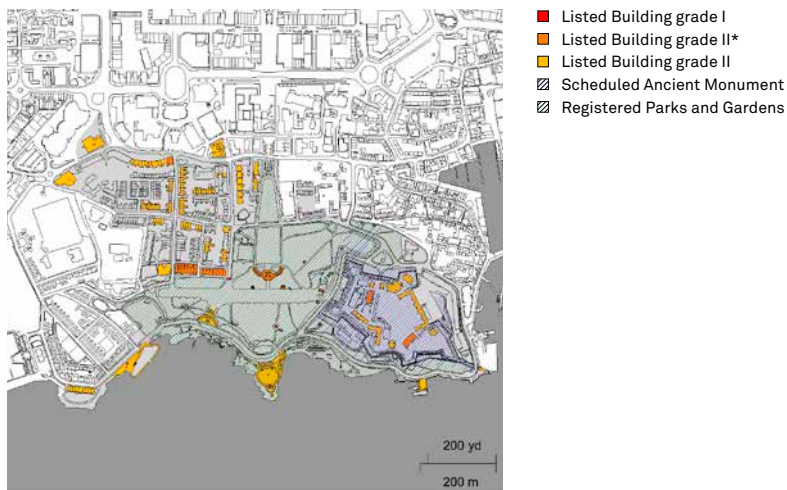


Assets with statutory protection in North Stonehouse Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. North Stonehouse Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 31 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that 3 buildings listed grade II were at risk, one of which was at risk 2 and 2 at risk 4.

The Hoe Conservation Area is located between the southern edge of the City Centre and the waterfront. It includes the open park overlooking the Sound, the Royal Citadel complex and the residential and hotels area of West Hoe. It has a dramatic topography formed by a long north-facing slope, a flat ridge in the centre and sharp limestone cliffs down to the sea. The Hoe is probably the most representative place in the city, with large historic and symbolic connections, Daniel Defoe described it as “a scene so serene, so calm, so bright and the sea so smooth, that a finer sight, I think I never saw”²¹². It remained largely unbuilt until the 19th century due to its rocky soil, its exposed situation and its proximity to the historic city centre that made it ideal for gatherings, military purposes and as an open space. The place had also a religious significance since pre-Christian times. The construction of the Royal Citadel started in 1665, incorporating the former fort at the eastern end of the Hoe. It was designed by T Rogers Kitsell and Bernard de Gomme, the King’s Engineer General. The park was established in 1817 and the construction of new terraces to the northwest boundary began after 1830, some of them were built with limestone quarried from the west part of the Hoe. Most of the residences were designed by John Foulston and George

²¹² Defoe D. 1704. Cited in: Plymouth City Council. The Hoe Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 9.



Assets with statutory protection in the Hoe Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. The Hoe Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

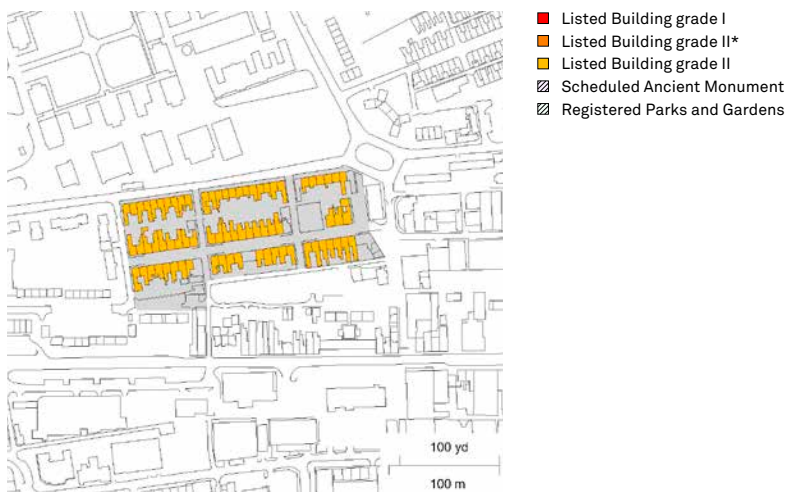
Wightwick. In the 20th century, the fashion for public parks gave way to the fashion of outdoor bathing and new pools and structures were built along the waterfront. The Plan for Plymouth acknowledged the civic and symbolic importance of the Hoe and it stood as the focal point of the whole layout.

The conservation area comprises four character sub-areas, namely the Royal Citadel, Hoe Park, the residential streets and the waterfront.

In the Hoe Conservation Area there are 71 structures with statutory protection. Among them there is only Smeaton Tower is listed grade I. There are also 8 buildings listed grade II*, namely some terraces, parts of the Royal Citadel and the principal memorials on the Hoe. There are 60 buildings listed grade II as well. The Royal Citadel is a scheduled monument and the open space of The Hoe is a registered park. 15 of the structures were designated during the 1950s, 1 in the 1960s, 15 during the 1970s, 35 in the 1990s and 5 after year 2000.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 45 buildings or groups of them making a positive contribution to the area. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that only one building listed II* was at risk, namely 3 The Esplanade at risk 3. 11 buildings listed grade II were at risk, 4 of which were at risk 2, 4 at risk 3 and 3 at risk 4.

Adelaide Street Conservation Area covers a block of early 19th century residential properties. The area lies at the northern edge of a former marshland known as the Sour Pool, which was infilled in 1812 to create Union Street. The developments started in 1830 and John Foulston was their main architect.



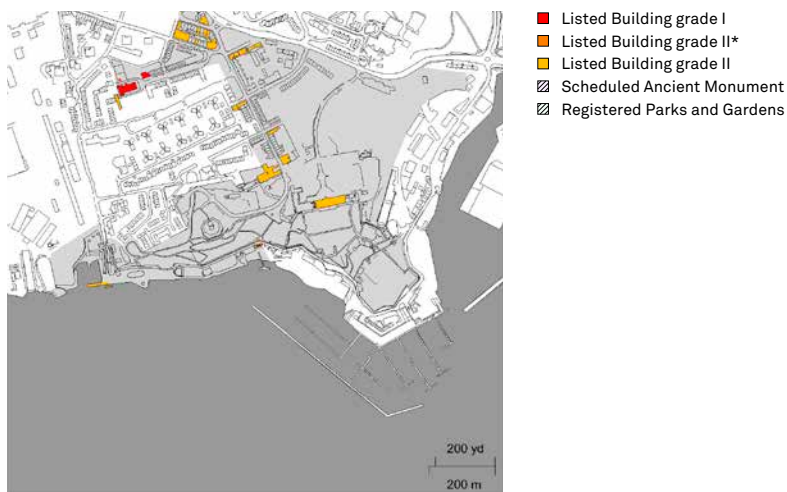
Assets with statutory protection in Adelaide Street Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Adelaide Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

In Adelaide Street Conservation Area there are 10 structures with statutory protection. All of them are buildings listed grade II, most of them are terraced houses and there are also 3 public houses. 5 of the structures were designated during the 1970s and 5 in the 1990s.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 4 buildings making a positive contribution to the conservation area. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that 9 buildings listed grade II were at risk: 1 of them was at risk 3 and 8 at risk 4.

Devonport Conservation Area comprises the historic centre of Devonport. The area is located at the mouth of the River Tamar. It is a mixed uses neighbourhood with a number of remains of former military uses. It includes the open space of Mount Wise, a limestone ridge facing the Hamoaze that was incorporated when the Ministry of Defence released it in 2006. The dockyard is the reason of the existence of this neighbourhood and the possibility of including it within the boundaries of the conservation area has been considered, although not carried out yet. Its construction started in 1690 and the civilian neighbourhood grew depending on the needs of the military area. World War II and postwar rebuilding changed the physical fabric of the town almost completely. Since then, the neighbourhood decayed and it has been subject to extensive regeneration programmes.

The conservation area comprises six character sub-areas, namely Duke Street / Ker Street, Mutton Cove and Richmond Walk, Picquet Barracks, George Street, Mount Wise Park and the former Ministry of Defence's Mount Wise.



Assets with statutory protection in Devonport Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Devonport Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

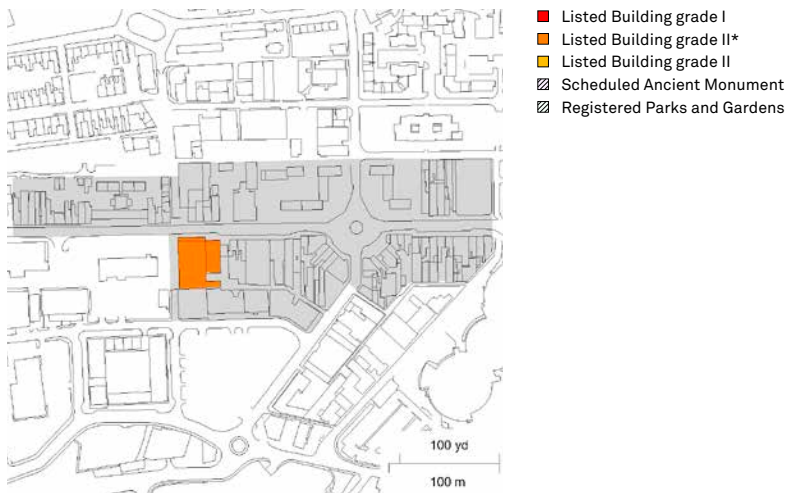
In Devonport Conservation Area there are 22 structures with statutory protection. Among them there are 3 buildings listed grade I, namely Oddfellows Hall, Devonport Column and Devonport Guildhall, all of them were designed by John Foulston. The rest 19 buildings are listed grade II. 7 of the structures were designated during the 1950s, 12 in the 1970s and 3 during the 1990s.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 20 buildings or groups of them of townscape merit. Furthermore, coastal defences have been subject of a specific survey.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 8 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The national Heritage at Risk Register includes the Oddfellows Hall because of its poor condition of preservation. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that all the buildings listed grade I were at risk 3. 6 buildings listed grade II were at risk, 1 of which was at risk 2, 1 at risk 3 and 4 at risk 4.

Union Street Conservation Area covers part of the main street linking the former towns of Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport. The street was designed by John Foulston in 1812 over a previous marsh land. During the 19th and early 20th century it was the main commercial axis in the city, this status was lost after the postwar reconstruction. Nowadays it is a mixed use and night life area with a need for regeneration.

In Union Street Conservation Area there is only one structure with statutory protection, namely the New Palace Theatre listed grade II*. It was designated during the 1970s.



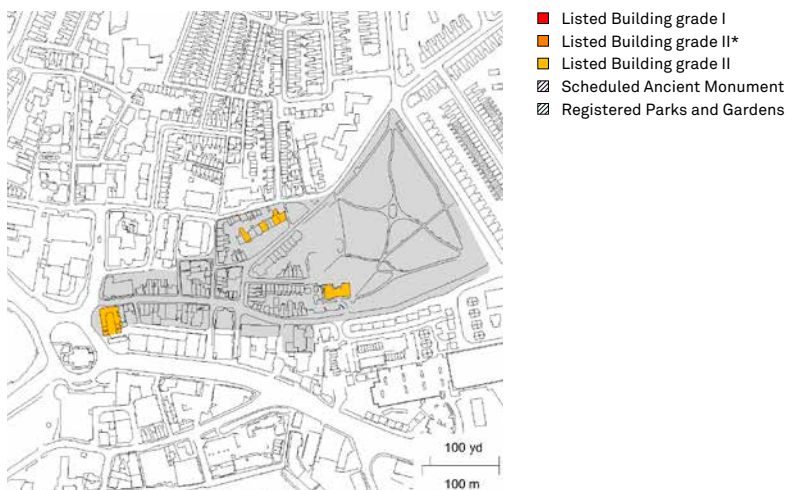
Assets with statutory protection in Union Street Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Union Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 11 buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The national Heritage at Risk Register includes the whole area because of its vulnerability and very bad condition, the New Palace Theatre is included due to its very bad condition of preservation. The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that the building was at risk 1, the highest level, and no regeneration project has been carried out yet.

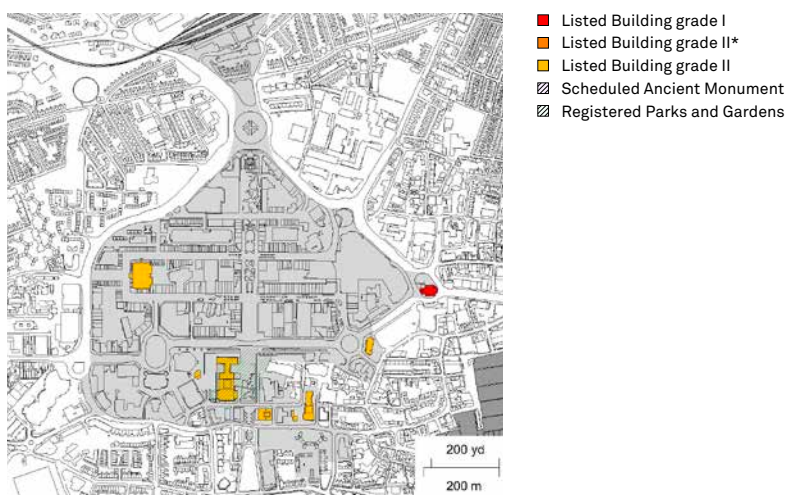
Ebrington Street Conservation Area comprises a remarkable group of 19th and 20th residential and commercial buildings and the 19th century Beaumont Park. Ebrington Street is located within the old medieval city wall and was the principal road out of the city to Exeter. It was always a local centre and its role was reinforced by the 19th century with the extension of terraced housing up to North Hill. After the Second World War, the creation of the new City Centre and the new Charles Cross roundabout removed two thirds of the length of the historic Ebrington Street. The other main part of the area is Beaumont Park, it belonged to Beaumont House in the 18th century and became a public park in 1890. To the west, there are surviving late 18th and 19th century terraces in Beaumont Place and on Lipson Road.

In Ebrington Street Conservation Area there are 3 structures with statutory protection. All of them are buildings listed grade II, namely Beaumont House, Lanyons Almshouses and 4 Gascoyne Place. The former two were designated during the 1970s and the latter in 2004.

The Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers 17 buildings or groups of buildings making a positive contribution to the area. The 2005



Assets with statutory protection in Ebrington Street Conservation Area. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Plymouth City Council. Ebrington Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit.



Assets with statutory protection in the City Centre. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.

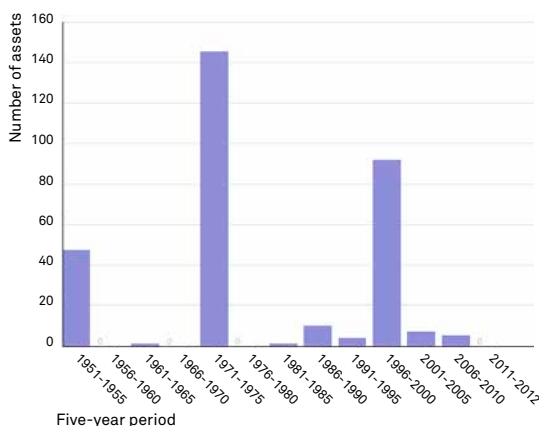
local Buildings at Risk Register considered that there were no buildings with statutory protection at risk.

Finally, the City Centre covers the area within the inner road ring. As it has been already explained, the sector is not a designated conservation area but it has been considered for our research purposes. The proposed boundaries cover the whole area of the City Centre built after the 1943 Plan for Plymouth from the Hoe and Barbican Conservation Areas boundaries to the railway station and from Western Approach to Charles Church.

In the chosen area there are 10 structures with statutory protection. Only one is listed grade I, namely Charles Church. There are 8 buildings listed grade II and a registered park, namely the Civic Square. 1 building was designated during the 1950s, 2 were designated in the 1970s, 1 during the 1990s and 6 after year 2000.

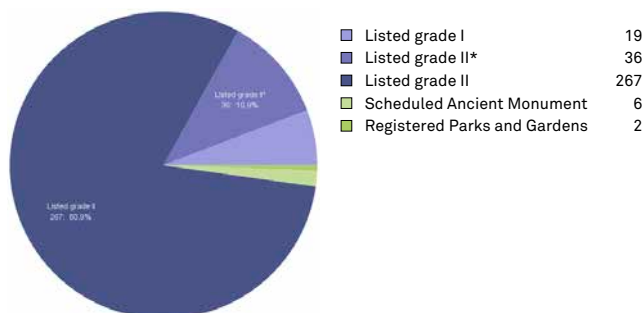
> GENERAL CONCLUSIONS REGARDING LISTING AND HERITAGE AT RISK, AND COMPARISON WITH OTHER CITIES

To sum up, in the study area there 327 statutory listed assets. There have been three main waves of designation, the first one was in the period 1951-1955 (14%), the second and largest one was in 1971-1975 (44%) and the third one was in 1996-2000 (28%).



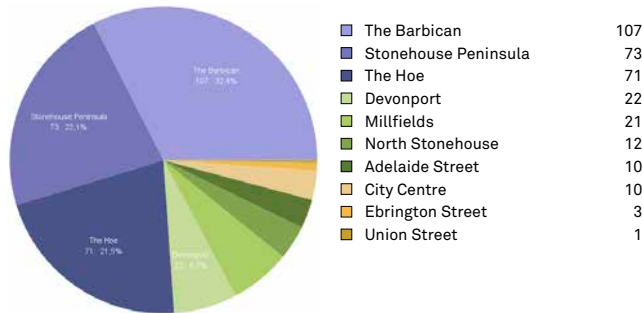
Assets with statutory protection in the study area by five-year period. *Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.*

Most of the assets are listed grade II (80%), 11% are listed grade II* and 6% are listed grade I. Apart from them, 2% are scheduled monuments and 1% are registered parks and gardens.



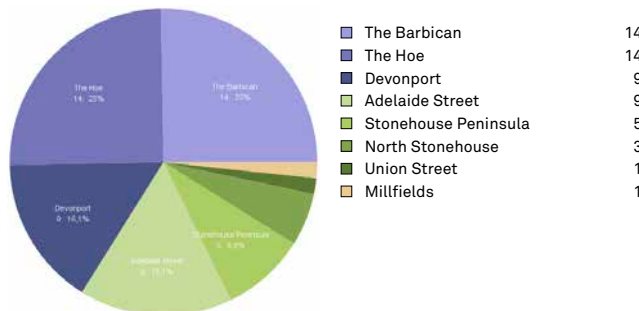
Assets with statutory protection in the study area by category and grade. *Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.*

If each study area is considered separately, the Barbican hosts 32% of the assets, followed by the Hoe and Stonehouse Peninsula, both with 22% of the assets. Far below are Devonport (7%), Millfields (6%), North Stonehouse (4%), Adelaide Street and City Centre (3% each), Ebrington Street (1%) and Union Street with only one listed building.



Assets with statutory protection by conservation area. *Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans. Op cit.*

The 2005 local Buildings at Risk Register considered that there were 412 buildings or structures at risk. Of these, 124 were statutory listed (5 grade I, 15 grade II* and 104 grade II), 20 were scheduled monuments and the remaining 266 were buildings or structures considered to be of townscape merit²¹³. Half of the assets at risk were in the Barbican and the Hoe (25% each), followed by Devonport and Adelaide Street (16% each), Stonehouse Peninsula (9%), North Stonehouse (5%), and Union Street and Millfields (2% each).

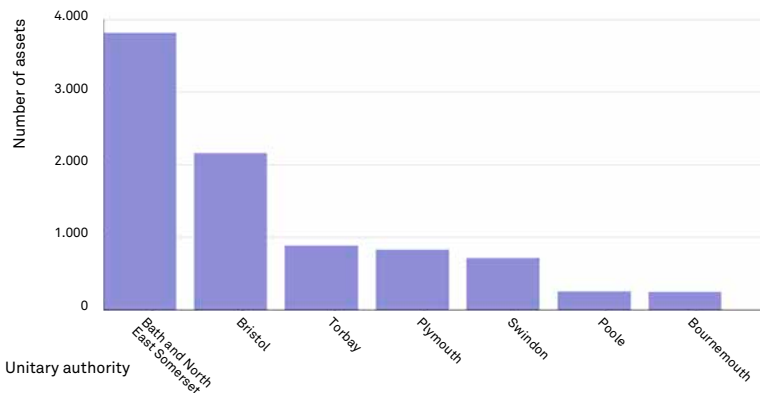


Assets with statutory protection at risk by conservation area. *Source: the author, based on: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. Buildings at risk. Op cit and conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans. Op cit.*

Three more graphics have been made in order to compare the presence of statutory protected buildings in Plymouth with other cities. The graphics consider listed buildings, scheduled ancient monuments, registered parks and gardens, wrecks and battlefields.

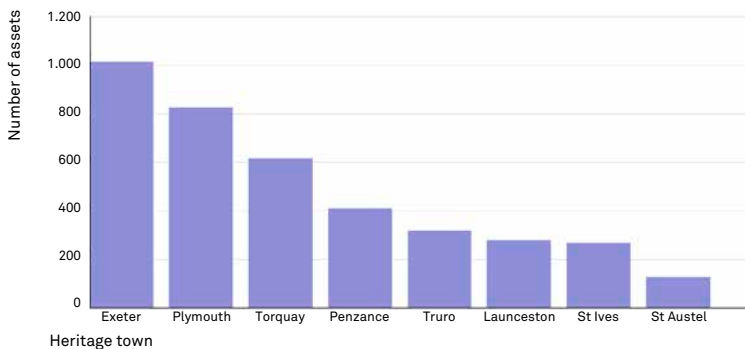
²¹³ Plymouth City Council. Local Development Framework, Core Strategy. 2007. p. 24.

In the first graphic, South West unitary authorities have been taken into account with the exception of those where a principal city cannot be distinguished, namely North Somerset, South Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Cornwall. It can be seen that Bath and North East Somerset has the largest number of buildings included in the National Heritage List for England (3,804), followed by Bristol (2,156). Plymouth (823) is in the middle of the table, along with Torbay (880) and Swindon (708).



Assets with statutory protection by Unitary Authority in the South West. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.

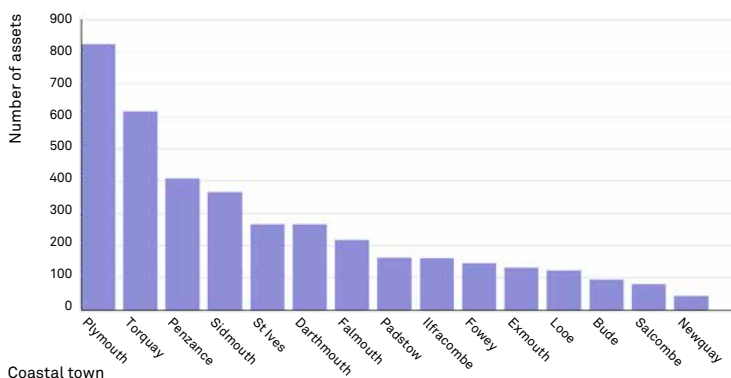
In the second graphic, Plymouth has been compared with other heritage towns in Devon and Cornwall, following the selection of Visit Devon and Visit Cornwall²¹⁴. Exeter has the largest number of buildings included in the National Heritage List for England (1,012), followed by Plymouth (823) and Torquay (614). The Cornish towns of Penzance, Truro, Launceston, St Ives and St Austell stay behind.



Assets with statutory protection by heritage town in Devon and Cornwall. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit, Visit Devon [Internet]. Op cit and Visit Cornwall [Internet]. Op cit.

214 Visit Devon [Internet]. Devon Tourism Partnership; c2012 [cited 2014 July 9]. Cities [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.visitdevon.co.uk/areas-to-visit/cities/>. / Visit Cornwall [Internet]. Cornwall Development Company; c2012 [cited 2014 July 9]. Maps and planning [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.visitcornwall.com/maps#main-content>

In the third graphic, Plymouth is compared with other coastal towns in Devon and Cornwall, following the selection of Visit South West²¹⁵. Plymouth (823) stands ahead, followed by Torquay (614). At some distance are Penzance (407) and the rest of locations.



Assets with statutory protection by coastal town in Devon and Cornwall. Source: the author, based on: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit and Visit South West [Internet]. Op cit.

➤ EVOLUTION OF LISTING CRITERIA IN PLYMOUTH, FOCUSING ON THE CASE OF THE BARBICAN

Since 1918, several lists have been developed in Plymouth registering buildings deemed to be of historic or architectural interest. Chris Robinson compiled those works and included the National Heritage List for England 2007²¹⁶. In the present section, several graphics have been made based on those compilations and the state of English Heritage's list in 2012. Nowadays, lists of assets cover the whole the city but in the past they were focused on the Barbican, because of that, only that neighbourhood has been considered in order to establish a comparison.

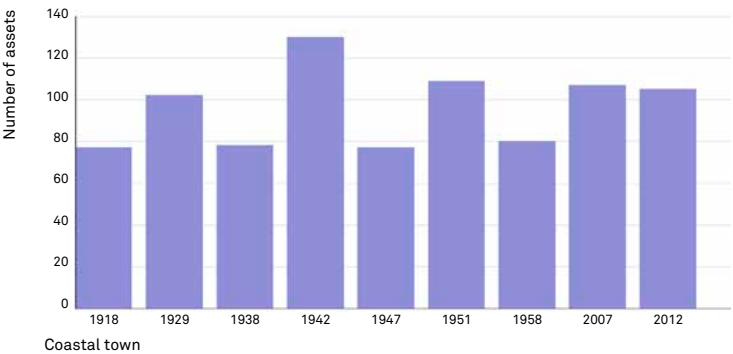
The lists were developed following different criteria and as a result, they show us the evolution of the type of buildings considered of interest in the different decades. Lists evolved from personal criteria by the motivated authors who registered the first accounts to the standardised grades and categories established by English Heritage. Moreover, significant events affected the listing categories as well as the number of assets, especially the destruction brought by the Second World War.

The number of assets has varied substantially depending on the list. In 1918, 77 buildings were considered and nowadays are 105. However, the highest

²¹⁵ Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2014 July 9]. Find your destination [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.visitsouthwest.co.uk/destinations/>

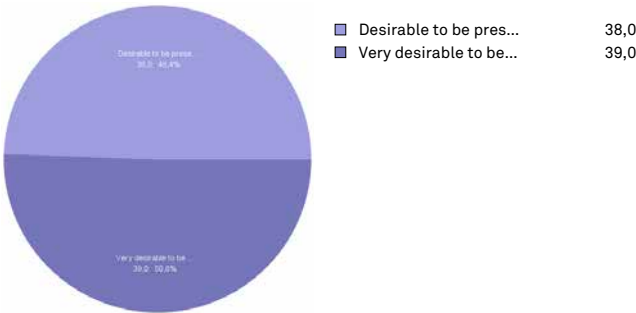
²¹⁶ Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.

number of registered buildings was achieved during the Second World War, accounting for 130.



Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in the Barbican by year of the survey or list.
Source: the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150 and The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.

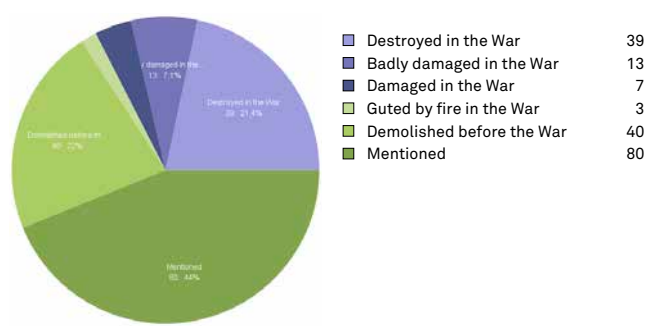
The antiquarian survey of old Plymouth delivered by Arthur Southcombe Parker in 1918 considered 77 buildings, a half of which were very desirable to be preserved and the other half were desirable to be preserved.



Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in the antiquarian survey of old Plymouth, 1918.
Source: the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.

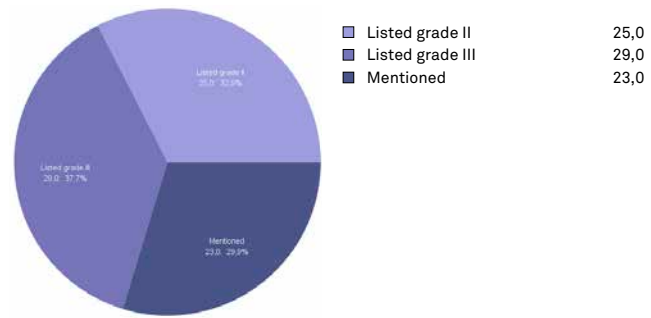
Arthur Southcombe Parker and Charles Bracken delivered an ancient buildings survey for Old Plymouth Society in 1929, which took into account 102 buildings with no distinction in categories. The list was updated in 1938 and considered only 78 buildings, again with no classification.

Charles Bracken and others compiled a new register in 1942, called "Present State of the Ancient Buildings of Plymouth", it registered the state of 130 assets after the bombings, distinguishing between different grades of damage and causes of destruction.



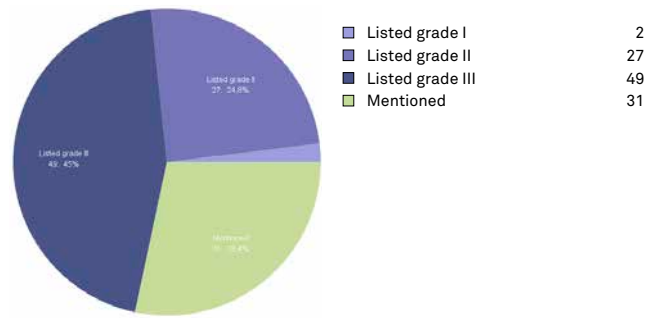
Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in the survey about the present state of the ancient buildings of Plymouth, 1942. *Source:* the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.

The 1947 Ordnance Survey map considered 77 assets, one third were listed grade II, another third was listed grade III and the rest were just mentioned.



Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in the Ordnance Survey map of buildings of architectural or historic interest, 1947. *Source:* the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.

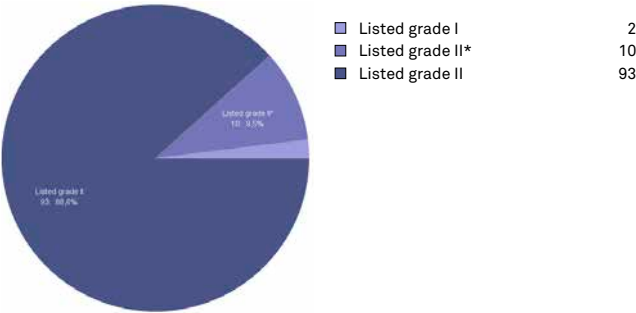
The provisional list of 1951 compiled 109 buildings, almost one half were just mentioned, around one third were listed grade II and grade III and 2 buildings were first listed grade I.



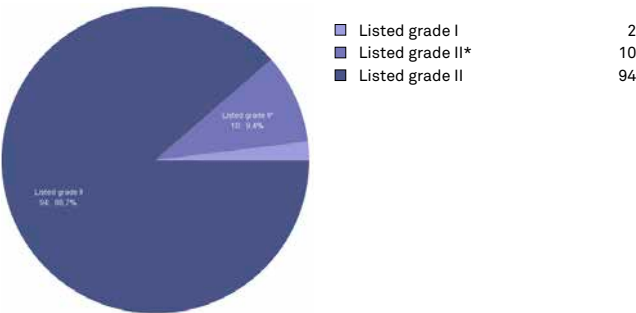
Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in the provisional list of buildings of architectural or historic interest, 1951. *Source:* the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.

The Old Plymouth's Society list of 1958 considered 80 assets with no distinction of categories.

Finally, English Heritage annotated 105 assets in 2007 and 106 in 2012. In 2007, 2 buildings were listed grade I, 10 were listed grade II* and 93 were listed grade II. In 2012, 94 were listed grade II.



Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in The National Heritage List for England, 2007.
Source: the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 139-150.



Assets deemed to be of heritage interest in The National Heritage List for England, 2012.
Source: The National Heritage List for England [Internet]. Op cit.

> THE DEBATE OF DESIGNATING A CONSERVATION AREA IN THE CITY CENTRE

As it has been previously mentioned, the possibility of designating the City Centre as a conservation area is being currently considered. Designating conservation areas is normally a matter of the local planning authority but the Secretary of State can designate itself in some specific occasions²¹⁷. English Heritage is the Secretary of State's advisory body on historic built environment and it supports the designation of the whole area inside the inner ring road²¹⁸. Other influential voices in the city supporting this designation are Professor Jeremy Gould, Alan Baxter & Associates and Chris Robinson, the local historian. Professor Gould has pointed out that

*"Plymouth is the most complete and sole surviving British postwar plan. It is as important and representative of its time as Georgian Bath or medieval York are of theirs and therefore its future and conservation are as vital as it is in those ancient cities".*²¹⁹

The campaign in favour of designating the whole City Centre as a conservation area has somehow achieved national importance since English Heritage started to lead a campaign together with Kevin McCloud, designer and presenter of the television programme *Grand Designs*. According to Kevin McCloud, *"the city's oft-derided centre is "beautiful" and "heroic" on a par with Georgian Edinburgh"*.²²⁰

On the other side stands the City Council, which defends the idea of designating only the blocks near Royal Parade, taking into account that they show the finest architecture and are the most respectful with the grandeur proposed by the Plan for Plymouth. In general terms, building quality decreases northwards and the restrictions that a conservation area designation entail could prevent some businesses to locate in the area. It has to be noticed that the City Council owns the freehold of most of the City Centre and its designation might limit its leasehold incomes in case building restrictions are implemented regarding density, height, uses or floor space.

The City Centre contains some postwar buildings of architectural significance such as the listed grade II City Market, Civic Centre, former Barclays Bank, Unitarian Church, Baptist Church and the Royal Bank of Scotland (formerly

217 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act of 1990. Op cit. Part II, art. 69 (3).

218 New level of protection for heritage questioned. The Plymouth Herald. 2011 Oct 6. It can be found in: This is Plymouth [Internet]. London: Northcliffe Media; c2012 [cited 2014 Aug 6]. [9 screens]. Available from: <http://www.thisisplymouth.co.uk/New-level-protection-heritage-questioned/story-13490168-detail/story.html>

219 Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 79.

220 Bingham J. Kevin McCloud hails "heroic and beautiful" Plymouth. The Telegraph. 2011 Oct 6. It can be found in: The Telegraph [Internet]. Telegraph Media Group Limited; c2012 [cited 2014 Aug 30]. [6 screens]. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8561717/Kevin-McCloud-hails-heroic-and-beautiful-Plymouth.html#>



Dingles department store (currently House of Fraser). Tait & Partners, 1949–1951. Source: the author.



National Provincial Bank. BC Sherren, 1955–1958. Source: the author.

known as National Provincial Bank). It also includes the Civic Square, a registered park and garden. Nowadays, Plymouth has the greatest number of postwar listed buildings outside London and, according to the Plymouth 20th century city, the City Centre is the largest built example of postwar British planning and architecture²²¹

The importance of British postwar planning is increasingly being recognised and a number of conservation areas have been designated, including some housing estates and the New Towns of Easthampton, Stevenage and the Landsbury. A parallel case to the one of Plymouth is Stevenage Town Square, it was the first pedestrianised town centre in the country and was designated in 1988. Plymouth's postwar development was much larger and ambitious.

In this debate underlies that the architecture and urban layout of the City Centre is subject of a significant reaction and has started to be recognised only recently. Plymouth's 1950s buildings started to be listed from 2003 onwards, the Civic Centre was listed in 2007 with a strong opposition, including that of the City Council. Regarding the architecture of the City Centre, its late classicism has been disliked for decades and it does not enjoy the popularity of other styles, the same way Victorian architecture was detested in the first half of the 20th century. According to Gould²²², the architectural press intended to link Modernism of the 1930s with New Brutalism of the 1950s, missing the "aberrations" created at the same time. In addition, the urban design with its rigid and hierarchical grid does not fit in the national tradition, too used to the picturesque and the informal.

Designating a conservation area would discourage demolitions unless justified and would force the Council to make regular proposals for the

221 Plymouth: 20th century city [Internet]. Plymouth: Architecture Centre Devon and Cornwall; c2010-[cited 2014 Nov 2]. About [6 screens]. Available from: <http://www.20thcenturycity.org.uk/about.html>

222 Gould J. Plymouth: vision of a modern city. Op cit. p. 79–80.

preservation and enhancement of the built heritage, and to increase controls and publicity over permitted development rights. A Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan would have to be made, including a compilation of elements worth preserving and detailed policies to preserve and increase the quality of the built environment. It would establish which changes can be made and where. Moreover, it would serve to promote the City Centre as an important part of the local and national history.

Conservation area designation needs to be followed by an efficient management ensuring that the intention is not to prevent change but rather to ensure that change is carried out properly and is sympathetic to the character of the area. Otherwise, investors could be detracted. In order to avoid the restrictions that designating a conservation area could involve, while maintaining the objective of preserving the built heritage, the City Council has suggested the use of other planning controls including landlord controls, statutory listing and local listing.²²³

The designation of a conservation area would help to preserve the complete layout of the reconstruction of the City Centre from the railway station to the Hoe and its definite character. The general architectural pattern such as heights, rhythms and materials could be maintained and only those elements making a negative contribution to the area should be subject to regeneration, discouraging piecemeal interventions which would dilute the harmony of the development.

223 Plymouth City Council, Planning Services. Plymouth City Centre precinct, assessment of strategic options for the management of its heritage assets. Op cit. p. 7-8.



TOURISM IN PLYMOUTH'S HISTORIC CITY

HISTORY OF THE TOURIST SECTOR IN PLYMOUTH

123

Four stages have been distinguished in the history of tourism in Plymouth, namely the prewar antecedents, the damage caused by the war and the recovery of the activity, the changes in the market since the 1960s until the 1980s and the new management strategies and priorities since the 1990s. Apart from these periods, two aspects will be treated separately, the first one refers to the achievements of the Plymouth Marketing Bureau and the second one is a review of historic guidebooks since the 19th century until the end of the 20th century.



THE TOURIST MODEL BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Before World War II, Plymouth was not a classic seaside resort, although it had many of its components. The city was particularly attractive because of its transoceanic connections. It also offered a number of attractions, some of which still exist today.

The West Country has traditionally been an attractive region for tourists thanks to its mild weather, beaches, beautiful scenery and peripheral condition from the main industrial areas of London and the Midlands. Within the South West, the south coast of Devon and Cornwall began to develop fashionable seaside resorts since the beginning of the 19th century with examples in Exmouth, Falmouth and Torquay in the Torbay area, known as the English Riviera. The success of English resorts depended upon the

political situation on the continent, achieving a higher number of visitors when travelling to France or the Mediterranean was discouraged. Plymouth offered some resort facilities although the city could never be considered as a seaside resort. Nevertheless, it was an important stopping point in the journey to Cornwall and a starting place for many sightseeing tours around the region, such as the Tamar River and Dartmoor, which made the city be called "The Centre of a Hundred Tours". Devonport dockyard was also an important attraction as tourists enjoyed being shown round factories. Moreover, the city was a port of call for ocean liners, especially thanks to its railway link.

Tourism in the 19th and early 20th century was focused on health and its amenities. The potential of Plymouth was recognised by FM Williams, who wrote in 1898 the book entitled "Plymouth as a Tourist and Health Resort". According to Williams, Plymouth was well placed to develop as a summer and winter resort thanks to the mild climate, the varied amusements such as theatres and concerts and the many places of interest around. He wrote that a visitor to Plymouth

*"when leaving, longs for the months to pass when the time may come for another visit to enjoy the glorious sunshine and refreshing breezes wafted over the balmy sea, and laden with its life and health-giving properties".*²²⁴

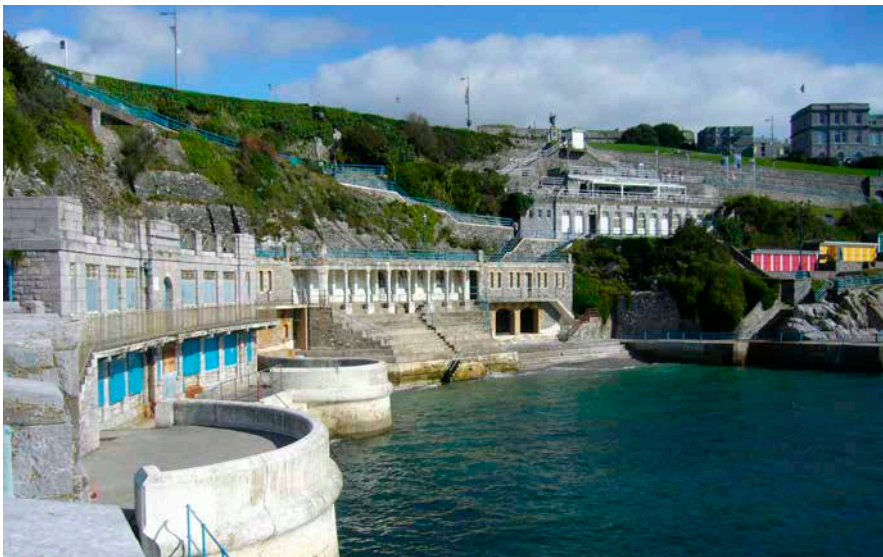
Plymouth's foreshore is formed by sharp limestone cliffs, making sea bathing difficult. The city had sea-water baths since 1767, at the beginning they were mainly for locals²²⁵. In 1892, a number of projects were approved to improve bathing facilities at Tinside foreshore, including cutting steps to the sea, erection of bathing sheds, creation of platforms and removal of rough edges and boulders to permit bathing at low tide. In 1911, a safe area for learner swimmers was formed by enclosing a creek and in 1912 an artificial beach was created by dredging sand from the Sound. The new bathing facilities at Tinside Beach, consisting of concrete terraces, changing rooms and refreshment areas, were opened in August 1913²²⁶. New attractions and facilities were incorporated in the 1930s, following the trends of the time. Sea bathing began to be popular not only for health reasons but also as a leisure activity, thus the foreshore was made more accessible, new changing rooms were built and the Colonnade Promenade and Tinside Pool were erected in 1935.

Apart from bathing, yachting became increasingly popular. Gentlemen frequented a number of yacht clubs, including the renowned Royal Western,

224 Williams FM. Plymouth as a tourist and health resort. 1898. p. 58.

225 Travis JF. The rise of Devon seaside resorts 1750-1900. Exeter: University of Exeter Press; 1993. p. 3.

226 Essex S. Tourism in Plymouth. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripiaios P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 123.



Hoe foreshore bathing facilities nowadays. Source: the author.

opened in 1827 in Millbay after the success of the first regatta organised in Plymouth. From 1880, it moved close to the Grand Hotel in West Hoe. Apart from gentlemanly events, every waterside community organised its own regatta each summer. Since 1828 the Plymouth Races were held every August.²²⁷

The prominent site of the Hoe had been kept clear historically for military reasons. In 1882, the Plymouth Corporation, antecedent of Plymouth City Council, purchased the whole area from the Duchy of Cornwall, giving place to the current open grounds. The Promenade was laid, Smeaton Tower was reconstructed from its original location in Eddystone Rocks and the Promenade Pier was built in 1884. Drake Statue and Armada Memorial were erected ready for the celebrations of the Armada tercentenary in 1888. The Belvedere was built in 1891 in the place of the Bullring.

Millbay passengers' terminal increasingly supplied visitors to the city since 1850, when the city became a port of call for ocean liners to Southampton and London. The city was also an important port for emigration to the United States of America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. It was not until the railway arrived to the city when the number of staying visitors increased significantly. In 1844, South Devon Railway was authorized to extend the railway from Exeter. The historic connection to Exeter and the rest of the country had traditionally been an inland route but the company decided to build its tracks along the coast in order to communicate all the resorts²²⁸.

²²⁷ Gill C. Plymouth, a new history. Op cit. p. 239.

²²⁸ Travis JF. Op cit. p. 96.



The Duke of Cornwall hotel nowadays. Source: the author.

In 1882, Millbay railway station joined the docks facilities, allowing passengers to complete their journey by train, which was quicker than completing it by ship.

Liners got bigger and they had to anchor in the Sound, passengers being ferried by tenders. In 1879, 3,538 passengers passed through Millbay, by 1889 they were 10,418, by 1907 they were 21,181 and in 1913 they were 30,841²²⁹. The growth of passengers led to the opening of three large hotels close to Millbay docks, namely the Duke of Cornwall (1862), the Grand Hotel (1880) and the Albion and Continental (1904)²³⁰. Nowadays, the Duke of Cornwall and the Continental are still in use and the Grand has been reconverted into flats.

In the early 20th century there were about 20 hotels in Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport, including the renowned establishments of Farley's (Union Street), the Westminster (The Crescent, West Hoe), the Royal and the Globe (old City Centre) and the Fountain (Fore Street, Devonport). By 1940, the number of hotels had risen to 58.²³¹

Social life amenities were attractive for visitors as well. Their variety increased parallel to the wealth of the Three Towns. Many of them were born

²²⁹ Essex S. *Tourism in Plymouth*. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Grippaio P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 125.

²³⁰ Gill C. *Plymouth, a new history*. Op cit. p. 35.

²³¹ Eyre's Directory; 1910-1911, 1920-1921 and 1940. Cited in: Essex S. *Tourism in Plymouth*. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Grippaio P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 125-127.



The New Palace Theatre nowadays. Source: the author.

in the 18th century and formalised in the 19th century. In Devonport, the Dock Theatre opened in 1762 in the site now occupied by Cumberland Garden. In Stonehouse, the Long Room offered concerts and assemblies, as well as tepid baths and a bathing machine in Millbay shores. It is nowadays used as a gymnasium by the Royal Marines. In Plymouth, the Theatre Royal opened in 1758 in its former location of George Street. In 1889 opened the Grand Theatre, and in 1898 the Palace Theatre of Varieties was established in Union Street.

In 1810, a competition was held to replace the Royal Theatre by a new theatre, hotel and assembly rooms, giving place to the renowned Royal Hotel and Theatre Royal, designed by John Foulston. Theatres lost popularity in the 1920s and some of them were replaced by cinemas, including the Theatre Royal. Foulston also designed the original Plymouth Proprietary Library and the prewar Athenaeum, built next to the Theatre Royal in 1818. The Plymouth Medical Society was founded in 1794 and had its own library, and the Library of Plymouth Law Society was founded in 1815.

However, the city realised that some of its assets were not being exploited enough as tourist resources, Philip Pilditch remarked in 1929 about the Barbican that

“this little quarter is, in its way, as fine as anything in any town in England which retains any medieval association. If it were on the Riviera or Provence, or in Spain or Italy, English and American tourists would be

found going into raptures over it; but here it is in drab old England and we have not known how to make the most of it".²³²

In the 1930s, the Mayflower Memorial was created next to the Mayflower Steps, in an attempt to attract more tourists from the United States of America. Sir Philip Pilditch and the Old Plymouth Society had contributed to save the Elizabethan House from demolition and they were now campaigning not to sweep away the whole Barbican in the name of slum clearance, but to retain street lines, remove poor additions, repair and recondition the houses and build new blocks of flats sympathetic to the area. The goal was to achieve *"a renovated Elizabethan district, its heart a museum in a house that Drake saw, the magnet to attract for all time mementoes concerning the greatest of Plymothians, and the old antique shops which should spring up in the vicinity, as they have elsewhere, would intensify the call that Plymouth Hoe and Sound have for the English, and bring visitors from all over England, and from the ends of the English-speaking world".²³³*

The years before the outbreak of the Second World War, Plymouth was also a popular destination for day-trippers from Devon and Cornwall thanks to the Plymouth Argyle football team, the city's shopping offer and the Palace Theatre of Varieties. The Palace Theatre is still standing, several proposals are in debate to give it a new use but no one has been carried out yet.

➤ CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR ON TOURIST ATTRACTIONS AND FACILITIES AND POSTWAR RECOVERY

The war was devastating for the tourist industry. However, Plymouth made an effort to recover soon, this commitment was showed in the Plan for Plymouth.

By the beginning of the Second World War, Plymouth was among the holiday resorts of the South West thanks to its own seaside and historical attractions, as well as its central position for tours in Devon and Cornwall.

The war destroyed much of the tourist activity, although not completely. The Promenade Pier was bombed and never rebuilt, several attempts to create a new one have been regularly considered but no one has been carried out yet. Among the principal hotels, the Royal Hotel was destroyed but the Grand, the Continental and the Duke of Cornwall remained. Many boarding houses were either bombed or requisitioned by the military. In 1940, Plymouth had 58 hotels and in 1951 the stock was of 31, about half its prewar level.²³⁴

²³² Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 13.

²³³ Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 41.

²³⁴ Eyre's Directory; 1951. Cited in: Essex S. Tourism in Plymouth. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripaos P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 127.

Even before the end of the war, the city was decided to recover the tourist activity as soon as it was possible, a clear reason was its economic importance but also as a means of rising civic pride through making a city attractive for locals and visitors. The Plan for Plymouth was aware of the rising economic relevance of tourism and of its link to the extension of the welfare state which was under preparation in wartime. It was expected that the whole of the insured class would receive holidays with pay and people from abroad would be able to travel more easily.²³⁵

Tourism was seen as a leisure activity, the same as outdoor sports and indoor recreation. The spaces needed to develop tourist-related activities were designed following the same pattern as for other uses, giving priority to functionality and segregation of uses.

At that moment the view of the Sound from the Hoe, the surrounding scenery, the foreshore and the “Mediterranean” character were considered as the main assets of the city. It was not casual that the main axis of the rebuilt City Centre began at the northern station, where a hotel was proposed to welcome visitors, and ended on the Hoe, which was kept for a residential and hotels precinct. West Hoe was planned as a centre for international gatherings and apart from hotels, hostels and boarding houses it was proposed to host new facilities such as a casino, an open-air theatre, a rotunda and a stadium. The other city gates were carefully considered as well, in particular Millbay, which was close to the Hoe, the rebuilt shopping centre and the Barbican. The Hoe was also the first impression for people arriving at the sea-plane base in Mount Batten, the “airplane port” was proposed to be connected to the city by a rapid air-propelled monorail.

As it has been previously explained, the Barbican was proposed to be enclosed by a wall and reconstructed in a historicist style, and the Parade was intended to be a local centre including a Community Centre and cafes. However, these ideas contrasted with the slum clearance initiatives that were carried out. The Chamber of Commerce stated, talking about the demolitions carried out by the Housing Committee, that they

*“had no regard for the city, nor do they see that the Barbican area is to a large extent the bread and butter of Plymouth in its attraction to visitors, which should be obvious to anyone who had the interest of Plymouth at heart”.*²³⁶

Due to housing needs, parts of the Barbican were being replaced for Council flats and many more were planned, which would have impelled the attraction for tourists that the neighbourhood nowadays offers. Crispin Gill wrote that

²³⁵ Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 24-25.

²³⁶ Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 78.

*"at any time now on a Summer's day the coaches can be counted around this area in their scores. They bring money to Plymouth, but visitors will not come to see blocks of flats that might be in Poplar or Liverpool".*²³⁷

The Hoe and the Barbican or "historic Plymouth" were seen as the main tourist assets and sea-related activities were given a renovated attention. Mayflower Stone and the Pilgrim Fathers achieved prominence during the war due to the servicemen from the United States of America stationed in Plymouth preparing the Normandy invasion. Following allied victory, the idea of Plymouth as a link between Great Britain and the US was key in the Plan and afterwards. Consequently, the Mayflower Steps, the Pilgrim Fathers and the city's naval history achieved a new status as tourist assets focusing on attracting more visitors from the United States of America. John G Winant, Ambassador from the United States of America, stated that

*"generations of voyaging Americans, landing at Plymouth, have found a crowded, prosperous place in a superb scenic setting. They say the old town of Pilgrim days (...) if the streets were sometimes curving and narrow, if the layout was sometimes picturesque rather than convenient, my countrymen expected that and were delighted by it".*²³⁸

The 1952 plan continued with the reconstruction of Plymouth proposed in the Plan for Plymouth and included some new proposals. Durnford Street had at that time many boarding houses and private hotels and increasing its number was encouraged but not successfully carried out. In West Hoe, a new marine pavilion was proposed, to be added to all the new facilities considered in the Plan for Plymouth.²³⁹

The 1952 plan also included the preservation of a few remarkable buildings in the Barbican as the area was considered one of Plymouth's main tourist attractions. However, 1950s development plans were much more focused on reconstructing the City Centre and on developing housing suburbs than on reinstating and extending holiday facilities. Some of the original proposals of the Plan for Plymouth, such as the wall around the Barbican, the casino at West Hoe and the railway hotel, were never developed. Other proposals, such as the hotel sector and yachting facilities, were carried out after a long delay. According to Essex²⁴⁰, the development and promotion of tourism in the city entered a period of neglect during the 1950s.

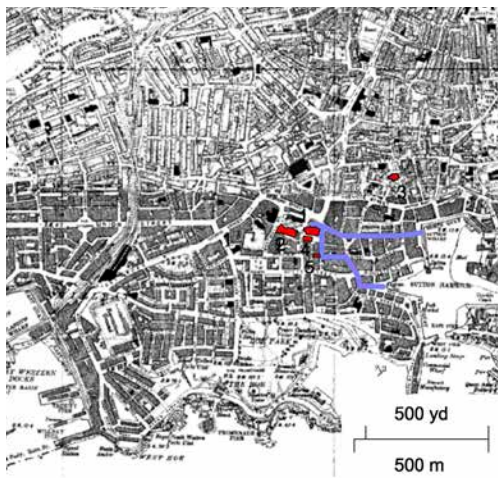
One of the consequences of the new street pattern laid in the City Centre was the physical separation of the monumental core from the harbour. Whimble

237 Gill C. Western Morning News. 1957 Jan 24.

238 Paton Watson J, Abercrombie P. Op cit. p. 3.

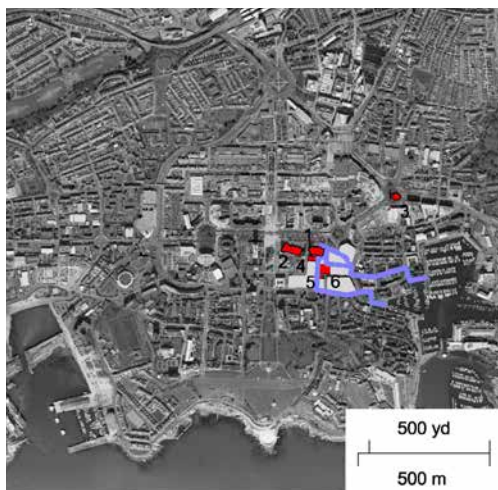
239 Paton Watson J. City of Plymouth Development Plan, 1952 submission. Op cit. Report of survey. p. 59.

240 Essex S. Tourism in Plymouth. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripaos P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 128.



- Pre-war way from St Andrew's to Sutton Harbour
- 1 St Andrew's Church
- 2 Guildhall
- 3 Charles Church
- 4 Prysten House
- 5 Merchant's House

Prewar way from St Andrew's Church to Sutton Harbour. Source: the author, based on: Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 131-132. Background plan: Plymouth [map]. 1930. Op cit.



- Post-war way from St Andrew's to Sutton Harbour
- - Pedestrian shortcut
- 1 St Andrew's Church
- 2 Guildhall
- 3 Charles Church
- 4 Prysten House
- 5 Merchant's House
- 6 Magistrates' Court

Current way from St Andrew's Church to Sutton Harbour. Source: the author. Background picture: Google maps [Internet]. Op cit.

Street, High Street and Looe Street were modified and the historic town cross vanished. Vauxhall Street creates nowadays a traffic barrier between the northern and eastern side of the Barbican, the northern side is where the city was born but it has been seriously altered while the southern side retains most of the historic character and tourist-related uses. The construction of the Magistrate's Court contributed to the alteration of historic links since it cut the former St Andrew's Street, making also difficult the connection between the Merchant's House and St Andrew's Church.



CRISIS OF THE TOURIST MODEL AND SEARCH FOR NEW MARKETS

Once British economy was recovered, travelling abroad became fashionable and aeroplanes consolidated as the main means of transport for long distances. Motivations changed and Plymouth developed new strategies, many of which never came to reality.

From the 1960s onwards, British holiday makers changed national destinations for international resorts, this resulted in a significant reduction of visitors arriving to the traditional locations of Devon and Cornwall. Moreover, ocean liners and ferries gave way to aeroplanes and Plymouth lost its relevance as a port for passengers. There was a general decrease in the whole country although in Plymouth it was not as severe. Some figures of that time are the 90,600 staying tourists in 1979 and the 86,600 staying tourists in 1981.²⁴¹

There was a need to find new tourist markets in order to be competitive in the new situation and the city, as well as many other examples in England, focused on conferences, business, yachting, short holidays, city-breaks, day visitors, shopping, culture and the arts. All the local plans developed since 1960 pursued to achieve the objectives mentioned. These activities does not normally rely very much on weather conditions and when they are well developed they entail several benefits, such as the regeneration of certain areas in the inner city, the reduction of seasonality and bigger economic profits with lower environmental impact than other segments. Infrastructures, facilities and means of transport already existed, and if they needed upgrading the local community could take advantage from them as well.

In 1958, an ambitious plan was unveiled: Plymouth would become a sailing centre. With a yacht club on Fisher's Nose, from which ocean racings could start, a sailing club on Sutton Jetty and the removal of the Fish Quay to the other side of Sutton Pool, the Barbican would become the most popular and up-to-date yachting centre in the country. This plan was never carried out, but one decade later Plymouth started to open a number of marinas. It was suggested that the city might aim to attract 1% of the UK market, meaning 2,500 yachts²⁴². In 1972, Sutton Harbour Company established the first marina in the Barbican, for 200 yachts, and in 1973 Ocean Quay was developed on the River Tamar, with 200 additional berths and luxury flats. In 1986, Queen Anne's Battery Marina and the sea-based events centre were opened to host the Transatlantic Race of June 1986, hosting 300 berths, a cafe, a restaurant, chandleries and press and sponsor facilities. In the early 1990s,

²⁴¹ Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1982-1991. Adopted in 1987. Op cit. p. 79-80.

²⁴² Harris RT. Op cit. Cited in: Essex S. Tourism in Plymouth. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripiaios P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 130.

Millbay Holiday Village and Marina was opened. Sutton Harbour was finally turned into a floating basin marina with lock gates in 1992, the fish market was relocated in Coxside. Alongside yachting, regattas boosted as well. The Transatlantic Race and the Round Britain Race added to the bi-annual Fastnet Race organised by the Royal Western Yacht Club. A singular event was the arrival of Sir Francis Chichester from his epic single-handed voyage round the world in 1967.

In 1962, another project was suggested but never fulfilled, consisting on the redevelopment of the Hoe foreshore. The proposal involved land reclamation to create a large open swimming area and the construction of walkways, a marine cafe and a restaurant.²⁴³

In the 1980s, the older hotels, namely the Duke of Cornwall, the Grand and the Continental, were refurbished, and the number of smaller guest houses increased significantly. The 1980 Local Plan included provisions against further conversion of houses into self-catering accommodation, boarding-houses, guest-houses and hotels in central areas. The plan proposed new sites for hotel development in West Hoe and the northern side of the City Centre²⁴⁴. In both sites, the hotels developed did not take their surroundings into account. On the Hoe, the Holiday Inn at the end of Armada Way competes in height with the Civic Centre but not in quality, and the Quality Hotel in Cliff Road is a characterless landmark in Plymouth's waterfront. The construction of the Copthorne Hotel in 1986 near North Cross followed on from the idea included in the Plan for Plymouth but the quality envisaged was never achieved. Instead of being a landmark welcoming visitors from the railway station, it faces a roof car park and the Western Approach ring road.

The 1987 Local Plan included a provision of adding 1,000 more bed spaces to adapt the stock to the increasing demand for conferences envisaged with the opening of the Pavilions and the Theatre Royal. The new Theatre Royal, which had been proposed in the Plan for Plymouth, finally opened in 1982 with 1,300 seats, it is nowadays a renowned venue and one of the best attended British theatres outside London²⁴⁵. The Pavilions, a conference, entertainment and sports centre, opened in 1991 on the site of the former Millbay railway station. The last vacant site in the rebuilt City Centre was occupied in 1984 by the Armada Centre, the first inward looking shopping centre in the city. In the Barbican, the "Kathleen and May" was restored and anchored, but it was finally moved to Victorian Dock, London, in 1978. A replica of the "Golden Hind" was anchored in the Sound for the Drake 400 anniversary. In 1989, a new visitor centre was opened on the Hoe: the Plymouth Dome.

243 Essex S. *Tourism in Plymouth*. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripaos P, editors. Op cit: 118-139. p. 129.

244 Plymouth City Council. *City of Plymouth Local Plan 1982-1991*. Adopted in 1987. Op cit. p. 86-87.

245 Theatre Royal. Source: Theatre Royal Plymouth [Internet]; c2002-[cited 2014 Sep 28]. About us; screen 1 [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.theatreroyal.com/content.asp?CategoryID=969>



Plymouth Pavilions. Source: the author.

These new attractions proved very successful in attracting visitors but some of them were designed disregarding their surroundings and lacked long term vision. The Dome was closed in 2006 due to financial problems and it was reopened in 2013 as a restaurant. In the meantime, Mayflower Visitor Centre was opened in the Barbican, it shows displays about the city's history and offers information to visitors. The Pavilions are isolated from the streets around and cut the connection between the City Centre and Millbay, there is a project to demolish two of the three volumes, open a boulevard and integrate new restaurants and leisure uses with access from the street, this project will be discussed later on. Armada Centre was built in clear opposition to the open shopping streets that the Plan for Plymouth proposed, contributing to the lack of mixed uses and urban character in the north of Armada Way. This shopping centre became out-of-date when Drake Circus shopping centre opened.

Apart from attractions, new events were developed in the city, which attracted visitors and provided publicity. In 1970, the Mayflower 350 anniversary took place, in 1980 the Drake 400 celebrations were organised, in 1982 Maritime England events were carried out and in 1988 the city hosted the Armada 400 celebrations.

Finally, particular areas in the city achieved special attention. The 1980 Local Plan Area Studies were keen on protecting and improving public access to the water frontage. In Stonehouse, its pool was proposed to be used for boating and yachting²⁴⁶. The 1987 Local Plan was determined to improve tourism in

²⁴⁶ Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan Area Studies. Op cit. p. 9.

the city and incorporated several policies for every area. In the Barbican there was an increasing demand to balance the pressure of tourist-related uses with the needs of the neighbours. As a result, leisure and catering facilities were not allowed to be increased at the expense of workshops, local shops, residences and services for the community. In the 1980s, old warehouses were turned into antique shops, independent retailers and designers were located in ground floor, and housing in upper floors²⁴⁷. Day visitors were increasing in Plymouth and there were some problems of access and car parking in the City Centre, this led to the opening of a significant number of multi-storey car parks, which was functional but had an adverse effect on the image of the area. Regarding the Hoe, in 1960 the Parks and Recreation Committee prepared a proposal to make it more attractive, involving the creation of a large open swimming area, the construction of walkways where the sea would flow beneath and the provision of a marine cafe and restaurant. At West Hoe, the proposal included a theatre, concert hall, conference facilities and ornamental gardens²⁴⁸. However, these proposals were not implemented.

> THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PLYMOUTH MARKETING BUREAU IN PROMOTION AND CREATION OF NEW ATTRACTIONS

135

This section focuses on the work carried out by the Plymouth Marketing Bureau, which was particularly effective in increasing promotion and creating new events and attractions.

In 1973, the House of Lords Report on Recreation encouraged the creation of leisure departments with a chief officer. Some cities followed the initiative, while others gave priority to private initiative and funding. Plymouth gave a mixed response through the Plymouth Marketing Bureau Public Company, established in 1978. According to Willey, it was a significant initiative in terms of providing a forum for growth for leisure and tourism and in stimulating partnerships between private and public sector interests. In fact, Plymouth's initiative was Britain's first tourism marketing company jointly owned and operated by the public and private sector and provided a model for other areas to emulate.²⁴⁹

The Bureau focused on the domestic market through the development of short breaks and on the overseas market by creating a strong identity and attracting high spending visitors. Another objective was to transform Plymouth in the leading conference and exhibition centre of the South West.²⁵⁰

247 Robinson C. Plymouth's historic Barbican. Op cit. p. 130-133.

248 Ackroyd J. Plymouth sea front report: a report submitted to the parks and recreation committee by the City Engineer and Surveyor. Plymouth: Municipal Offices; 1962.

249 Willey D. Op cit. p. 23.

250 Plymouth Marketing Bureau. Annual Report. 1980. p. 7.



The Plymouth Dome, created by the Plymouth Marketing Bureau. Source: the author.

In order to achieve its objectives, the Bureau developed holiday brochures, accommodation guidebooks and advertising in newspapers. Similarly, it attended at workshops and trade fairs, such as the annual World Travel Market in London. It also provided tailor-made manuals and regular newsletters to travel agents, and prepared presentations to target tour operators and conference organisers. The Bureau was particularly successful in this sector, in 1979 only 12 conferences were held in the city but by the mid 1980s the annual figure regularly exceeded 40. The Bureau was also responsible for providing information to tourists in the city and it run a number of tourist information centres, these centres also provided an accommodation-finding service.

The Bureau helped to improve Plymouth's accommodation and attractions as well through the creation of the Plymouth Dome, Queen Anne's Battery marina and the Pavilions leisure complex. The Pavilions were created thanks to a consortium of business interests called Plymouth Exhibitions Limited, which erected them on their Millbay site. Since then, the Pavilions have contributed to the development of Plymouth as a conferences and exhibitions venue. The Bureau also organised far reaching events, which attracted an increasing number of visitors and provided additional publicity, such as the Armada 400 celebrations in 1988 and the annual British Fireworks Championships. It is estimated that Armada 400 celebrations produced £1.5 million-worth of media coverage and increased business by 30 per cent.²⁵¹

Since the closure of the Plymouth Marketing Bureau, several attempts have been made to rebrand the city and renovate marketing strategies, but these

²⁵¹ Essex S. *Tourism in Plymouth*. In: Chalkley B, Dunkerley D, Gripiaios P, editors. *Op cit.* p. 132-133.

projects have had a limited success partly due to the continuous changes of focus and the spread of functions in different bodies. Richards, former director of the Plymouth Marketing Bureau, pointed out that

“Unfortunately, Plymouth will never be successful as long as there are so many different bodies trying to play their own market, instead of working together for the benefit of all”.²⁵²

➤ CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT ORGANISATIONS AND FOCUS ON NEW VISITORS PROFILES

This section is centred on the changes in the tourism strategy and the search for new markets after the Plymouth Marketing Bureau lost its central role.

Since the early 1990s, tourism promotion focused on marketing a new image of the city, in order to improve the perception that potential visitors had of Plymouth. As well as in other British cities, activities such as leisure and shopping started to be viewed as experiences and the economic potential of cultural industries was acknowledged. Plymouth’s Tourism Marketing and Development Strategy for the 1990s emphasised high quality shopping opportunities as an important component of city based short holidays and day visits. As a result, Drake’s Circus shopping centre was completely redeveloped to offer a modern shopping experience.

Regeneration of run-down areas, built heritage enhancement and renovation of cultural features were used as a marketing tool by planners and municipal officers. The focus on aesthetic qualities was clear in the reference made by the Plymouth 2000 Initiative to

“attractive pedestrian ambience, colourful street markets, floral displays, seasonal lighting and children’s amenities as a means of enhancing the reputation and character of the city as an appealing destination for a shopping trip”.²⁵³

Moreover, the city, especially the waterfront, was regarded as a playground. Thus, greater public access was maximised with footpaths, cycle ways, better sign-posting, interpretative information, water sports and a variety of activities.

Regarding city branding strategies, the logo displayed on road signs was “Plymouth-Spirit of Discovery”, which focused on the romantic, imaginative

252 We won’t rely on city’s rebranding. 2010 Mar 6. It can be found in: This is Cornwall [Internet]. London: Northcliffe Media; c2012 [cited 2014 Oct 4]. [5 screens]. Available from: <http://www.thisiscornwall.co.uk/won-t-rely-city-s-rebranding/story-11382555-detail/story.html>

253 Plymouth City Council, The Plymouth 2000 Initiative. Building on quality and success, Plymouth’s tourism marketing and development strategy for the 1990s. Plymouth; 1992. p. 17.



Street lights with the logo
 “Plymouth-Spirit of Discovery”.
 Source: the author.

and creative features of world famous Plymothians, instead of the references to war and the empire which had dominated before.

In this period, significant cuts were imposed to Tourist Boards in order to give priority to market principles. There was a funding shift to public-private partnerships, where the private sector provided money and the public sector contributed with skills, legal powers and contracts. The access to funding was increasingly made by bidding²⁵⁴. As a result, the Plymouth Marketing Bureau finally closed in 2004 and Visit Plymouth assumed its roles in 2005.

European Union funding became significant for Devon, Cornwall and Plymouth, especially in its second phase developed since 1995. Tourism was seen as a tool for regenerating deprived areas, Plymouth City Council adopted this idea in its Plymouth 2000 Initiative and gave priority to tourism developments with a long term vision, in harmony with the environment and aspirations of local people. This sustainable approach was significant in the treatment of the waterfront, the Hoe and the Barbican. Moreover, the Council developed a strategy to improve accessibility to visitor facilities and attractions by disabled and socially disadvantaged people, following the recommendations of the English Tourist Board’s “Tourism for All” initiative.²⁵⁵

In the 1990s, a number of attractions and facilities were implemented. In 1993, the lock gate and the pedestrian bridge were erected at the mouth of

²⁵⁴ Willey D. Op cit. p. 26.

²⁵⁵ Ibidem. p. 13-21.



National Marine Aquarium. Source: the author.



Tinside Lido. Source: the author.

Sutton Harbour, allowing walking around the harbour and making Coxside more accessible. In that shore, the National Marine Aquarium was finally built in 1998. Many bathing facilities in the foreshore started to be derelict such as Tinside Lido, which closed in 1996. It was listed in 1998 after a public campaign and restored in 2003, but the rest of waterfront facilities are still waiting renovation.

The Tomorrow's Waterfront document of 1990 was one of the most influential plans of the time. It focused on regenerating the waterfront through increasing its tourist appeal. The objectives in figures were to extend the visitor season by six weeks, to create 50 new enterprises and 3 new visitor attractions, to boost tourism expenditure by 50%, and to expand the number of visitors by 30% by the year 2000²⁵⁶. In the early 1990s, Plymouth had the advantage of a lower seasonality than the rest of Devon, in 1989 hotel occupancy rates varied from 26.5% in January to 54.7% in August²⁵⁷. Tourism was generating 6,000 full and part-time jobs and it was seen as an alternative to the job losses that were taking place in the dockyard.²⁵⁸

The document considered that the impressive setting of the Sound was undeveloped regarding tourism and leisure facilities and it was intended to play a key role, since it represents the city's essence. A chapter was dedicated to marketing a new identity of the waterfront based on the naval tradition, natural assets, a rich mix of uses, a vibrant atmosphere and the rich offer of facilities. USA in particular was regarded as a strategic market and Plymouth-North American historic-related heritage was proposed to be highlighted. New events were created all year round and nowadays the Hoe stands as the gathering place for almost every celebration held in the city. Means of transport were seen as tourist assets as well, new leisure trains and a light rail were under consideration. There was a commitment to stop

256 Plymouth City Council, Planning Department. *Tomorrow's waterfront: a strategy for Plymouth waterfront*. p. 2.

257 Civic Trust, Regeneration Unit. *Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan*. Op cit. p. 84.

258 Plymouth City Council. *City of Plymouth Local Plan 1991-2001*. First alteration. Op cit. p. 171.

building high-speed roads in the inner city and to increase pedestriation instead. Not less important was to improve streetscape quality in aspects such as materials, street furniture, signs and landscaping.

The plan was aware of the threats that being overconfident on tourism development might bring. As the document remarks:

*“economic growth cannot be built upon tourism and leisure alone and attempts to do so have resulted in weak economies with often irredeemable trade and services deficits. We do not, therefore, propose to rely solely upon tourism and leisure to stimulate the waterfront economy, but rather to deploy it in partnership with other economic development initiatives”.*²⁵⁹

Having said that, the vision included in the Tomorrow's Waterfront document was to link tourism growth with other sectors, especially maritime and industrial activities. The objective in this case was to create 500 new jobs in these activities and 500 more in the retailing and professional sectors. Regarding water-related uses, the objective was to expand the cross-channel ferry traffic and to create 200 new leisure boat berths. Plymouth wanted to become a gateway for overseas tourists visiting Britain.

In Royal William Yard, it was proposed to create a mixed uses development of international significance linked to its unique historic heritage. Drake's Island future had been a current issue of debate, in this document an international design competition was suggested in order to raise proposals for its tourist exploitation. In Millbay, expanding the ferry terminal was under consideration, as well as the introduction of a new hotel, commercial and residential activities and the creation of a new urban link from the area to the City Centre and the Hoe. The possibility of opening new visitor attractions, such as floating historic exhibitions were also suggested, possible themes involving Brittany or Spain were proposed taking advantage of the ferry links.

On the Hoe, a reorganisation of the road system was proposed in order to reduce on-street parking. A new coach pick-up point was suggested at West Hoe park with cafes, souvenirs shops and visitor information. The various swimming and leisure pools were subject of a restoration programme and Tinside Pool was proposed to host a European aquarium. A general facelift was carried out affecting sheltered sitting out areas, walkways, paving, streetscape, signage and landscaping materials.

In the City Centre, the proposal was to extend pedestriation and to remove pedestrian barriers from the area to the waterfront. In the Barbican,

²⁵⁹ Plymouth City Council, Planning Department. Tomorrow's waterfront: a strategy for Plymouth waterfront. p. 12-13.



Sculptures showing the way to the Barbican, located in the bus station area and in the cross of Armada Way with Notte Street. Source: the author.



“The Plymouth Sea Monster”, commonly known as “The Prawn”. Erected in 1996, designed by Brian Fell. Source: the author.

the relocation of the Fish Market was finally accomplished, the old building was proposed to serve as a specialty fish restaurant and fishmongers with a fishing interpretative centre, but it was finally turned into souvenirs and clothing shop and a restaurant. The new fish market was suggested to be open to the public, thus creating a new visitor attraction, but this initiative was never fulfilled. The Barbican experienced a general upgrade in paving, street furniture, signage and a new traffic management scheme was put into practice. Quality specialty shopping and diverse catering establishments were encouraged.

Finally, in Stonehouse Peninsula new walkways were planned, and at Mount Wise open spaces and pools were proposed to be restored as leisure facilities. This task was finally developed by the Plymouth Development Corporation.

Another document developed in this time to improve tourism was Tomorrow's Plymouth, from 1991. It had as main objective to combat the economic decline and loss of jobs partly caused by the reduction of the naval sector²⁶⁰. In Devonport, only Mount Wise saw the fulfillment of the initiatives envisaged. On the Hoe, new information boards, tourist maps, heritage trails, street furniture and marketing campaigns were designed and new hotels were built.

The Civic Trust's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan from 1991 focused on improving economic activity while preserving and enhancing

²⁶⁰ Plymouth City Council, Planning Department. Tomorrow's Plymouth. Op cit. p. 10.

the Barbican's built heritage. It proposed to create new attractions and to improve accessibility for tourists but only in the cases that the whole community was benefited, and social, visual and economic well-being impacts were bearable. The general idea was to link environmental, economic and community aspects. Instead of promoting new developments in the Barbican, it proposed to build the National Marine Aquarium in Coxside, which was finally achieved in 1998.

In order to improve interpretation, a new Mayflower Heritage Centre was proposed. It was a very ambitious project which would have included a tourist information office, eating facilities, retail and displays explaining the background of the Pilgrim Fathers. Because of its needs of space, it was proposed to be located in the Royal Citadel. The objective was to create the definitive place for visitors from the United States of America to come in the UK and it was even proposed to be officially considered as US territory. This project never came into fruition, only the proposal to make displays about the city's history was assumed by the Mayflower Visitor Centre located in front of Mayflower Steps. Nowadays, the Mayflower is one of the most widespread symbolic references of the city but it was not like that in the 1980s, when it was only referred in two plaques in West Pier and the Island House²⁶¹. At that time, the Hoe and Francis Drake achieved a higher importance, taking into account the success achieved by the celebration of the Armada anniversary in 1988.

The plan considered that the city could take advantage of many interpretative resources not enough exploited such as fishing, shipbuilding and naval history, particularly in Devonport dockyards and Royal William Yard. Other resources were trade and emigration referring to the Mayflower, the Pilgrim Fathers, Australia and New Zealand, the military links involving the Royal Citadel commandos, a number of historic buildings and the rich local social history.

The Barbican presented several negative aspects discouraging visitors to come in, one was related to the excessive drinking problem partially caused by the large number of pubs and clubs. Traffic congestion was also a major problem as well as noise, litter and pollution, especially water pollution. Moreover, the neighbourhood suffered in previous years of poor quality architecture and the neglect of built heritage.

A general increase of tourism-related uses was proposed in Sutton Harbour and other Plymouth ports through the development of yacht clubs, marinas, sailing clubs, canoeing, boat cruises, angling, river buses to the Tamar River and ferry services to Cornwall beaches. Another proposal was to

261 Civic Trust, Regeneration Unit. Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan. Op cit. p. 83-97.



Terraces in the Barbican. Source: the author.

pedestrianise the core of the Barbican and to link the Barbican and the Hoe with a tourist bus. Shopping was regarded as a tourist activity and as a way to balance other uses on the Barbican. Thus, in Southside Street it was recommended to retain retail in ground floors.

143

Another initiative of that time was the Plymouth's Tourism Marketing and Development Strategy for the 1990s, developed by the Plymouth 2000 Partnership in 1992. It was issued in a context of incertitude regarding the consequences of the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1994, which had an adverse effect because the prime short breaks market of the Midlands, London and the South East changed their traditional holiday destinations in the South West. Moreover, continental visitors experienced a very little increase in Plymouth due to its peripheral location. Although the West Country had well-established resorts, Plymouth had a problem of image since it was perceived as an unglamorous industrial city in a region of outstanding visitor appeal.²⁶²

The aim of the city was to compete in ferry services and attract the increasing overseas visitors to England, particularly from Europe, North America and countries surrounding the Pacific Basin. It also focused on independent long holidays of around one week's duration, as well as on short holidays orientated towards water-based activities.

Apart from many projects already mentioned, a new proposal was to develop a "café culture" with open air terraces to dine out. This idea has been

²⁶² Plymouth City Council, *The Plymouth 2000 Initiative. Building on quality and success, Plymouth's tourism marketing and development strategy for the 1990s*. Plymouth; 1992. p. 7.

extended in recent years on the Barbican and at the end of Armada Way. Furthermore, the Pavilions were given a new impetus in order to attract an increasing number of staying visitors thanks to a renovated offer on conferences, leisure and entertainment events.

In the 1990s, a number of regeneration plans with direct impact on tourism enhancement were carried out in the city, such as the works of the Plymouth Development Corporation 1993-1998, Single Regeneration Budget 1995-2003 and Stonehouse Area Plan 1997. The Barbican was given special attention.

One of the main objectives of the Barbican Package 1992-1996 and the Barbican Regeneration Package 1995-2001 was to consolidate the neighbourhood as a first class tourist attraction. In order to stimulate the image of the Barbican as a historic-artistic district, small artists and crafts-based uses were given facilities to occupy vacant buildings. The traditional, nearly picturesque features of the area were especially marketed, such as the fact that the Barbican is the largest surviving area of cobbled streeting in the UK, as well as its concentration of more than 100 listed buildings.²⁶³

Other proposals included in the initiatives were the introduction of public art and a general facelift involving shop fronts, signage, advertisements, canopies, banners, blinds, lighting, windows, alarm boxes, rainwater goods, street names plates, etc.

The 1996 Local Plan first alteration went further with the explained proposals. Tourism was considered an important industry which had a significant potential for expansion for the benefit of local residents and visitors alike. The document pointed out the vulnerability of the tourism industry to factors like an economic recession or overseas competition. To lessen the impacts of such factors, the plan pursued to diversify the city's attractions and to make them resilient and responsive to change. Plymouth had an advantage in this respect as it was able to offer year round attractions and quality facilities for people with many different interests.²⁶⁴

The plan considered that the more precious attractions in the city included its superb coastal and countryside location, sailing and diving facilities, the ferry port, shopping and entertainment, the Dome and the Pavilions.

Tourism was encouraged to assist in restoring, conserving and enhancing heritage and the natural environment. Tourism growth was proposed to be carefully planned, managed and co-ordinated in order to attract more visitors, reduce seasonal variations, provide more secure year-round employment and income, and improve facilities and services.

²⁶³ Plymouth City Council. Regenerating Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour. Bulletins 1, 2 and 3.

²⁶⁴ Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1991-2001. First alteration. Op cit. p. 171.

The objective in relation to new tourist attractions was to provide a better standard of facilities for local residents, without adversely affecting local amenity. Attractions such as Theatre Royal, the Pavilions, the Dome, shopping centres, museums and Queen Anne's Battery were marketed in order to attract tourists as well as residents from the catchment area.

New heritage trails were developed and the walkways around the Barbican, the Hoe, Bretonside and Coxside were linked to the South West Coast Path. New water transport services were created starting from West Pier.

Regarding new hotel developments, it was proposed to build a wide range of them, from budget type to 5 stars, self-catering accommodation and youth hostels. The designated appropriate areas were Millbay, Royal William Yard and the Grand Hotel site. The Council gave particular priority to the promotion of hotel development on sites where it complemented other regeneration objectives for the promotion of the waterfront.

Conversion of dwellings into self-catering, holiday boarding houses and guest houses was permitted only when the scale was compatible with the character of the area, the proposal did not harm the amenities enjoyed by the occupiers of the neighbouring premises, there was not an over concentration of hotels, and the character of an area was not under risk. Environmental compatibility was achieved with neighbouring properties by reason of sitting, scale, bulk, massing, layout and general appearance. The objective was to put an end to former developments that were disrespectful to their surroundings.

In the case of Royal William Yard, some of the uses suggested were a museum about maritime, industrial and victualling history, a hotel, conference facilities, small scale retailing, a public house and restaurants. In Millbay, it was proposed to expand the ferry port and to create new hotel, commercial, leisure and informal recreation uses.

The waterfront was recognised as the city's trademark and the Council particularly encouraged proposals exploiting public access to it and enhancing the city's maritime heritage. On the Hoe, new coach stop off points and facilities were proposed and building a new Plymouth Pier was considered. Proposals for the development or extension of marinas were to be permitted only if they did not have any adverse impact to the environment and the waterfront remained of public access.

In Devonport, the plan proposed to stimulate tourism-related employment through regenerating No. 1 Slipway and The Ropery, this idea has not been carried out yet. The refurbishment of Mount Wise's pools and open spaces was regarded as a new tourist attraction as well.

The City of Plymouth Local Plan (1995-2011) First Deposit was the first to expressly link economic regeneration and tourism improvement with the creative economy. Plymouth's heritage and its exceptional location were seen as a key resource thanks to its contribution on the city's image as a regional centre and as an international centre for knowledge and learning, tourism and culture. As the plan stated in its objectives:

*"Although Plymouth aspires to be a progressive city, a concept at the heart of the 2020 Vision, this cannot be achieved without respect for the past and a continuing ability to learn from the past. Plymouth's heritage is an asset which needs to be nurtured not just for its own sake and for the enjoyment of local people, but also to promote the image of the city of investors and tourists. A proactive approach is required in respect of preserving and enhancing the best of Plymouth's built and buried heritage".*²⁶⁵

The Plan was keen on improving tourism facilities in the city and built heritage was seen as an asset to achieve this goal. It included policies concerning heritage preservation and enhancement, landscaping, creation of walkways on the waterfront, streetscape improvement and shopping upgrading.

The Barbican and the Hoe were paid special attention. They were included in the Barbican and Hoe Strategic Opportunity Area since both were considered of critical importance to the well-being of Plymothians and crucial for tourism, as well as mainstays of the city's economy. An important concern was to balance the needs of the local community with those of the visitors, in a historic environment which included one of the country's first designated conservation areas. The plan considered the connection with Sir Francis Drake and the superb views across Plymouth Sound as the most important assets of the area.

By the end of the 1990s, there was a dramatic downturn in the national retail property market, which affected some projects underway. Two unattractive central sites, namely Drake Circus shopping centre and Colin Campbell Court, were proposed to be redeveloped. Only the first of them was finally fulfilled, while the second is still under discussion. A number of leisure-related facilities were under consideration, being "The Mast" one of the most publicised. It consisted in a 700 feet (213 m) high tower surmounted by a revolving restaurant and viewing platform, proposed to be built at the top of Armada Way²⁶⁶. With a similar philosophy, the Spinnaker Tower was being built in Portsmouth harbour.

²⁶⁵ Plymouth City Council. City of Plymouth Local Plan 1995-2011. First Deposit. Op cit. Part two. p. 19.

²⁶⁶ Essex S. Tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 121.

In the early 2000s, tourism management in Plymouth suffered a crisis. The Plymouth Marketing Bureau closed in 2004 due to cuts in funding, tourist offices were reduced, investment in marketing and advertising was restricted and no visitor strategy had been developed since the early 1990s. In 2003, a report suggested the creation of a new strategic body, the Plymouth Tourism Forum, in order to develop a new tourism business plan joining marketing with leisure services. It also proposed the establishment of the City Centre Partnership and a new private sector-led conference partnership.²⁶⁷

Soon after, the Plymouth Tourism Strategic Framework 2004 suggested the creation of the City of Plymouth Marketing Company, a public-private partnership to develop city marketing functions, bringing together city branding, image promotion, inward investment and tourism within a unified structure. It was inspired in similar initiatives successfully carried out in Manchester, Newcastle, Leicestershire and Coventry. The company was proposed to join the City Centre Company, the Chamber of Commerce and the University to create the Plymouth 2020 Marketing Alliance.²⁶⁸

Key products at this stage were meetings and conferences, water sports and sea recreation, short breaks and day visitors. The city had a relatively strong tourism product and visitor industry infrastructure, but weak tourism marketing. The objectives to fulfill by 2015 were to achieve more than 20,000 people working in the tourism sector, to increase the number of cruises and ferries, to upgrade and integrate the bus and train stations and to involve the local community in the development of visitor welcome initiatives.

The focus shifted from mass tourism to independent travel and cultural exploration, where authenticity and quality of place, environment and product offer is important. Thus, four experiences were targeted, linked to specific key market segments: business tourism, meetings and conferences centred on small to medium size conferences, associations and not-for-profit organisations. City breaks targeted empty nesters, singles, cultural and heritage explorers, events and festivals enthusiasts. Water sports and sea recreation focused on boat owners and sailors, divers, water-skiers, maritime festivals enthusiasts and cruise ships. Day visits were marketed to holiday-makers in Devon and Cornwall, coach operators, and events and festival enthusiasts.

Finally, in 2007 the Visitor Strategy 2007-2012 was launched. It raised interest on creating a Waterfront Business Improvement District to coordinate environmental enhancement and marketing, and to increase the tourist offer²⁶⁹. The Business Improvement District finally started to run in 2012.

267 Essex S. Position paper on tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 10.

268 Tourism Enterprise and Management. Plymouth tourism-a strategic framework. Prepared for Plymouth City Council. Cheltenham; 2004. p. 12-15.

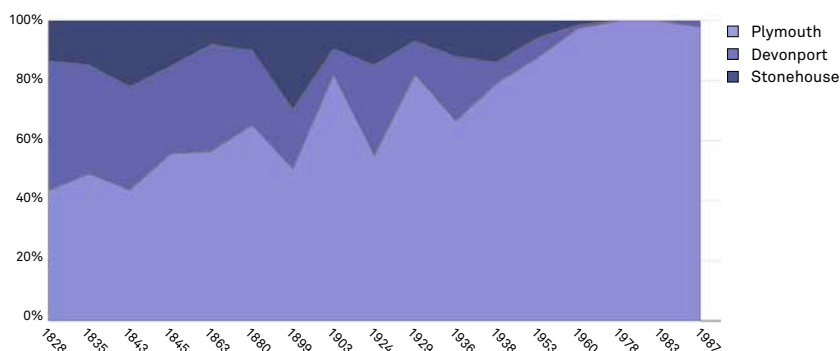
269 Visit Plymouth. The Visitor Strategy for Plymouth 2007-2012. 2007. p. 28-31.

> EVOLUTION OF TOURIST REFERENTS IN HISTORIC GUIDEBOOKS

This section analyzes the compilation of 17 guidebooks centred in Plymouth which are located in the Plymouth City Library and the Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. The period covers from 1820 until 1990. The objective is to study the evolution of the elements considered as tourist assets of the city in this period. Differences of what is marketed are substantial, reflecting the changing interests of visitors coming to the city in each period. The research has been focused on the study area, nevertheless, particular elements not within but intensely represented have also been taken into account. The study is centred in built heritage, as well as in other aspects having a deep treatment. References have been divided into the town (Devonport, Stonehouse or Plymouth), civic-related, historic references, hotels, leisure, military, religious, social, cultural and charities, sea-related and bathing, transports, significant buildings and places and architects, engineers and artists. Conclusions have been summarised in groups, giving the following periods: 1820-1843, 1844-1888, 1889-1928, 1929-1939, 1940-1978 and 1979-1990.

148

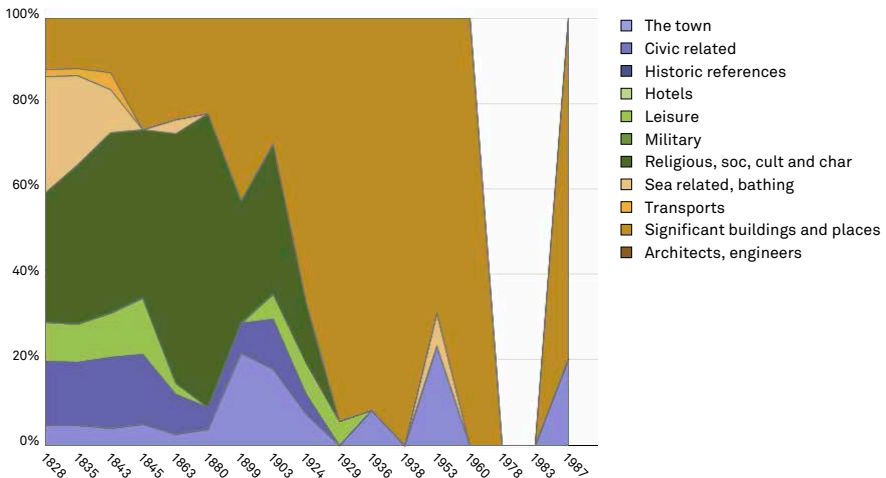
Until 1914, the Three Towns of Devonport, Stonehouse and Plymouth were considered separately in guidebooks. The three of them had tourist facilities, their own communications and hotels. Devonport was given slightly more attention than Plymouth, information about Stonehouse was shorter but proportional with its smaller extension and relevance. Since the amalgamation of the Three Towns in 1914 until the Second World War, Plymouth began to represent the whole city but Devonport and Stonehouse still had particular chapters, although smaller than before. After the war, Devonport and Stonehouse were not given almost any attention.



Percentage of references by town and year. Source: the author, based on the historic guidebooks referred to in this section.

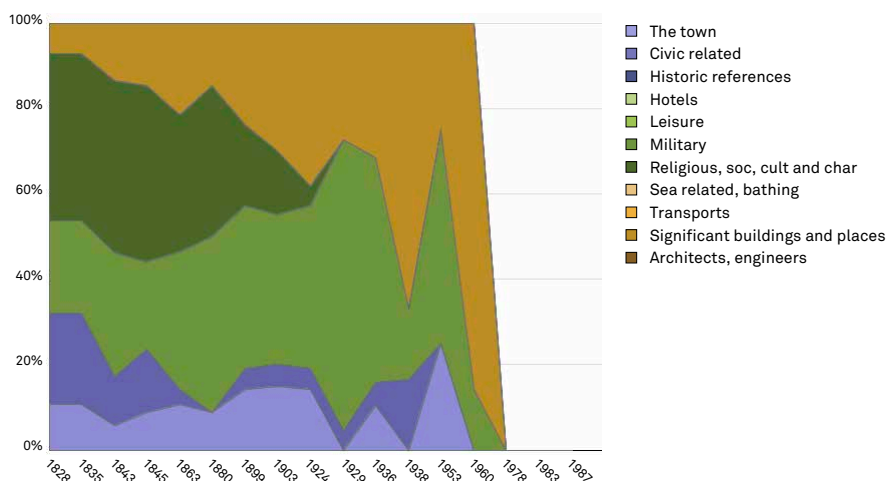
Subjects of interest have substantially changed in the last two centuries, from aspects related to public facilities, trade or hygienic measures there was a shift to heritage assets and historic links and finally to leisure and shopping. Many of the main current tourist assets were disregarded at early stages, especially the Barbican, and many others did not even exist such as Royal William Yard, the Hoe bathing facilities and the City Centre. On the other hand, some of the main tourist assets in first guidebooks are almost unknown by visitors today such as Eddystone lighthouse, the Breakwater, the dockyard and Mount Wise. Other former key resources have a very restricted access nowadays like Drake's Island, the Royal Citadel, Royal Marine Barracks and Royal Naval Hospital. Finally, some aspects have remained of interest but the focus has changed, for example Royal William Yard was visited at early times for its construction works and now it is marketed as a leisure complex and heritage area.

In general terms, the number of elements cited about Devonport increased until 1863, since that year references decreased significantly with a period of recuperation after the war. In early times, most of the references were given to churches, social institutions and charities, civic-related facilities and sea-related activities were also significant. The other groups of resources have been cited irregularly, being the dockyard and Mount Wise relatively well represented.



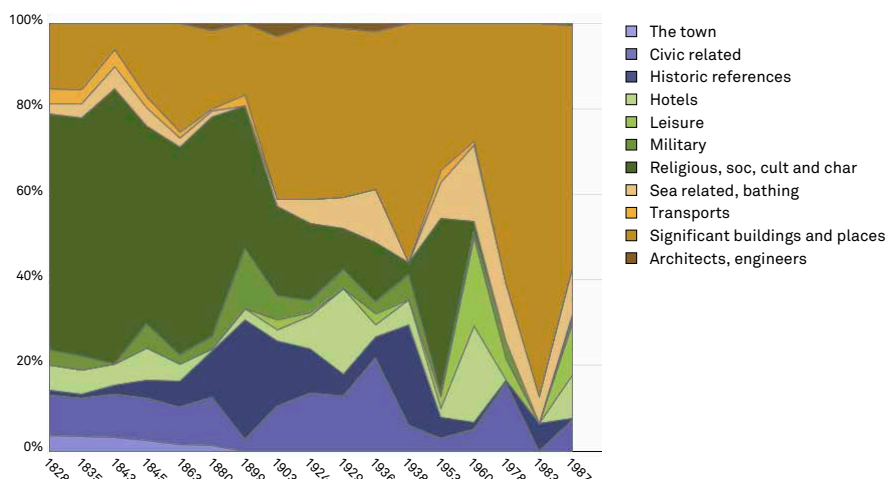
Percentage of references in Devonport by year and type. Source: the author, based on the historic guidebooks referred to in this section.

In Stonehouse, there has been an almost regular decrease in the number of references. Churches, social institutions and charities predominated in early guidebooks. The other main resource has been the military sites, whose relative importance has remained stable.



Percentage of references in Stonehouse by year and type. Source: the author, based on the historic guidebooks referred to in this section.

Finally, the number of references about Plymouth has varied dramatically, showing the change of extension and style of the guidebooks throughout the years. From 1820 to 1888 were predominant the references to churches, other significant resources were social and cultural institutions, the Sound and historic references. From 1889 to 1939 the most cited groups of resources were civic-related, hotels, the Barbican and the Hoe. In the period from 1939 to 1978 leisure, bathing and sea-related activities increased their relative importance. Since 1979, the Barbican and the Hoe were the most cited resources, followed by the City Centre, focusing especially on shopping.



Percentage of references in Plymouth by year and type. Source: the author, based on the historic guidebooks referred to in this section.

The change of foci is registered in the titles given to Plymouth, normally in the cover or first page. In the 19th century, the traditional title of "The Three Towns" joined the new one of "Metropolis of the West"²⁷⁰ to emphasise its importance in overseas trade, communications and institutions of every kind. The city was also commonly known as "The Centre of a Hundred Tours", since Plymouth was the starting point to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the Sound, Dartmoor and Cornwall. In the first half of the 20th century and during the postwar period, the city started to be advertised as a symbol of British imperial history, it was called "The Mother of Full Forty Plymouths"²⁷¹ or "The Historic City of the West"²⁷², this is the time when the link of Plymouth with Sir Francis Drake and the Mayflower achieved a prominent role. After the Second World War, many of the city's assets had been destroyed and social interests changed dramatically, the focus was on showing a successful reconstructed city, and Plymouth was called "The Modern City of the West"²⁷³, as at that time the City Centre and new department stores were something Plymouth was proud of. Attempts of marketing other resources followed one another and Plymouth was called "Delightful Centre for Holidays"²⁷⁴ and "The Centre for West Country Holidays"²⁷⁵, to emphasise sea bathing, yachting and sailing, "A City Worth Sharing"²⁷⁶, focusing on leisure for everyone, and "The Going is Easy"²⁷⁷, to insist in the good communications of a city traditionally perceived as peripheral by road and train.

The way of displaying information has also changed substantially. Early guidebooks were based on text with a few paintings. Progressively, paintings were made more sophisticated. From 1899, pictures appeared combined with paintings, although text was still the main resource. After World War Two, pictures started to be the main way to explain the city's assets, until last decades, when colour arrived and text was reduced to brief explanations about what was shown in pictures. Advertisements appeared since 1899 as well, since then they have been given different prominence, from full pages to lists, and they have mostly been used by hotels. The first guidebooks consisted basically on very detailed descriptions of places and services and the last ones show an evolution to more specialised tourist information, giving priority to accessibility, opening hours and prices.

270 Wright WHK. Plymouth: the metropolis of the West, with its surroundings. Plymouth: Bowering & Co.; 1903. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. p. 1.

271 Wright WHK. New guide to Plymouth and district. Plymouth; 1899. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. p. 2.

272 Plymouth City Council, Entertainments and Publicity Department. Op cit. p.1.

273 Plymouth, modern city of the West. 1960. Cover. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.

274 Plymouth City Council, Entertainments and Publicity Department. Plymouth, delightful centre for holidays. Official guide 1956. Cover. Plymouth Central Library.

275 Plymouth Marketing Bureau. Plymouth, the centre for West Country holidays. 1978. Cover. Plymouth Central Library.

276 Plymouth Marketing Bureau. Plymouth '84, a city worth sharing. 1983. Cover. Plymouth Central Library.

277 Plymouth Marketing Bureau. The place is Plymouth, the going is easy. 1983. Cover. Plymouth Central Library.

Early guidebooks from 1820 to 1843 were very descriptive, information was focused on social progress, engineering wonders and cultural and social facilities reflecting the fashions of the Victorian society. There were chapters dedicated to places of worship and sections related to government institutions, justice, prominent families, priests and safety. There were descriptions about water supply systems and charities of every kind like education, health and poor people's attention. Regarding charities, information was given about their management, how to volunteer and specialisation. There were descriptions of all sorts of cultural amenities like libraries, news rooms, commercial rooms and lecture rooms. Trade and business were given special attention too, with information about banks, manufacturers or trading goods. In short, guidebooks described everything that a gentleman had to know to carry on with his businesses, as well as to enjoy the amenities of the local upper class.

In relation to Devonport, the dockyards achieved a singular attention. Another aspect well described was the Hamoaze harbour and two leisure activities within it, namely the Royal Clarence Baths and the diving bell. The town was presented as rich and modern, with beautiful streets, new buildings and a great number of amenities. Places of worship were crucial in Victorian social life and among them, Mount Zion chapel was given a particular attention, the building was designed by Foulston in hindoo style and was demolished in 1902. Other institution particularly mentioned was the Mechanics' Institute, along with several charity services such as the Public Dispensary, the Workhouse, public schools for poor boys and girls, the Female Benevolent Society, the Dorcas Society and the Blanket Society. The guidebooks stressed the importance of Devonport having a Union Savings Banks branch, four other banks were mentioned since 1843. Mount Wise, which has been a main asset until recent times, was first mentioned in 1843. Regarding cultural amenities, Devonport had a theatre and an amphitheatre, as well as a number of libraries and lecture rooms. Four hotels were located in the town. Public transport was well represented and Devonport had coaches, omnibuses and hackney coaches by mid century. Since 1843, the number of coaches increased and the guidebooks offered schedules from main hotels. The same information was given for regular steam vessels. The first regatta mentioned was the Devonport and Stonehouse Regatta of 1843.

In Stonehouse, the topics were the same than the above mentioned, being the military facilities of Royal Naval Hospital and the Royal Marine Barracks the most extensively described sites. Royal William Yard was under construction between 1826 and 1835, but even before its opening it was a place worth visiting. Since the main parts opened in 1843, it became a major attraction in Stonehouse. Only a hotel was mentioned that year, although it is known that there were several ones in Durnford Street. Stonehouse's urban layout was particularly interesting, the 1843 guidebook described it saying that



Royal Marine Barracks, in Stonehouse. Source: the author.

*“several of its streets are built regularly and very elegantly planned, and even the less important ones display the superior neatness and economy of modern erections”.*²⁷⁸

153

Union Street was mentioned as the longest street in the West Country, it had been designed by Foulston and laid out between 1812 and 1820. Union Street was the core of the town, it concentrated shops, a market and hotels. The street connected the Three Towns through Stonehouse Bridge, opened in 1773, which was a major attraction of the area since recent decades. Durnford Street and Emma Place mansions were developed in the mid century and the area became quickly another local point of interest.

With respect to Plymouth, the old street pattern was regarded as old fashioned and it was contrasted with the new buildings and street widening that were being extensively developed. The areas of Sutton Harbour and the Barbican were almost not mentioned as they were insanitary and overcrowded. Attention was given to places of worship the same as in the other towns, among them St Andrew’s and Charles Church were the main institutions. St Andrew’s had been restored in 1824 by John Foulston. About Charles Church, it was said that *“the interior is spacious but not handsome”*²⁷⁹. Communications by the sea with the rest of the country and abroad were always essential in Plymouth. Regattas were mentioned since the first guidebook appeared. The first yacht club ever mentioned was

²⁷⁸ Carrington HE. The Plymouth and Devonport guide. Devonport: Byers & Son; 1843. p. 47. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.

²⁷⁹ Carrington HE. The Plymouth and Devonport guide. Devonport: Byers; 1828. p. 38. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.

the Royal Western in 1843. Three elements of the Sound achieved special attention in this early stage, namely Drake's Island and the impressive constructions of Eddystone lighthouse and the Breakwater, which had been built in 1812. These elements remained main assets until recent decades. Regarding cultural facilities, the Athenaeum was the most deeply explained, it had been built in 1819 to a design of Foulston. The Assembly Rooms were also designed by Foulston and built circa 1815. The Theatre Royal, designed by Foulston too and built in 1812, was repeatedly cited, as well as social life institutions such as the Exchange and Freemason's Hall. The Guildhall was cited in the first guidebooks but not because of its elegance, the 1828 issue stated that "*the Guildhall is a building of no pretensions to architectural beauty*"²⁸⁰. Five hotels were mentioned in this time, among them the Royal Hotel, designed by Foulston in 1811, was well described. The Royal Citadel was cited, although not given much attention. The Hoe was a major asset since the very beginning and it was reserved a section in all the early guidebooks. Bathing was an attraction from early times, being the Royal Union Baths and the Spa Well the most popular places to enjoy this activity. Plymouth was well served by stage and hackney coaches, but the railway was the jewel of the crown, both as a means of transport and as an engineering wonder. Regarding historic connections, Sir Francis Drake has been the only Plymothian always mentioned since the first half of the 19th century up to now.

From 1844 until 1888, subjects were the same than the above mentioned, although interest in particular elements changed. The style of books varied, the 1845 guidebook was the first to incorporate walks and in 1863 the section about the city's history was extended significantly, it also followed a new structure, consisting in describing assets by a list of streets. Finally, the 1880 guidebook included an extensive description of trading connections, goods, steamers and consular services. Particularities of every harbour and station were explained in detail and charities were mentioned only regarding their architectural interest, in clear contrast to previous stages.

In Devonport, the dockyards were still the main attraction, thanks to the Royal Clarence Baths. The diving bell was not cited anymore. Places of worship were deeply explained until 1880, as well as social institutions, especially the Devonport and Stonehouse Mechanics' Institute²⁸¹. In this period, the Post Office was one of the most important public services according to guidebooks. The Town Hall, built in 1821 to a design of Foulston, and Devonport Column, built in 1827 and designed by the same architect, were the most representative buildings. In this period, the only paintings were of places of worship, Mount Wise and the Devonport Column.

²⁸⁰ Ibidem. p. 46.

²⁸¹ Worth RN. *Guide to the Three Towns and neighbourhood*. Plymouth: William Brendon & Son; 1880. p. 81. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.



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|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1 Royal Hotel | 15 Royal Naval Hospital | 27 Mount Zion Chapel |
| 2 Athenaeum | 16 Military Hospital | 28 Mechanic's Institution |
| 3 St Andrew's Church | 17 Royal Marines Barracks | 29 St Aubyn Chapel |
| 4 The Hoe | 18 St Paul's Chapel | 30 Union Savings Bank |
| 5 Royal Citadel | 19 Royal William Yard | 31 Devonport Market |
| 6 Globe Hotel | 20 Mount Wise | 32 The Dockyards |
| 7 Devon and Cornwall Banking Company | 21 Admiralty House (since 1935 Hamoaze House) | 33 Rope House |
| 8 Guildhall (old location) | 22 Government House (since 1935 Admiralty House) | 34 Mould Loft |
| 9 New Custom House | 23 Richmond Walk | 35 Smithery or Blacksmith's Shop |
| 10 Charles Church | 24 Devonport Town Hall | 36 Gun Wharf |
| 11 Plymouth Market | 25 Devonport Column | |
| 12 Plymouth Eye Infirmary | 26 Public or Civic and Military Library (currently know as Oddfellows' Hall) | |
| 13 South Devon Railway | | |
| 14 Royal Union Baths | | |
- Existing
■ Lost

Recommended walking tours in the 1845 guidebook over the prewar street pattern.
Source: the author, based on: *The Route Book of Devon: a guide for the stranger and tourist*. Exeter: Henry Besley; 1845. p. 296-314.

The topics described about Stonehouse were similar to the ones in Devonport. Among places of worship, St Paul's Church in Durnford Street achieved much of the attention, it had been built in 1831. The three military sites were the most representative assets of the area, the Royal Marine Barracks were extended in the 1850s and 1860s. Royal William Yard was the only site represented by a painting. Millbay Docks were first mentioned in 1880. Union Street and Stonehouse Bridge were still places of interest in the town and Devil's Point was first cited in 1845.

In Plymouth, both St Andrew's and Charles Church were the principal places of worship cited and the Market was the most important public facility. St Andrew's was restored in 1875 by Gilbert Scott and Charles Church was entirely renovated in 1864. The Breakwater, Eddystone Lighthouse and Drake's Island were the other major assets. Regarding cultural life, the

Athenaeum, Mechanics' Institute and Theatre Royal stood out, the latter was restored in 1879 after a fire. West Hoe Baths were first mentioned in 1863 and joined Royal Union Baths as bathing facilities. Charity institutions increased in number from 9 in 1845 to 22 in 1863. A number of hotels were opened in this period and the Royal Hotel was still the most representative, the Duke of Cornwall was built in 1863. The Guildhall was erected in 1800 and rebuilt in 1874, it was the only non religious monumental building cited before 1880. That year, when the Merchant's House, Prysten House and Derry's Clock first appeared in a guidebook. The Prysten House was known as the Abbey Hall until 1919. The old Victualling Office was dismantled when Royal William Yard started operating and the Royal Citadel was the only military site remaining in tourist books, becoming its descriptions more extensive. The Barbican was first mentioned in 1863²⁸², particular places cited in the area were the Parade, Sutton Pool, the Gin Distillery and both Customs Houses, the old and the new one built in 1820. The Hoe received an extensive attention and some places cited in the area were the Promenade, the Crescent and the terraces on West Hoe. The number of Plymothians or historic events cited increased, Sir Francis Drake was by far the most mentioned along with Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain Cook, the Spanish Armada and the Pilgrim Fathers, first cited in 1863. Although many of his projects became important assets, Foulston was not directly cited until 1880, as well as Brunel, the author of the Tamar Bridge, which was an engineering wonder in this time. In this period, paintings about St Andrew's, the Breakwater, Eddystone's Lighthouse, the Guildhall, Merchant's House, Prysten House, Derry's Clock, the remains of Plymouth Castle and the Hoe appeared in guidebooks.

From 1889 to 1928 there were significant changes, topics evolved, photography appeared and Plymouth increasingly achieved more importance, especially after the amalgamation of the Three Towns in 1914. In the 1924 guidebook, seafarers and naval victories were given a section, ocean liners and overseas connections were also given special attention.

In Devonport, the main assets were reduced to the Dockyard, Mount Wise, the Town Hall and Devonport Column²⁸³. Aspects concerning public services, trade and communications. were of less importance than before. Leisure activities achieved a prominent role with new openings like the hippodrome and Alhambra Theatre. In Mount Wise, the unveiling of the Robert Falcon Scott Memorial in 1925 added a new attraction to the already existing Admiralty House and Government House. The Admiralty House had been built in 1795 and the Government House had been built in 1820. The first elements

282 Jewitt L. *The Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse guide*. Plymouth: William Brendonn; 1863. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. p. 29.

283 *Plymouth and South-West Devon*. London: Ward, Lock & Co.; 1924. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, 3578/35. p. 73-81.

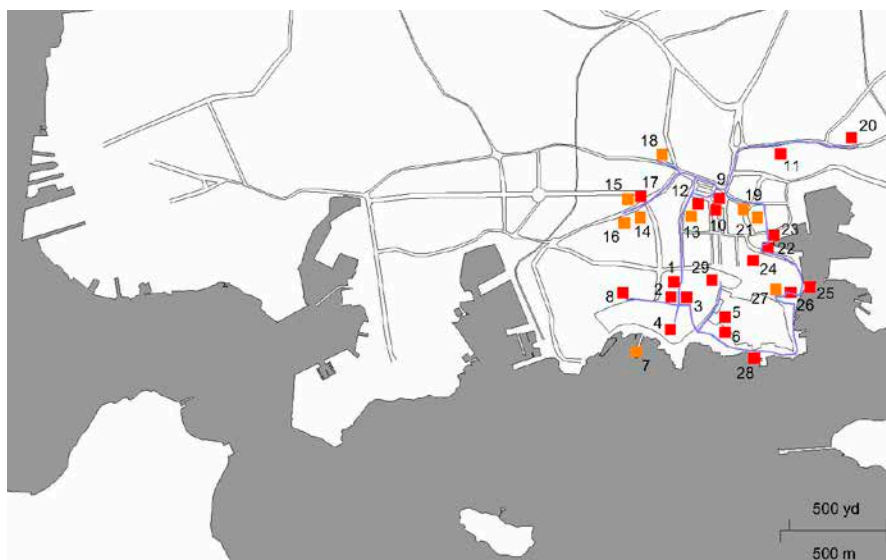
that appeared in pictures were the Dockyard, Mount Wise and the Robert Falcon Scott Memorial.

In Stonehouse, attention concentrated mainly in the Town Hall (erected in 1850), St Paul's Church, Millbay Docks, the New Palace Theatre (opened in 1898), Union Street, Stonehouse Bridge, Devil's Point and the three military sites. The first picture was of Royal William Yard and the first advertisements were of the New Palace Theatre.

In Plymouth, places of worship were still of high importance, among them St Andrew's and Charles Church stood out. In this period, a new yacht club opened, namely the Royal Corinthian. Ocean liners and steam vessels were given renovated attention. The Breakwater, Eddystone Lighthouse and Drake's Island were still major attractions. As many visitors came by sea, these were the elements that welcomed them to the city. The Athenaeum reduced significance progressively, especially after the opening in 1910 of the City Library, Museum and Art Gallery in North Hill. Tinside bathing facilities opened at the beginning of the 20th century with great success. The Grand Hotel was built in 1879 and joined the Royal Hotel as the most important hotels, these facilities were extensively described ever since. Taverns were regarded as a tourist attraction since 1903 and land sports such as bowling, golf or tennis were first mentioned in 1924. Different historic chapters were mentioned depending on the year, after the First World War the most repeated historic connections of the city were related to Captain Cook, the Spanish Armada and the Pilgrim Fathers. In 1874 a new Guildhall was erected, since then it was the most important monumental building, other were the Prysten House, Derry's Clock, the Municipal Buildings and the Marine Biological Laboratory with its new Aquarium, the building opened in 1888. The Royal Citadel was still representative and modern defences created for the First World War were regarded as attractions too. The Barbican consolidated as a tourist neighbourhood after the First World War and elements cited were extended. The Mayflower Stone was laid in 1891 and it was a visitors attraction ever since. The historic character of the area was regarded as attractive since 1903. The Hoe was the most important asset in the city and a number of attractions were added in this period, the area was the first image of the city seen from the sea, it was also close to bathing facilities, hotels and luxury residences²⁸⁴. New memorials were created in this area like the ones to Drake (1884), the victory over the Armada (1888) and the Naval War Memorial, erected after the First World War and enlarged after the Second World War. They were tourist attractions from the very beginning but the most important one was the Promenade Pier, opened in 1884. Smeaton Tower was re-erected on the Hoe in 1882 and it became soon a symbol of the city. Between 1899 and 1924, paintings coexisted with pictures. There were paintings of St Andrew's

284 Ibidem. p. 48-52.

Church, Eddystone Lighthouse, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, the Municipal Buildings, the Royal Citadel, the Barbican and the Mayflower Stone. There were pictures of St Andrew's Church, Eddystone Lighthouse, the City Museum, Tinside bathing facilities, the Guildhall, Derry's Clock, the Aquarium at the Marine Biological Laboratory, the Municipal Buildings, the Royal Citadel, Sutton Pool, George Street, the Hoe, the Promenade, the Promenade Pier and Smeaton Tower.



- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 The Hoe | 12 Guildhall | 21 Palace Court |
| 2 Sir Francis Drake Statue | 13 General Post Office | 22 Old Custom House |
| 3 Armada Memorial | 14 Royal Theatre and Hotel | 23 New Custom House |
| 4 Smeaton's Tower | 15 Western Moring News
(old location) | 24 Plymouth Gin Distillery |
| 5 Royal Citadel | 16 Athenaeum | 25 Mayflower Stone |
| 6 Marine Biological Association | 17 Derry's Dock | 26 Relics of the Castle |
| 7 Promenade Pier | 18 Plymouth Proprietary Library | 27 Old Victualling Yard |
| 8 Grand Hotel | 19 Free Public Library (in the
site of the old Guildhall) | 28 Royal Corinthian Yacht Club |
| 9 St Andrew's Church | 20 Beaumont Museum (currently
known as Beaumont House) | 29 Boer War Memorial |
| 10 The Abbey (currently known as
the Prysten House) | | |
| 11 Charles Church | | |
- Existing
■ Lost

Recommended walking tours in the 1903 guidebook over the prewar street pattern.

Source: the author, based on: Wright WHK. Plymouth: the metropolis of the West, with its surroundings. Op cit. p. 19-44.

In the guidebooks published from 1929 to 1939, Plymouth represented both the old town of Plymouth or Sutton and the city as a whole, in only one guidebook the former Three Towns were still treated separately. The Hoe and the Barbican were the key assets and just a few elements from Devonport and Stonehouse were still cited. Since 1929 the number of advertisements was extended. In 1936, the first official guidebook among the compilation considered for this research was issued, it was made for the Plymouth Incorporated Mercantile Association.

In Devonport, the most important assets were the Dockyard, Mount Wise with its residences and the Scott Memorial, together with the monuments in Ker Street, namely the Town Hall and Devonport Column. Photographs were shown of the Dockyard, Mount Wise, the Scott Memorial and Devonport Column. There was only one advertisement about a hotel.²⁸⁵

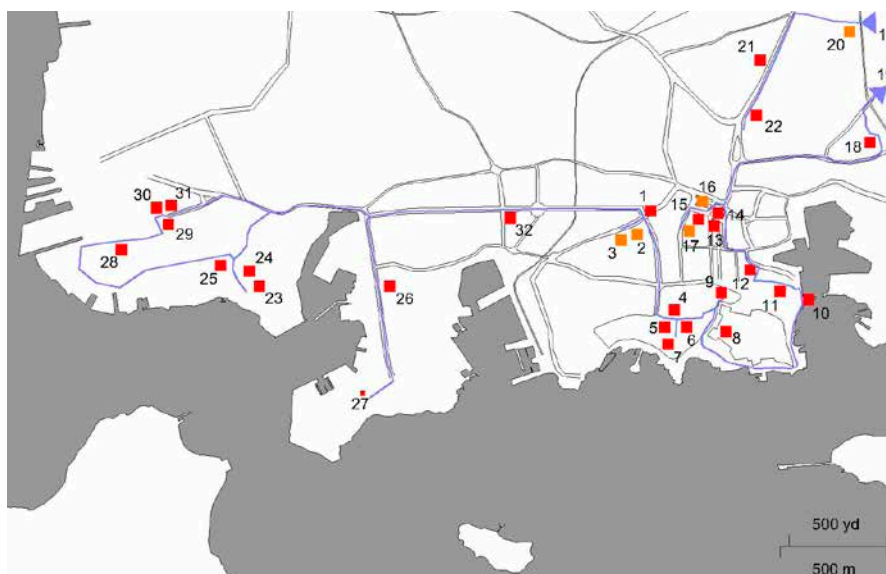
In Stonehouse, it is remarkable that the Royal Naval Hospital was not among the principal assets. The places more repeatedly cited were the Town Hall, Royal William Yard, Millbay Docks, Stonehouse Bridge and Union Street. To a lesser extent were mentioned the Royal Marine Barracks, Artillery Towers and Devil's Point. Photographs were taken of Royal Marine Barracks and Royal William Yard.

In Plymouth, interest concentrated on the Hoe and the Barbican, there were significant differences regarding elements cited in relation with previous guidebooks. Since 1929, the Old Plymouth Society produced the historical notes about the Barbican buildings. Charles Church stopped being cited and even St Andrew's was not cited in 1938. The three assets in the Sound were still of relative importance, namely the Breakwater, Drake's Island and Eddystone Lighthouse. The Athenaeum and Theatre Royal were still mentioned but the most important cultural facility at that time was the City Museum. The Theatre Royal was replaced by a cinema in 1937. Tinside bathing facilities were upgraded with the opening of Tinside Lido in 1936. Information given about hotels increased dramatically, the Royal Hotel stood as the most precious one²⁸⁶. The Guildhall was the most cited monumental building in addition to the Prysten House, Derry's Clock, the Municipal Buildings and the Citadel. The Barbican was widely described in guidebooks until 1938, when only a concise mention was made. The neighbourhood achieved different attractive names such as "Old Plymouth" and "Elizabethan District". The most representative places were the recently opened Elizabethan House Museum, Mayflower Stone with its new portico built in 1934, New Street and the Gin Distillery. A new memorial was erected next to the Mayflower Stone in 1934. The Hoe was the symbol of the whole city, its main assets were the memorials, Smeaton Tower and the Promenade Pier. Regattas and sailing were one of the most attractive leisure activities in the Sound, other leisure activities of the time were outdoor sports and dances. The most repeated historic connections were those of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, the Spanish Armada and the Pilgrim Fathers. The three more representative designers of the city were cited, namely Foulston, Brunel and Gilbert Scott. Between 1929 and 1938, photographs were taken of St Andrew's Church, Eddystone Lighthouse, the City Library, the Guildhall, Merchant's

285 Walling RAJ (ed.). *Plymouth*. Plymouth: Underhill; 1929. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. p. 1.

286 Bracken CW (ed.). *The City of Plymouth*. Official guide. Derry and Cheltenham: The New Centurion Publishing & Publicity Co.; 1936. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, 3578/35. p. 17.

House, Prysten House, Marine Biological Laboratory, Municipal Buildings, Mayflower Stone, Elizabethan House Museum, the Hoe, Hoe memorials and Smeaton Tower. Pictures of leisure activities were also included, especially regattas, Tinside bathing facilities and public dances.



- | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Derry's Clock | 14 St Andrew's Church | 24 Government House |
| 2 Royal Theatre and Hotel | 15 Guildhall | (since 1935 Admiralty House) |
| 3 Athenaeum | 16 Municipal Buildings | 25 Admiralty House (since 1935 |
| 4 Naval Memorial | 17 General Post Office | Hamoaze House) |
| 5 Sir Francis Drake's Statue | 18 Beaumont Park | 26 Royal Marines Barracks |
| 6 Armada Memorial | 19 Freedom Park | 27 Royal William Yard |
| 7 Smeaton's Tower | 20 South Devon and East Cornwall | 28 The Dockyards |
| 8 Royal Citadel | or Princess of Wales Hospital | 29 Devonport Town Hall |
| 9 Boer War Memorial | 21 Drake's Place Reservoir | 30 Devonport Column |
| 10 Mayflower Stone | 22 City Museum, Art Gallery | 31 Oddfellow's Hall |
| 11 Elizabethan House | and Library | 32 Palace Theatre |
| 12 Plymouth Gin Distillery | 23 Mount Wise | |
| 13 The Abbey (currently known as | | |
| the Prysten House) | | |
- Existing
■ Lost

Recommended walking tours in the 1936 guidebook over the prewar street pattern.

Source: the author, based on: Bracken CW (ed.). Op cit. p. 32-37.

During the Second World War, many of the former tourist assets were destroyed, like the Promenade Pier, the Assembly Rooms, the Royal Hotel or the Athenaeum. When the conflict finished, the City Centre was completely rebuilt and new attractions were created, while interests in society shifted from monuments to leisure. In the period 1940-1978, the old division in three towns was completely forgotten. The design of guidebooks was made more attractive and pictures achieved progressively more importance than text, colour pictures appeared in 1978 and information given was reduced to short descriptions. In 1956 a new official guidebook was published by the Entertainment and Publicity Department of the City Council. It was the first to incorporate a picture in the cover and it also included prices and opening

times of attractions and extensive information of services, such as means of transport and car parking. From the 1978 guidebook onwards, the number of photographs increased significantly, even filling whole pages and double pages with almost no text. In the 1978 guidebook, leisure prevailed and it was the first to be written not only in English, but also in a foreign language: French.

Devonport suffered broad destruction during the war. However, its main assets survived the bombing. The tourist relevance of the neighbourhood almost vanished. The dockyards were not of easy access, so they were given just a few references²⁸⁷. Mount Wise was cited only regarding the Scott memorial and bathing facilities. Even the two most representative monuments in Ker Street, the Guildhall and the Column, stopped to be cited since 1978.

Although not as damaged as Devonport, Stonehouse was progressively forgotten as well. All the assets of the past stopped progressively to be cited in this period, namely the military sites in Stonehouse Peninsula, Millbay Docks, the New Palace Theatre, Stonehouse Bridge, Union Street and Devil's Point bathing facilities. Only one picture was shown of Stonehouse: Millbay Docks in the 1960 guidebook.

The central areas of Plymouth attracted almost all attention in guidebooks since the end of the Second World War. Interest in St Andrew's Church and other places of worship experienced a rebirth in 1953 but they were finally forgotten as well. St Andrew's was restored by Etchells and Charles Church was left as an empty shell in the middle of a roundabout. Regarding sea-related facilities and activities, yachting and sailing were the main resource, followed by ferries, yacht clubs and regattas. Tinside bathing facilities were a major attraction in every guidebook since the end of the war. Other leisure activities offered in this period were land sports of every kind, parks and gardens and many types of entertainment such as cinemas, concerts and dances. The cinema at the Theatre Royal was partly replaced by a theatre in 1954 and finally the new one was built elsewhere in 1977. The City Museum had been severely damaged during the war and it was restored. In this period, an objective in the documents was to offer a modern vision of the city. Thus, descriptions about public services, hospitals and educational facilities were incorporated. Hotels had wide sections with lists of premises, locations, phone numbers and short descriptions. The Royal Citadel remained as an asset although its accessibility was restricted. The Aquarium at the Marine Biological Laboratory was still an attraction until 1960. The Barbican and the Hoe were the main tourist areas as they had already been before the war. Sutton

287 Plymouth City Council, Entertainments and Publicity Department. Op cit. p.41-42.

Pool and the character of the narrow cobbled streets were stressed. Looking at fishers at work was a new attraction of the area²⁸⁸. The Mayflower Stone and memorial were remarked for visitors from the United States of America and the Elizabethan House Museum retained its importance. The Hoe was interesting for visitors in general and also in relation to particular elements, such as Smeaton Tower, the memorials, the cafes on the waterfront and the fun park on West Hoe. In this period, reconstruction was in progress and the new streets and buildings were regarded as attractions even before their opening. This was the case of the renovated Guildhall, Royal Parade, the Civic Centre (opened in 1962, designed by Hector JW Stirling), the new railway station and the Pannier Market (opened in 1959, designed by Walls and Pearn). The City Centre was advertised as a brand new shopping district with exceptional department stores. Access to the city was emphasised and there were descriptions about railway services, car parking, taxis and road communications. Historic connections tended to be reduced to Sir Francis Drake and the Mayflower. Most photographs were taken of places like Sutton Pool, streets on the Barbican, Mayflower Stone, Elizabethan House Museum, the Hoe, Hoe memorials, Smeaton Tower and Royal Parade. Photographs of leisure activities were Tinside bathing facilities, sailing, regattas, ferries, sports, parks, entertainment and the new department stores in the City Centre. In the covers appeared pictures or paintings of Sir Francis Drake, the Royal Citadel, the Hoe, the Armada Memorial, Naval War Memorial and Smeaton Tower.

Finally, guidebooks from 1979 to 1990 were based mostly in pictures. Information was focused on leisure activities like sports, sailing, night life and shopping, instead of particular places. Descriptions were very concise. Devonport was mentioned only once and a picture of a war ship near the dockyards was shown. Stonehouse was inexistent in guidebooks issued in this period.

The tourist areas were the Barbican and the Hoe. In the Barbican, descriptions were centred in Sutton Pool, Mayflower Stone, Elizabethan House Museum and the Gin Distillery. On the Hoe, the general character and Smeaton Tower were explained. The new City Centre achieved a special attention as well²⁸⁹. Other places repeatedly cited were the City Museum, Merchant's House, Prysten House and the Aquarium at the Marine Biological Laboratory. The most important leisure activities in this period were sailing, yacht clubs and ferries. Historic references were only made to Sir Francis Drake, the Armada and the Mayflower. Most of the pictures of places were taken of Drake's Island, hotels, Sutton Pool, the Barbican, Mayflower Stone, Elizabethan House Museum, Island House, the Hoe, Drake Statue, Smeaton Tower and Royal Parade. Activities photographed were fishers at work,

²⁸⁸ Plymouth, modern city of the West. Op cit. p. 22.

²⁸⁹ Plymouth Marketing Bureau. Plymouth holiday guide. 1987. p. 16-17. Plymouth Central Library.

regattas, people swimming at Tinside, nightlife and shopping in the City Centre. Apart from pictures, there were paintings of the Pilgrim Fathers, Smeaton Tower and the Grand Hotel. Advertisements were related to hotels and restaurants. Covers were reserved for the Hoe and the Barbican.

PRESENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF TOURISM-RELATED ACTIVITIES IN PLYMOUTH

This section focuses on the present situation of the tourist sector in Plymouth. It is divided in four parts. The first part is an approach to the significance of the tourist sector in the city, with references to the surrounding assets, annual events, water sports competitions, major events in 2011 and 2012, yachting and cruising, conferences, night life, shopping and attractions existing and planned. Secondly, the interest will focus on the kind of visitors who arrive to Plymouth, perceptions and economic impact. Thirdly, a review of the means of transport that the city offers is made through the study of external and internal accessibility. Finally, an analysis of the different tourist resources and services offered to visitors is made based on information given to tourists both by media and on site.

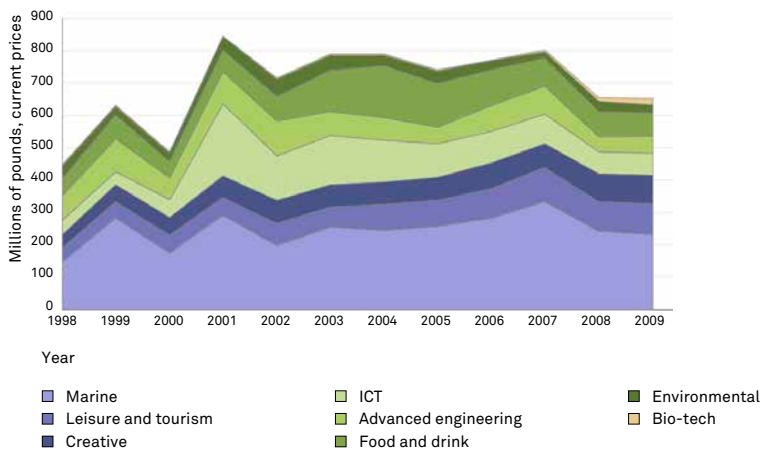
> | APPROACH TO THE TOURIST MODEL OF THE CITY

Plymouth attracts tourists for different reasons, such as its superb location, built heritage, varied tourist attractions, leisure facilities, shopping, events, conferences and sea-related sports. Many visitors are day trippers spending their holidays in Devon and Cornwall or people who come to visit their friends and relatives. The current objective of the city is to increase the number of upmarket tourists related to yachting and sailing. Moreover, there is an economic sector around these activities, specialised in supply, repair and maintenance.

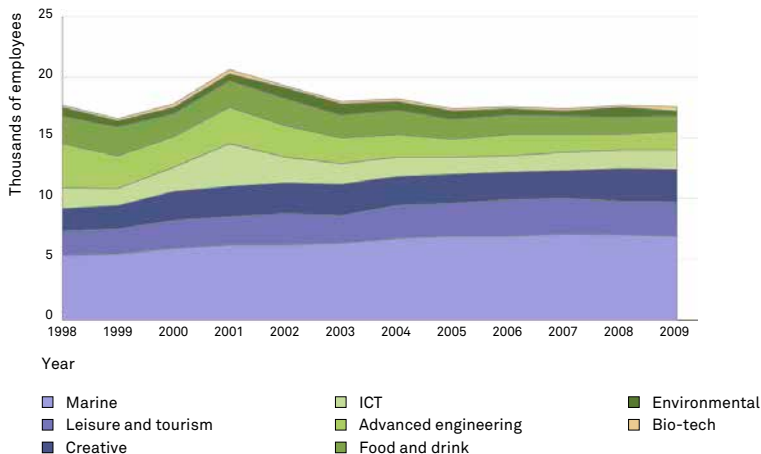
Plymouth receives around 11 million day visitors per year, more than Cardiff. Tourism generates £90m per annum for the Plymouth retail economy²⁹⁰. From 1998 to 2009, the number of people working for tourism and leisure has risen 39% up to 3,000 employees and its contribution to the city's Gross Value Added has increased 227% up to 95 million pounds. Tourism and leisure is the second largest contributor to the city's economy among the eight priority economic sectors in the South West.²⁹¹

290 Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. p. 4. It can be found in: City Centre BID [Internet]. Plymouth: City Council; 2012 [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Project suggestions. Available from: http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/bid_business_plan_2010_2015.pdf

291 ECON online [Internet]. Op cit.



Evolution of Gross Value Added produced by the eight economic priority sectors of the South West in Plymouth, millions of pounds. Source: the author, based on: ECON online [Internet]. Op cit.

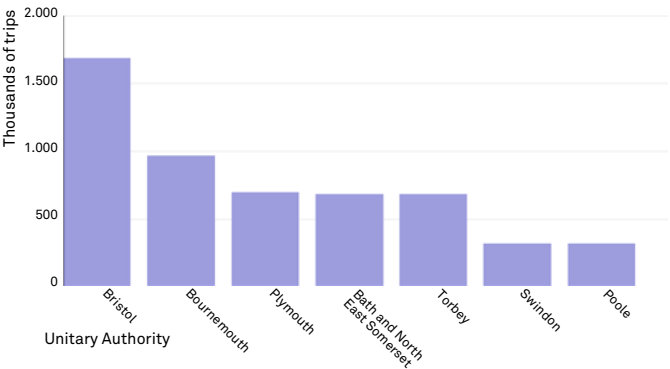


Evolution of the number of employees (full-time equivalent) in the eight economic priority sectors of the South West in Plymouth, thousands. Source: the author, based on: ECON online [Internet]. Op cit.

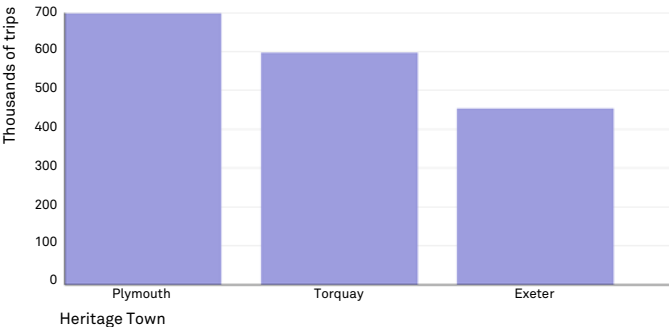
The city is located in the limit between Devon and Cornwall, which is one of the main tourist areas in the UK, known for its mild weather, beaches, beautiful scenery, leisure and cooking. Near the city there are traditional seaside resorts such as Torbay, often referred to as the English Riviera and popular beaches such as Paignton or Par. The city is surrounded by an attractive countryside and Dartmoor National Park is located at the northeast border of the city. Some of the most renowned country houses around the city are Buckland Abbey, Saltram House and Mount Edgumbe House. Exeter is the principal historic city around and many other small cities have a tourist

interest such as Tavistock, Totnes, Truro, Falmouth or Penzance. Apart from them, Newquay is popular among surfers from all over the country. Other two major attractions in the region are Tate St Ives and Eden Project near St Austell, designed by Nicholas Grimshaw.

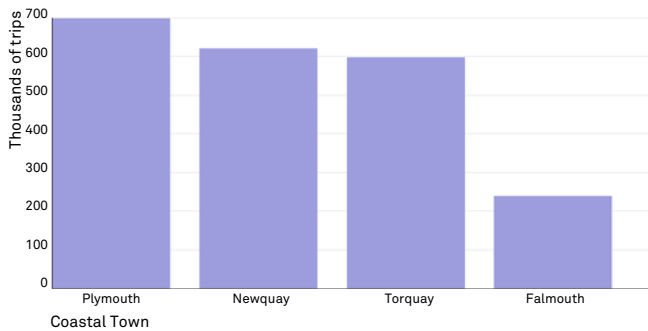
By number of visitors, Plymouth stands behind Bristol and Bournemouth among unitary authorities in the South West. The city is the most visited heritage town and coastal town in Devon and Cornwall.



Number of visitors by Unitary Authority in the South West, thousands of trips, 2011.
Source: the author, based on: Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2012 Oct 16]. Op cit. England local authority, county and town. Op cit. Only the cities included in the source are considered.



Number of visitors by heritage town in Devon and Cornwall, thousands of trips, 2011.
Source: the author, based on: Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2012 Oct 16]. Op cit. England local authority, county and town. Op cit. Only the cities included in the source are considered.



Number of visitors by coastal town in Devon and Cornwall, thousands of trips, 2011.
Source: the author, based on: Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2012 Oct 16]. Op cit.
 England local authority, county and town. Op cit. Only the cities included in the source
 are considered.

The location of the city facing the Sound, where the estuaries of the rivers Tamar and Plym join, is one of the main assets of the city. The waterfront also concentrates a great number of the attractions, events, hotels and catering facilities of the city. There are several projects under way in order to improve its attractiveness and economic relevance, among them the recently approved Waterfront Business Improvement District stands out.

167

Regarding built heritage, the Hoe and the Barbican concentrate the tourist interest. The main assets are the character of the historic streets and buildings like the Elizabethan House, Prysten House and Merchant House. The main monuments are St Andrew's Church and Smeaton Tower, other main assets are the Gin Distillery and Sutton Harbour as a whole.

Plymouth hosts some annually and non-regular events which attract visitors from outside the city, most of them take place between May and September and are included in the Plymouth Summer Festival. The most popular annual events are the National Firework Championships, Barbican International Jazz and Blues Festival, Plymouth Flavour Fest, Plymouth International Book Festival and Music of the Night. The Plymouth Summer Festival was introduced in 2007 by the City Centre Company, the Chamber of Commerce and Plymouth City Council. It brings together maritime, arts and streets events under one brand. The Plymouth Summer Festival attracted over 300,000 additional day visitors in its first year and it contributed in raising visitors expenditure, in 2007 average visitor spend was 55,13 pounds per capita, more than regional average of 41 pounds.²⁹²

The Barbican International Jazz and Blues Festival takes place annually in Plymouth over the first May Bank Holiday weekend and beyond, transforming the Barbican with free and ticketed gigs, street entertainment and a Grand

²⁹² Essex S. Position paper on tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 29.

Festival Jazz Parade. It concentrates quality international and national names, with the best of the local talent too.²⁹³

Sea sports competitions have a long tradition in the city. Some of the most popular recent events of the kind are the Port of Plymouth Regatta, Plymouth Classic Boat Rally, Two Handed Transatlantic Race, International Powerboats Formula 1 Championship, National Powerboats, National Water Skiing Championships and the Bi-annual Fastnet Race. In 2008, the Artemis Transat, a 2,800 mile race across the North Atlantic starting from Plymouth's Sutton Harbour, attracted 120,000 people.²⁹⁴

The most relevant event that took place in the city in 2011 in terms of economic impact was the America's Cup World Series Yacht Racing. This regatta was seen as a way to extend Plymouth's share among national and overseas tourist market and it is wanted to be the first of a new generation of events and marketing campaigns designed to increase the number of visitor arrivals and expenditure. The event took place between 10-18th September, it achieved 140,000 visits of which 115,000 were to the regattas and 25,000 to the evening events. Nevertheless, most visitors came twice or more times so the unique attendees only reached 60,000. There was a significant difference in expenditure between day visitors and overnight visitors. Day visitors spent an average of 16.17 pounds per day, while overnight visitors spent 94.67 pounds per day. Adding visitors and organisers' expenditure, indirect spending and media value, the estimated economic impact of the event was of £10m. Of particular significance was the extensive international media coverage. Among residents, the event was widely supported with nearly 90% of Plymothians stating that this kind of events are good for the city's image, since they serve to increase local pride and they consolidate Plymouth as a tourist destination.²⁹⁵



**America's Cup World Series
Yacht Racing 2011.
Source: the author.**

293 The Barbican International Jazz and Blues Festival [Internet]. c2009-[cited 2014 Oct 15]. Press materials. Available from: <http://www.barbicanjazzandbluesfestival.com/>

294 Positively Plymouth. Presentation shown at the Culture Means Business Summit, celebrated at the National Marine Aquarium. 2010 Oct 07. p. 24.

295 SERIO Insight. The economic impact of visitors to the 2011 America's Cup Event in Plymouth. Plymouth: University of Plymouth; 2012. p. 11-17.

Another major event held in 2011 was the British Art Show, a major contemporary art exhibition organised in Nottingham, Glasgow, London and Plymouth. Other important events in 2011-2012 were the Olympics Torch Relay, National Armed Forces Day and Sky Ride Plymouth, a cycling race.

In 2012, one of the most significant exhibitions was "From Plymouth to Pole: Scott, Science and the Men who Sailed South", celebrating the expedition of Plymouth-born Robert Falcon Scott to the Antarctic. Other major cultural event held in 2012 was "World at Your Feet", a celebration of the richness and variety of Plymouth's history and its role in relation to migration to other parts of the world. The programme involved the Theatre Royal, Barbican Theatre, Attik Dance, Plymouth Dance, Plymouth Music Zone, the Plymouth City Museum and the Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.

The Cultural Olympiad 2011-2012 took place all around UK as part of the celebrations linked to the London Olympic Games. In the city, the programme focused on Plymouth's history, heritage and cultural offer, and it was particularly keen on encouraging involvement from communities. Its objectives were to leave a lasting legacy that improves cultural life, excellence in the performing arts, creative industries and sport.²⁹⁶

169

In Summer 2012, a new annual event was launched: the Marine City Festival, rebranded in 2013 as Ocean City Festival. It consists of a nine-day festival of seafood, live music, entertainment, aquatic leisure and cultural events. The objective of the festival is to attract visitors to Plymouth historic quayside areas and to highlight nationally and internationally the city's standing as a leading European marine city for research, leisure, heritage and food. The Ocean City Festival is organised by Destination Plymouth and involves Plymouth Waterfront Partnership, National Marine Aquarium, the University, Plymouth Marine Laboratory, City Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth Arts Centre. The venues of the festival include the Barbican, Sutton Harbour, the Hoe and Royal William Yard.²⁹⁷

The Marine City Festival 2012 included the first Plymouth Seafood Festival and the return of the Ecover Blue Mile, which gathered hundreds of people paddling, swimming and kayaking, as well as shore side events, exhibitions, art works and science conferences celebrating the marine environment.

296 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Cultural olympiad; [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/culturalolympiad>

297 Plymouth Marine City Festival [Internet]. Visit Plymouth; [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Press release. Available from: <http://www.marinecityfestival.co.uk/>

In 2013, a new Plymouth History Festival was launched, it included exhibitions, displays, talks, guided walks, workshops and other activities. The 2014 edition had particular significance for the city, since it is the 100th anniversary of the amalgamation of the Three Towns.

In recent years, the city has progressively increased the number and scope of events as well as their promotion, with the focus on the celebration in 2020 of the Mayflower 400 Anniversary. Work has already begun to use this event for attracting a higher number of foreign visitors, especially from the US East Coast.

Regarding yachting, the city offers several mooring areas in the estuaries of the rivers Plym and Tamar. There are also a number of marinas, being Sutton Harbour, Queen Anne's Battery, Mount Batten Yacht Haven, Millbay and Mayflower Marina the largest ones. Plymouth is also a popular destination for leisure fishing and scuba diving.

With respect to cruise ships, Plymouth has traditionally received them but it lacks modern facilities to attract the largest liners, at present they anchor in the Sound and send the passengers ashore in small boats or tenders. Therefore, there are a number of projects to build a cruise terminal at Millbay Docks, where nowadays the continental ferries arrive. The project is linked to the ongoing commercial, residential and leisure development, which includes a new marina as well. According to the Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study, Plymouth has good potential for this tourist segment, since it offers a number of attractions as a cruise tourism destination, such as the waterfront area with its maritime history, heritage, retail and leisure offerings, and visitor attractions including annual festivals and sailing events. The city is well located for excursions within Devon and Cornwall and it is positioned to act as a port of call on some itineraries including the Round British Isles cruise, the Celtic Fringe cruise including Northern Iberia, the Bay of Biscay and the Irish Sea and the transatlantic cruise to and from North America.²⁹⁸

Regarding conferences, this sector started developing in the 1980s thanks to the efforts of the Plymouth Marketing Bureau. In 1991, the Pavilions venue was built. Conference Plymouth is the organisation in charge of attracting this kind of events to the city. The University is an anchor for this tourist segment, since it attracts over 25,000 students²⁹⁹, as well as researchers and people visiting friends and relatives.

As for night life, the Barbican and Bretonside are popular areas of pubs, restaurants and night clubs with live music. Union Street is another night

298 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 1. Op cit. p. 29-118.

299 Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. Op cit. p. 4.

life centre, mainly for locals. North Hill and Mutley Plain areas are attended mostly by University students and people visiting them. The south of the City Centre and Derry's Cross concentrate some restaurants and pubs as well.

Plymouth is the largest centre for shopping in Devon and Cornwall. The City Centre is specialised in retail and catering, Drake Circus is the central indoor shopping centre. The Barbican is focused on catering, arts and crafts and souvenirs. Finally, the area around the Pannier Market is trying to concentrate independent and specialist retailers in the so called "Independent Quarter".

Furthermore, the city offers a number of attractions bringing visitors from outside of the city. Plymouth Alpine Park makes it possible to practice dry skiing, snowboard and winter sports in Derriford. Plymouth Life Centre opened in 2012 in Central Park, it is one of the country's leading centres of sporting excellence. Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery is the number 13 in the top 20 South West attractions with free entrance in number of attendants, with 115,621 visitors in 2010, a 5.8% increase from 2009. National Marine Aquarium is number 9 in the paid attractions list with 264,000 visitors in 2010, a 0.4% decrease from 2009³⁰⁰. Plymouth Pavilions is the South West's leading entertainment, concert, leisure and conference venue. The Plymouth Mayflower visitor centre can be found in the Barbican, it offers tourist information and displays about the Pilgrim Fathers and Sutton Harbour history. Finally, the Theatre Royal, together with TR2 and Drum Theatre, is the largest and best attended regional producing theatre in the UK³⁰¹. A Sheffield University study found that the Theatre Royal was ranked third nationally in 2007, only behind the National Theatre and Royal Shakespeare Company³⁰². In 2013, the theatre was refurbished in order to add a new auditorium and improve the public area outside the building.

Other attractions have been debated for a long time, some of them have already been finished, others have started to be developed and others are only under discussion. They are Drake's Island, Plymouth Dome, Royal William Yard, reusing South Yard and the Promenade Pier.

300 Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Insights and statistics, major tourism surveys, visitor attractions, annual survey of visitor attractions, 2010, South West, 10 top attractions free. Available from: http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/major-tourism-surveys/attractions/Annual_Survey/2010_Top_Attractions_by_Region.aspx

301 Arts Council England [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Theatre Royal Plymouth; screen 2 [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/browse-regularly-funded-organisations/npo/theatre-royal-plymouth/>

302 Positively Plymouth. Presentation shown at the Culture Means Business Summit. Op cit. p. 26.

The last use that Drake's Island had was an adventure centre. The island was bought in 1995 by a businessman and his last proposal was to build a high quality boutique hotel, a restaurant, a swimming pool and a spa. The project would integrate the military heritage and the natural assets of the island and would include facilities to grant public access.

Plymouth Dome was a visitor centre from the 1980s until 2006, it was one of the main attractions of the city during the time it was running. Now it is a restaurant managed by a British TV chef.

Royal William Yard has been subject of a deep regeneration, which includes a small marina, restaurants, residences and an exhibition venue. Accessibility has been improved through a better traffic management in Durnford Street, more buses and a ferry link with Sutton Harbour. The area is economically successful and it is a remarkable example of balance of development and heritage preservation. However, the area has not already achieved its plans of becoming a major attraction of the city due principally to its distance from the main tourist areas and the lack of an anchor attracting a greater number of visitors. Some of the projects proposed in the past which have not finally been carried out are the opening of a Maritime Museum, the construction of a replica of the Beagle, a factory outlet and a hotel.



Royal William Yard. Source: the author.

As it has been mentioned before, the Promenade Pier was severely damaged during the Second World War. A project to build a new pier in the same site was presented in 2011, which would include a conference hall, restaurants, shops, berthing for vessels, water taxis, fishing pontoons and a monorail.³⁰³

³⁰³ Plan for a £15m pier for Plymouth's waterfront. The Plymouth Herald. 2011 Nov 4. It can be found in: This is Plymouth [Internet]. London: Northcliffe Media; c2012 [cited 2014 Oct 22]. [9 screens]. Available from: <http://www.thisisplymouth.co.uk/Plan-pound-15m-pier-Plymouth-s-waterfront/story-13752690-detail/story.html>

Finally, opening a Naval Museum in the South Yard has been proposed since just before the First World War, following the example of Portsmouth. If carried out, the project would give a tourist use to Devonport's military heritage and could be linked to the open area of Mount Wise. There is a museum running in Devonport since 1969 but it needs a significant upgrading to be considered as a tourist attraction.

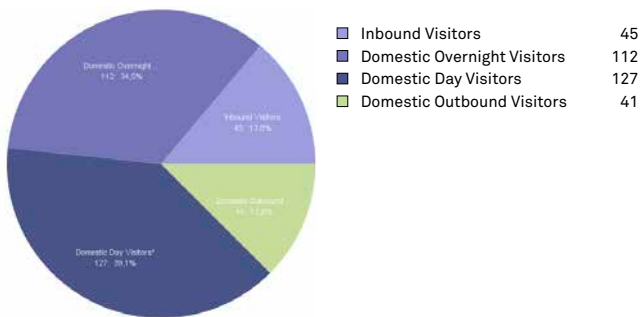
➤ VISITORS CHARACTERISTICS AND ECONOMIC IMPACT

In 2008, total tourism spending in Plymouth was 325 million pounds, of which 14% was spent by inbound visitors, 34% was spent by domestic overnight visitors, 39% was spent by domestic day visitors and 13% was spent by domestic outbound visitors. By tourist products, 16% was spent in accommodation and services for visitors, 28% was spent in food and beverage serving services, 8% was spent in passenger transport services, 5% was spent in cultural, sport and recreational services and 44% was spent in other products. The highest expenditure is normally in accommodation but in Plymouth this is not the case, since most of the visitors are day trippers, as it will be seen below. Direct Gross Value Added (GVA) of tourism in Plymouth in 2008 was 0,13 billion pounds, representing 2,99% of total GVA in the city. Regarding employment, 11,800 persons were employed in 2009 in the tourist sector, representing 11% of the total in the city. Of them, 10,900 were employees representing 10% of the total, 900 were working proprietors. Among the employees, 5,000 were full-time representing 8% of the total in the city and 5,900 were part-time representing 15% of the total in the city.³⁰⁴

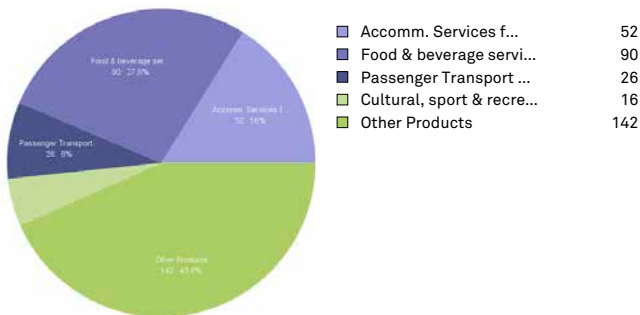
Plymouth stood in the number 20 among the top 20 most visited English cities and towns in 2011 by British residents, with 745,000 trips of one or more nights, the city experienced 20% increase from 2010. The city also stood in position 20 regarding business trips, with 125,000 trips, which is a 3% decrease from the previous year.³⁰⁵

304 Visit England: What is tourism worth? Understanding the value of tourism at regional and sub-regional level. Visit England [Internet]. Op cit. Regional information. Available from: <http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/regionalinfo/>

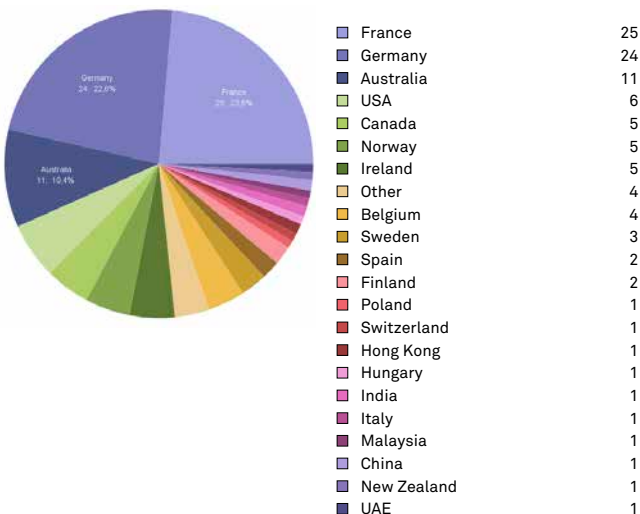
305 Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Insights and statistics, major tourism surveys, domestic overnight tourism (GBTS), GBTS 2011, regional results 2011, trips to different parts of England, most visited towns 2011. Available from: http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/major-tourism-surveys/overnightvisitors/Index/Regional_Results_2011.aspx



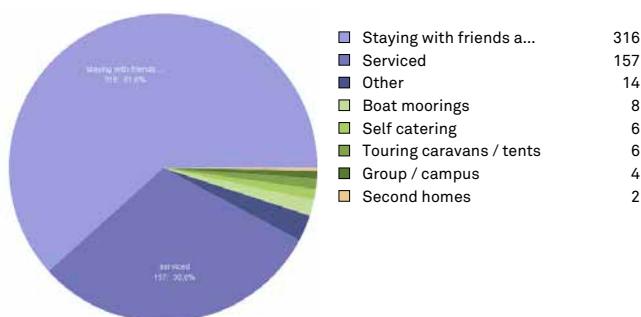
Tourism spending by type of visitor, million pounds, 2008. Source: Visit England: What is tourism worth? Op cit. p. 3.



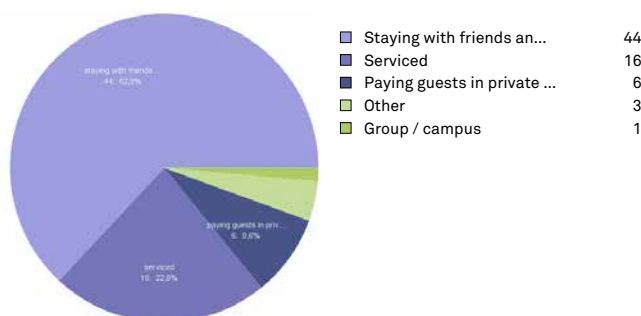
Tourism spending by type of tourism product, million pounds, 2008. Source: Visit England: What is tourism worth? Op cit. p. 11.



Country of origin, thousands, 2011. Source: Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2012 Oct 25]. Visits to towns-detailed data. Op cit.



Trips by type of accommodation (domestic tourists), thousands, 2008. Source: Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2012 Oct 25]. Documents, value of tourism 2008-3. Devon and districts. Op cit. p. 42.



Trips by type of accommodation (overseas tourists), thousands, 2008. Source: Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2012 Oct 25]. Documents, value of tourism 2008-3. Devon and districts. Op cit. p. 42.

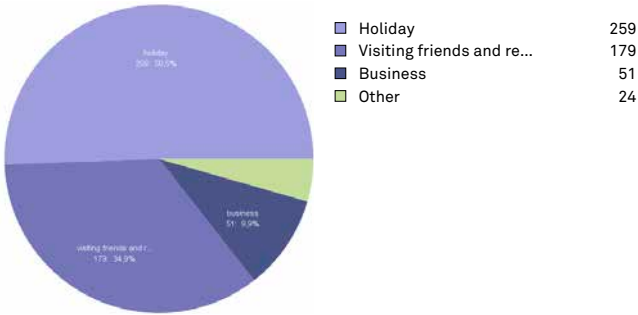
In the period 2009-2011, 1.98 million nights were spent in Plymouth per year, of which 34% were holiday nights³⁰⁶. With respect to the country of origin, in 2011 international visitors accounted for 108,000, of which 23% came from France, 22% came from Germany, 10% came from Australia, 6% came from the USA and 5% came from Canada, Norway and Ireland each.³⁰⁷

In 2008, there were more than 4 million visits to the city, of which 86% were day visits and 14% were trips made by staying visitors. Day visitors in Plymouth increased from 3.0 million in 2001 to 3.5 million in 2007. By place of accommodation, domestic tourists stayed mostly with friends and relatives (62%), followed by hotels (31%). Overseas visitors stayed with friends and

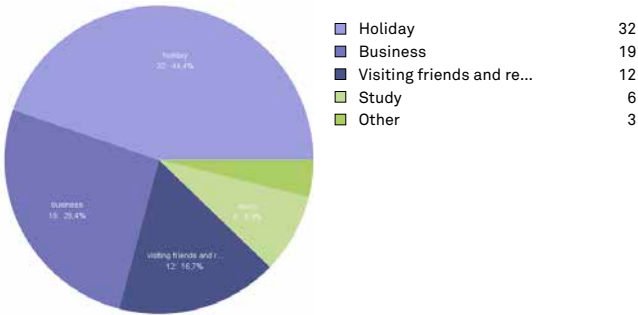
³⁰⁶ Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Insights and statistics, major tourism surveys, domestic overnight tourism (GBTS), GBTS 2011, regional results 2011, trips to different parts of England, England local authority, county and town. Available from: http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/major-tourism-surveys/overnightvisitors/Index/Regional_Results_2011.aspx

³⁰⁷ Visit England [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Insights and statistics, inbound visitor statistics, regions, towns & cities, visits to counties and towns, visits to towns-detailed data. Available from: <http://www.visitbritain.org/insightsandstatistics/inboundvisitorstatistics/regions/towns.aspx>
Original source: International Passenger Survey, Office for National Statistics.

relatives principally (62%), in hotels stayed 23%. Other secondary places of accommodation were boat mooring, self catering, caravans, tents and paying guests in private homes.³⁰⁸



Trips by purpose (domestic tourists), thousands, 2008. *Source:* Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2012 Oct 25]. Documents, value of tourism 2008-3. Devon and districts. Op cit. p. 43.



Trips by purpose (overseas tourists), thousands, 2008. *Source:* Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2012 Oct 25]. Documents, value of tourism 2008-3. Devon and districts. Op cit. p. 43.

The reason for travelling to Plymouth in the case of domestic tourists were holidays (50%), followed by visiting friends and relatives (35%), business (10%) and other reasons (5%). Overseas visitors came to the city mainly for holidays (45%), business was also relevant and accounted for 27% of visits, 16% of people came for visiting friends and relatives and 8% came to study.³⁰⁹

308 Visit South West [Internet]. South West Tourism Alliance [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Documents, value of tourism 2008-3. Devon and districts. Available from: <http://www.swtourismalliance.org.uk/documents/q/category/finance-facts-figures-documents/value-of-tourism-archive/value-of-tourism-2008/>

309 Idem.

Regarding capacity of accommodation, in 2006 there were 6,180 bed spaces in the city of which 1,900 were in hotels and guest houses, 330 in self catering flats and 950 in camp sites and caravan spaces.³¹⁰

The objectives of the City Council for 2020 are to increase visitor numbers by 20%, which means 800,000 additional visitors, to raise visitor spend by 25% and to increase the number of jobs by 33% that is 4,000 new jobs.³¹¹

The target group is those in the 20 to 60 mile range and beyond. To achieve it, improvements to the range of cultural facilities and attractions are under way, since they are likely to have an impact in attracting people from longer distances. The Mayflower 400 anniversary of 2020 is expected to be particularly useful for this goal.³¹²

➤ INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ACCESSIBILITY

Regarding means of transport, the classification made by EURICUR is going to be followed as it has been explained in the first chapter. It distinguishes external and internal accessibility.

External means of transport are linked to factors such as distance from the markets of origin and traveler's income. The port, airport, private car and railway have been considered in this section.

Plymouth has four ports, namely Cattewater, Sutton Harbour, Millbay and Devonport. The three main uses of Plymouth's ports are Navy docks, commercial and leisure. The share of uses is different in every port and it is changing currently due to an increase in demand for leisure activities. In particular, marinas and cruise arrivals are rising and there is a shortage in Navy services. In 2009, the Navy covered 75% of vessel movements, 20% were tour boats and ferries, 3% were commercial, 1% was the Channel ferry and other 1% was related to sailing events³¹³. 13,500 jobs were related to port activities, representing 12% of total direct employment in the city, of them 8,500 jobs were in Devonport. The ports also generate a cluster of marine businesses of boat building, research and development, higher education, the fish market and marine services. Taking into account indirect jobs, marine and maritime activities represent 19% of all employment in Plymouth and 25% of the city's total Gross Value Added.³¹⁴

310 Essex S. Position paper on tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 12-13.

311 Blue Sail. Plymouth Visitor Plan, report for Destination Plymouth. 2011. p. 2.

312 Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership. The Plymouth Report; 2010. p. 18.

313 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 1. Op cit. p. 9.

314 Ibidem. p. 102-103.

The Port of Plymouth is operated by different bodies. The Royal Navy and the Ministry of Defence run Devonport Dockyards. Millbay Docks are owned and operated by Associated British Ports and are focused in commercial activities, ferry services and cruise ships. Sutton Harbour is privately owned by Sutton Harbour Group and centred in leisure. Cattedown Wharves is operated by Cattewater Harbour Commissioners, a statutory body. Victoria Wharf and Pomphlett Wharf are privately operated, they are the main commercial ports.

Plymouth is the South West region's second ranked commercial port after Bristol. Commercial ship arrivals have remained relatively stable during the period 2000-2008 with a peak of 1,262 in 2003. Main trades are oil products, clay, animal feed, stone, fertilizer, cement, salt, fish and vehicles. The fish market serves national and international markets and the harbour provides the base for approximately 30 fishing vessels. It lands more fish from UK ships than any other market in England & Wales and generates an estimation of 300 jobs. The market is the third largest in England & Wales by value of sales and the largest in fish tonnage.

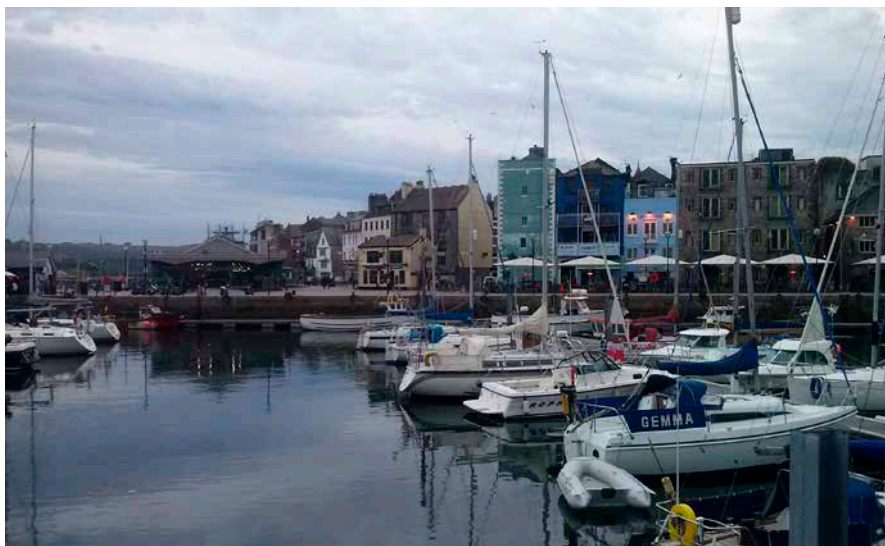
Cattedown Wharves' main trade is animal feed and liquid bulk such as petroleum products which are distributed throughout the Southwest. Victoria Wharf is owned by Victoria Group, its main trade is china clay export and handles around half of the port's total dry bulk cargo throughput. Pomphlett Aggregate Export Terminal is privately operated too, it is dedicated to the export of limestone and recycled aggregate.³¹⁵

Devonport is the largest naval base in Western Europe, covering over 650 acres (263 hectares) with 15 dry docks, 4 miles (6,5 km) of waterfront, 25 tidal berths and 5 basins. It accommodates approximately 5,000 naval vessel movements per year. It has been providing support to the Royal Navy since 1691 and its rich naval heritage helps to define Plymouth both domestically and internationally. The naval base and dockyard complex accounted in 1998 for 2% of the Devon and Cornwall's Gross Value Added.³¹⁶

Sutton Harbour provides leisure boating facilities in the Barbican, where there is a cluster of restaurants, bars, cafes, niche retail and other leisure facilities. The harbour is located close to the major shopping areas and visitors attractions of the city, such as the Hoe, Mayflower Steps and the National Marine Aquarium.

315 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 2. Op cit. p. 29-30.

316 Atkins. Port of Plymouth Evidence Base Study. Final report, volume 1. Op cit. p. 98.



General view of Sutton Harbour. Source: the author.

Millbay Docks were built under the supervision of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the inner basin was opened in 1857. It is the port for Brittany Ferries, which offers year-round services to Roscoff and Santander, the former accounted for 401 movements in 2008, the latter for 169. In 2009, Plymouth handled around 570,000 passenger movements and 190,000 cars, 2.3% of the UK total, making it the seventh largest port in the UK for this kind of traffic³¹⁷. The eastern part of the docks is disused and has been sold for leisure and housing but the main transformation envisaged is expected to be related to improving cruise tourism.

Millbay Docks is the main cruise port in Plymouth. In 2010, 13 cruise ships called at the port, this figure is still far from the maximum of 20 calls in 2000, the highest number in 40 years. Plymouth's objective is to compete with Falmouth in attracting the largest ships, there is a project of building a new cruise liner facility.

The project for upgrading cruise facilities is in line with the significant growth that the cruise ships market is experiencing worldwide. From 1995 to 2005, demand more than doubled from 6 million to over 14 million, an average growth of over 10% per annum compared to 4% per annum for general tourism. In the same period, the numbers of Europeans cruising trebled, Europe is particularly attractive to the cruise lines as it produces the highest yield per cruise passenger and the highest revenue for shore excursions. The UK has become an increasingly popular cruise destination as well as homeport for cruises to other areas, the number of cruise

³¹⁷ Ibidem. p. 36.

passenger embarkations at UK ports increased by 86% between 2002 and 2006 and around 75-80% of these passengers originated in UK. In 2007, the Mediterranean and Atlantic Islands attracted nearly two thirds of European cruise passengers, a quarter chose the Caribbean and the remaining 15% chose Northern Europe. However, the popularity of Northern Europe has been growing 12% per annum since 2004.³¹⁸

Average passenger capacity has been increasing by about 500 every 3 years over the last ten years. The most dramatic change has been with ships over 2,000 berths which have increased by over 600%. Cruise ships of over 300 meters carrying more than 3,000 passengers are now being introduced into the Northern European market. The season in European waters used to be from May to September but it now commences in April and extends through to October, mini-cruises (3-4 days) take place throughout the year. The highest increase of cruise passengers are from visitors from the United States of America seeking out their historical roots, visiting familiar locations and enjoying travelling to English speaking countries. Spanish and Italians seek out a colder climate and Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians, who are often well travelled, look for more culture and wildlife tours.

Railway is one of the most used transport means to arrive to Plymouth, the central station is situated on North Road and was opened in 1877. The station was rebuilt in 1956 and a large office block was added, the City House, now one of the foci in Plymouth's skyline. As it has been already explained, North Road Cross is at the head of Armada Way, the axis that goes through the City Centre up to the Hoe. North Cross roundabout, with a system of pedestrian underpasses, was created in the early 1970s, segregating the railway station from the City Centre.

An early railway existed in the 1820s, the Dartmoor Rail Road running east from Sutton Harbour. In 1891, the London and South Western Railway added a new line terminating at the Friary Station, to the north-east of Sutton Harbour. There were also some Great Western Railway freight lines intersecting Cattedown, including the Sutton Harbour Branch serving the quarries and factories in the area.³¹⁹

Plymouth Millbay railway station was located in the site of the Plymouth Pavilions, it was the original railway terminus in the city, opened in 1849 and designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who also designed Royal Albert Bridge in 1859, the railway bridge linking Devon and Cornwall. By landing at Plymouth, many hours could be saved on the journey to London. As it has been explained, the station and the connection to Millbay Docks encouraged

³¹⁸ Ibidem. p. 113-114.

³¹⁹ Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. Sutton Harbour Area Action Plan 2006-2021. 2008. p. 5.

the development of hotels in West Hoe. The station was closed to passengers in 1941 after severe war damage and it was kept only for goods traffic and access to the carriage sheds. All traffic finally ceased in 1971.

There are several railway daily services to London Paddington and a night service, the Night Riviera, starting in Penzance. Direct services also run to South Wales, the Midlands, the North of England and Scotland. In the travel-to-work area there are regular services to Ivybridge and South East Cornwall.³²⁰

Local rail services in the South West have increased around 4% over the last decade. In addition, the population is expected to rise by 30% in the South West over the next 20 years, with an aging population who are expected to use train services more often. There are plans to develop a commuter's network in Devon and Cornwall, called Devon Metro and Connecting Cornwall. Another project is to increase frequency of regional trains between Penzance and Exeter, especially during the peaks and over the Summer months.³²¹

It is considered that for every 100 minutes travel time from London, productivity drops by 6%. The fastest service takes 3 hours to arrive to London and business leaders, the City Council, key organisations and the city's MPs are pressing the case for more frequent and faster rail links³²². Finally, another scheme is being analyzed in order to create a fastest connection to Heathrow Airport, avoiding the need to change in Paddington and cutting journey times by 45 minutes.

Regarding coach services, the central station is located in Bretonside, close to the Barbican and the City Centre. It is well served to London Victoria, Heathrow and the rest of Great Britain. Apart from regular services, the city has Park and Ride and Rail and Ride services to the City Centre. Rail and Ride operates from Ivybridge train station and from Liskeard and Gunnislake train station. Park and Ride operates from Coypool, George Junction and Milehouse Park and Ride. Plymouth has 1,000 Park and Ride spaces.³²³

The easiest way to arrive by private car to the city is taking the M5 from Bristol to Exeter and then the A38 Devon Expressway to Plymouth, drive time from London is around three and a half hours. There is a large offer of car parks in the City Centre, concentrating 16 of the 20 car parks in the city³²⁴. The City Centre offers 4,600 car parking spaces.

320 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Rail services [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/transportandroads/publictransport>

321 Positively Plymouth. Plymouth: the case for better rail services. p. 3.

322 Plymouth's rail timetable gets on track. Plymouth matters. 2012; 6 (Feb-Mar). p. 2.

323 Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. Op cit. p. 4.

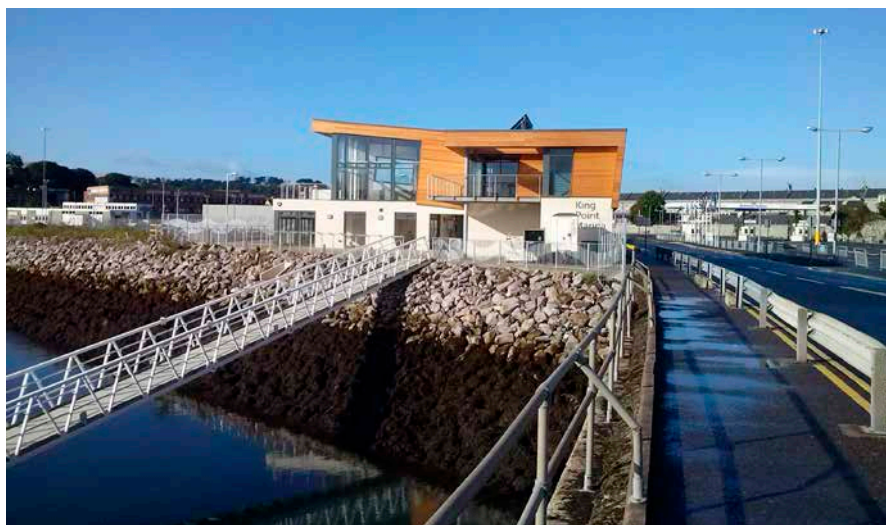
324 Plymouth on a map [Internet]. Plymouth City Council; [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Available from: <http://www.plymouthonamap.com/>

Plymouth City Airport opened in 1925 and closed at the end of 2011. It went down since the withdrawal of London flights, the closure of the connections with France, the concentration of air traffic on London airports and the delays caused by the increase in security requirements, making road and rail links more attractive. In the last years, it was operated by the Sutton Harbour Group through Air Southwest, which offered frequent flights to Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Jersey, Guernsey, Cork, Dublin, Newcastle and London Gatwick. Nowadays, the closest international airports are Exeter and Newquay and Bristol is the closest major hub.

Internal means of transport have an impact on the global image of the tourist destination. In the study area, the following transport means have been considered: yachting, ferries, taxis, buses, cycling and pedestrian areas.

Plymouth has a rich offer of marinas and moorings. Sutton Harbour is located at the heart of the Barbican, it is owned by Sutton Harbour Group and provides around 490 sheltered berths in Sutton Harbour Marina, West Pier Marina and Guys Quay Marina. Another singular marina is Royal William Yard, which is integrated in a renovated area of great heritage value.

Sutton Harbour Group launched in 2012 a plan to build a new marina in the Inner Basin of Millbay Docks, called King Point Marina, as part of the ongoing regeneration programme for the area. This marina hosts currently 179 berths, a yacht club restaurant and marine-related businesses.³²⁵



King Point Marina. Source: the author.

³²⁵ Sutton Harbour Holdings PLC [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Sutton Harbour Holdings sign lease agreement for King Point Marina; [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.suttonharbourholdings.co.uk/mediax/news/23-corporate/91-sutton-harbour-holdings-sign-lease-agreement-for-king-point-marina>

Other marinas which can be found in or close to the historic city are Queen Anne's Battery with 235 berths, Plymouth Yacht Haven with 450 berths, Mayflower Marina with 415 berths and other small craft moorings in Cattewater harbour and Millbay harbour.

Finally, the city offers a great number of mooring facilities in Plymouth Sound and in the rivers Plym and Tamar. Administered by the City Council are Covehead, Hoe Foreshore, Mutton Cove, New Wharf, Riverside, Saltash, Saltash Passage, West Mud, Cremyll, Torpoint, Wearde Quay, River Lynher and West Mud.

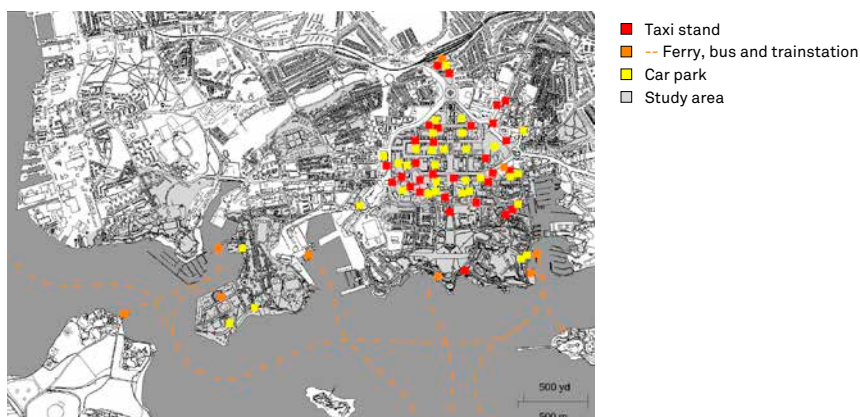
There are several ferry and water taxi services in the study area. From the Barbican depart roundtrips to the Sound and regular ferries to Royal William Yard, Mount Batten and the beaches of Cawsand and Kingsand. Extra routes can also be arranged to Bovisand, Yacht Haven Marina, Turnchapel, Hooe Lake and the Water Sports Centre. In Stonehouse is based the Cremyll ferry, which makes the journey to Mount Edgcumbe. There has been a Cremyll ferry service for more than 1,000 years. From Devonport leaves the ferry to Torpoint, for both pedestrians and vehicles.

Taxi ranks are mostly located in the Barbican, Hoe, City Centre and their periphery. A tourist bus runs around the Barbican and the Hoe, operated by Plymouth Discovery Tours. Regarding local buses, most of them begin or finish in the City Centre, 3,000 buses stop in the City Centre daily³²⁶. The historic city is covered by number 34 travelling to Royal William Yard, Mount Wise and Devonport, number 25 serving the Hoe and the Barbican and number 26 travelling through Union Street.

Regarding cycling, the City Council recommends some advisory and signed cycle routes but many of them are shared with buses or cars, being traffic-free cycle paths mostly in the fringes of the city and parks. There are cycle parking places and Park and Cycle services throughout the city. The South West Coast Path is shared by pedestrian and cyclists, it is a National Trail going through Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. It goes along the whole Plymouth waterfront from Laira Bridge to Cremyll ferry. Although topography makes Plymouth an easy city to cycle through, this possibility is not as developed as it could be.

Finally, there are a number of pedestrian areas in the historic city. In the City Centre, the main area is formed by Armada Way, New George Street and Old Town Street. The Barbican is half-pedestrianised, designated 20 mph zone (32 km/h) and Union Street is a designated home zone, which gives preference to pedestrians, cyclists and social and leisure uses.

³²⁶ Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. Op cit. p. 4.



Means of transport within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

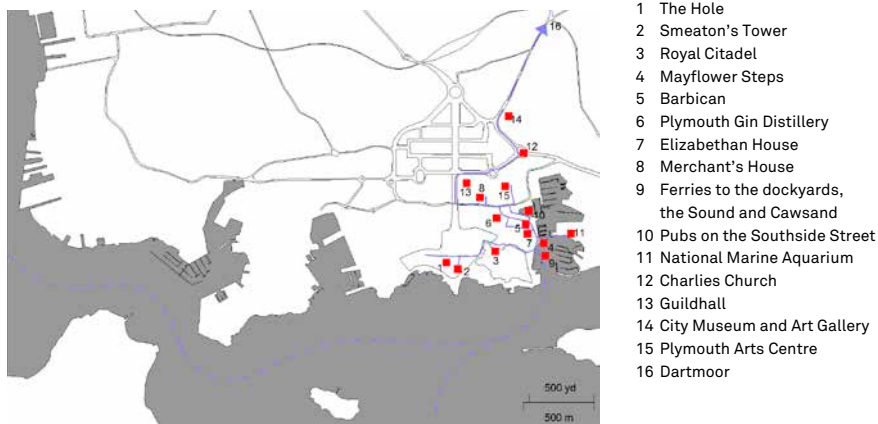
> MAIN TOURIST RESOURCES AND SERVICES

In many cities, there are a few main assets which justify their visit, for example a relevant monument, a particular event or specialist shops. The current tendency in urban tourism is to diversify the offer as people's interests are becoming more and more specialised, this trend has been seen in the review of historic guidebooks presented in this chapter. In Plymouth, the difference between the main tourists' attractions and ancillary resources depends on the source taken into account. Furthermore, the differences between visitors and locals are becoming shorter as the former are interested in going deeper into the local culture and the latter behave like visitors in some occasions, for example when visiting monuments or for special events, this difference is even weaker in Plymouth as most visitors are national and have in general terms the same cultural background and interests as locals. Thus, in this section instead of dividing aspects in primary and ancillary resources, they are going to be separated into topics, the following have been considered: heritage, sightseeing and panorama, leisure, water-related activities and events, other sports, events, arts and culture, historic references, accommodation, eating and drinking, shopping, transport means, tourist services and townscape. For this research, the following sources have been taken into account: field work³²⁷, current guidebooks related only to the city which can be purchased in Plymouth³²⁸, leaflets offered to

327 Field work was developed on 2011 September 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, 23 and 25. It coincided with the celebration of the America's Cup. Data was updated on 2013 June 17, 18 and 19.

328 Three guidebooks have been considered: Hesketh R. Plymouth, a shortish guide. Launceston: Bossiney Books Ltd; 2010. / Stowe D. Plymouth. Peterborough: Thomas Cook Publishing; 2011. / Plymouth Waterfront Partnership. Discover Plymouth, official visitor guide 2011. Onshore Media; 2011.

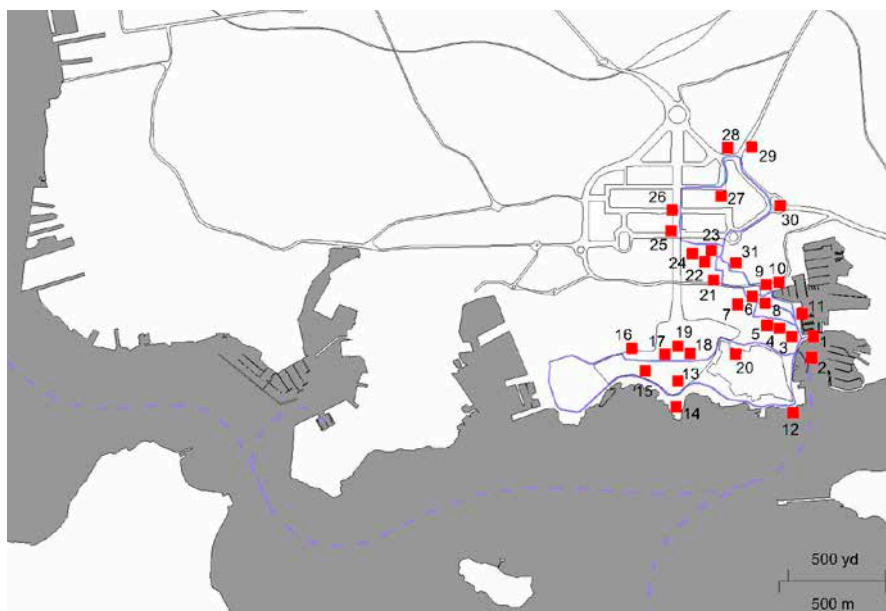
visitors³²⁹, pedestrian trails³³⁰, administrative documents³³¹, City Council's information³³², webpages offering tourist information about the city³³³, street signage, explanations and plaques³³⁴. The conclusions of this work have been transferred to a web-based cartography³³⁵ and finally summarised into the maps and conclusions shown below.



Recommended walking tours in the Thomas Cook guidebook 2011 over the current street pattern. Source: the author, based on: Stowe D. Op cit. p. 28-29.

185

- 329 22 leaflets have been considered: British Art Show. Map; Cityscape. Plymouth City Centre and Barbican / Commonwealth Graves Commission. The Plymouth Memorial, remembering the naval war dead / Creative Learning. Plymouth Theatres / Devon Association of Tourist Attractions. Devon's top attractions / Plymouth Barbican Trust. Elizabethan Gardens / Plymouth City Bus. Getting around Plymouth by bus, a guide / Plymouth City Council. Historic sites / Plymouth City Council. Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery / Plymouth City Council. Plymouth Winter Festival / Plymouth City Council. The Elizabethan House / Plymouth City Council. The Merchant's House / Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery. Exploring Cremyll and the Cremyll Ferry / Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery. The Royal William Victualling Yard / Plymouth Discovery Tours. Sightseeing bus tours in Plymouth / Plymouth Gin. Plymouth Gin Distillery, the ultimate gin experience / Plymouth Summer Festival. A guide to culture and events / Plymouth Summer Festival. Plymouth maps, shopping and attractions guide with Drake Circus Shopping Centre / Plymouth Visual Arts Consortium. British Art Show / Positively Plymouth. Explore Plymouth / Positively Plymouth. The Plymouth Magazine / St Andrew's Church. Church of St Andrew, Plymouth.
- 330 Six trails have been considered: Plymouth 20th Century City. 20th Century Trail. / Plymouth City Council. Devonport Heritage Trail. / South West Co-operative Society. Barbican Trail, City Centre Trail, Hoe Trail. / National Trails. South West Coast Path.
- 331 Four sources have been considered: Blue Sail. Op cit. / Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. Op cit. / Plymouth Waterfront Partnership. Full consultation draft. 2011. / Devon and Cornwall Police [Internet]. Devon and Cornwall Constabulary; c2009-[updated 2011 Oct 27; cited 2014 Oct 17]. Crime prevention. Available from: <http://www.devon-cornwall.police.uk/CrimePrevention/Pages/default.aspx>
- 332 Three sources have been considered: Plymouth on a map [Internet]. Op cit. / Plymouth Informed [Internet]. Op cit. / Commemorative plaques [Internet]. Plymouth: City Council [cited 2014 Oct 24]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/plymouthplaques/>
- 333 Four webpages have been considered: InPlymouth.com [Internet]. c2005-[updated 2012; cited 2014 Oct 16]. Available from: <http://www.inplymouth.com/>. Plymouth [Internet]. / Discovery Travel Network Ltd; c2005-[updated 2012; cited 2014 Oct 16]. Available from: <http://www.discoverplymouth.net/>. / Plymouth Barbican Waterfront [Internet]. [cited 2014 Oct 16]. Available from: <http://www.discoverplymouth.net/>. / Visit Plymouth [Internet]. Plymouth City Centre Company and Plymouth Waterfront Partnership; [cited 2014 Oct 16]. / Available from: <http://www.visitplymouth.co.uk/>
- 334 47 street signs, 19 city plans and 22 explanations or plaques have been considered.
- 335 Identification of tourist features in the historic city of Plymouth [Internet]. Meipi.org; [cited 2014 Aug 6]. Available from: <http://www.meipi.org/plymouthtourism.meipi.php>



- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Mayflower Steps | 11 Old Fish Market | 23 St Andrew's Church |
| 2 Ferries to Mount Batten, Cawsand and Royal William Yard | 12 Ship canyons | 24 Guildhall |
| 3 Plymouth Mayflower | 13 Smeaton's Tower | 25 Armada Way |
| 4 Elizabethan House | 14 Tinside Lido | 26 Sundial |
| 5 Elizabethan Gardens | 15 Hoe Belvedere | 27 Drake's Circus shopping centre |
| 6 Robert Lenkiewicz's mural | 16 Elliot Terrace | 28 Roland Lewinsky building |
| 7 Plymouth Gin Distillery | 17 Sir Francis Drake's Statue | 29 City Museum and Art Gallery |
| 8 Old Custom House | 18 Armada Memorial | 30 Charles Church |
| 9 New Custom House | 19 Naval Memorial | 31 Sir John Hawkins Square |
| 10 The Three Crowns pub | 20 Royal Citadel | |
| | 21 Merchant's House | |
| | 22 Prysten House | |

Recommended walking tours in the Bossiney guidebook 2010 over the current street pattern. Source: the author, based on: Hesketh R. Op cit. p. 20-29.

1 Built heritage

Regarding built heritage, the Barbican and the Hoe in general are the image of the city, they are the most cited areas in guidebooks and concentrate most of the pictures. The most popular buildings in the Barbican are the Elizabethan House, Merchant's House, Royal Citadel, Mayflower Steps and Plymouth Gin Distillery. On the Hoe the most cited monuments are Smeaton Tower, West Hoe residences, Tinside Lido and the war memorials. In the City Centre the Guildhall, St Andrew's Church and Charles Church are the most representative buildings. In Devonport the monuments in Ker Street and the dockyards are mentioned, but this neighbourhood is not as popular as other areas. Finally, in Stonehouse Royal William Yard is the only heritage asset cited in guidebooks.

Leaflets concentrate on a smaller amount of monuments, in general in the Barbican and the Hoe and in particular on Smeaton Tower and Royal William

Yard. The most cited elements in pedestrian trails are the Royal Citadel, St Andrew's Church and Devonport's Ker Street monuments. The Visitor Plan of November 2011 mentions as key assets the Barbican, the Hoe, the Guildhall and Royal William Yard. Webpages mainly orientate visitors to go to the Barbican, Elizabethan House, Merchant's House, the Hoe, Tinside Lido, the City Centre and Civic Centre. Street signs especially orientate tourists to go to the Barbican, the City Centre and the Hoe in general, and in particular to the Elizabethan House. There is a high concentration of panels and plaques around the Island House, Mayflower Steps, Tinside Lido, Charles Church and Devonport-Mount Wise.

It is interesting to remark the different elements that guidebooks and public initiatives refer to. The former refer to the most popular attractions, the latter are focused on advertising assets which have been recently put into use or are not very popular yet.

Regarding current uses, heritage areas such as the Hoe and the Barbican have a high presence of cafes, in the case of the Barbican there are also restaurants, pubs, specialist shops, theatres, galleries and marinas. The City Centre is focused on shopping and offices and Devonport and Stonehouse are residential neighbourhoods. Royal William Yard hosts a marina, restaurants, cafes, offices, private residences and exhibitions. A great part of monuments are used for exhibitions and some others still keep their original use such as St Andrew's Church, the dockyards, the Royal Citadel or the new Custom House.

After taking into account all tourist references to built heritage, it can be concluded that there are three heritage areas, each of them with a very different relative weight, namely Mount Wise, Royal William Yard and the central areas covering the Hoe, Barbican and parts of the City Centre. Regarding particular buildings, there are three clusters, the first one is in the City Centre south of Royal Parade, where some monuments survived the Blitz or were renovated such as St Andrew's Church, the Guildhall, Prysten House, Merchant's House, the Synagogue and the Civic Centre. In the Barbican there is another cluster formed by the Gin Distillery, New and Old Custom Houses, Island House and Elizabethan House. The third cluster is on the Hoe, it is formed by Smeaton Tower, Drake's Statue, Armada and Naval War Memorials, the Belvedere and West Hoe residences. The Citadel links the Hoe and Barbican areas. Finally, Charles Church is an isolated asset.



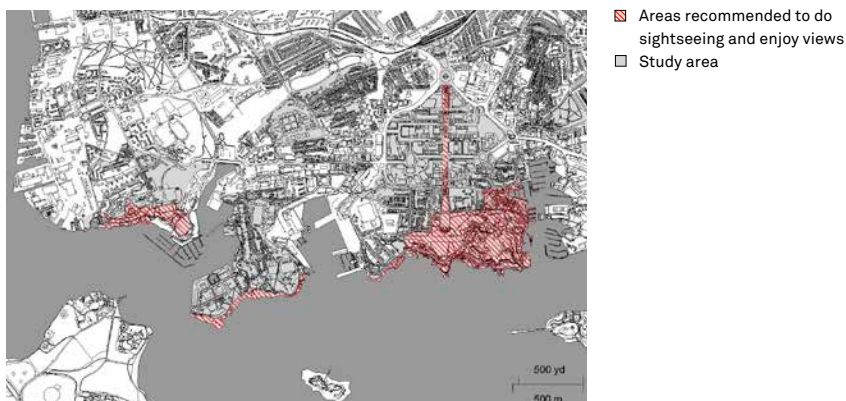
Main heritage assets within the study area and close surroundings.
Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

2 Sightseeing and panorama

Regarding areas to enjoy sightseeing and panoramas, the Barbican and the Hoe are the most referred assets in guidebooks. The Sound with Drake's Island and Armada Way are the other areas recommended to have a look at. Leaflets and webpages recommend to visit the Barbican and the Hoe and to have a view to the Sound. Leaflets also focus on the wheel placed on the Hoe, opened in 2011, which offers a unique view of the whole city and the Sound. In relation to trails, in the case of Mount Wise there are several explanations of what can be seen from it.

Current uses of sightseeing areas are diverse. Armada Way is the main commercial street in the city. The Barbican is focused on retail, restaurants and leisure. The Hoe is the principal open space and hosts all major events in Plymouth, its waterfront is dedicated to restaurants, cafes and swimming facilities, some of them currently disused. Stonehouse waterfront offers smaller open spaces, swimming facilities, a cafe and a restaurant. Mount Wise is the second largest open space in the waterfront, it has been renovated recently and cafes and swimming facilities have been regenerated but it does not gather as much as visitors as other areas perhaps because of its distance to the City Centre.

Taking all tourist references to sightseeing, views and panorama, it is possible to distinguish four areas or topics. One is the waterfront in general with its views to the Sound, Drake's Island and the Breakwater, these views can be enjoyed from the upper part of the Hoe, the Citadel, Hoe Road, Stonehouse Peninsula and Mount Wise. The Hoe offers open views to the city, the waterfront and landmarks like Smeaton Tower and the Naval War Memorial. The Barbican is a neighbourhood to enjoy narrow streets and an old city atmosphere. Finally, Armada Way offers a shopping atmosphere, terraces and many street events around the Big Screen.



Areas recommended doing sightseeing and enjoying views within the study area and closing surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

3 Leisure attractions

These attractions are especially relevant in the city as well. Guidebooks underline the importance of the National Marine Aquarium, Mayflower Exhibition, Clay Art, the Gin Distillery, the Pavilions and Tinside Lido swimming pool. Leaflets refer to the National Marine Aquarium, Gin Distillery, Hoe wheel and the Big Screen on Armada Way. The only leisure facility showed in trails is the National Marine Aquarium. Webpages promote the National Marine Aquarium, Mayflower Exhibition, Clay Art, the Pavilions and Hoe wheel. Signage advertises the National Marine Aquarium and the Pavilion.

Most of the leisure facilities are single-use with the exception of Mayflower Centre, which hosts a tourist information centre and exhibitions, and the Pavilions, which offer an ice ring, a water fun park, concerts and conferences.

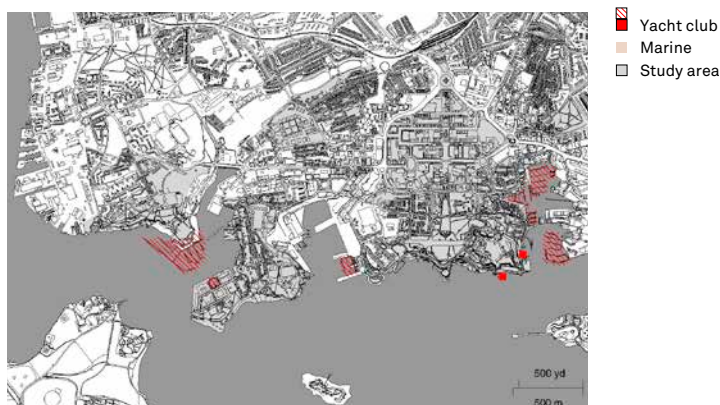
Leisure attractions concentrate in two areas and some of them are dispersed. In the Barbican or around are located the National Marine Aquarium, the Gin Distillery, Mayflower Exhibition Centre and Clay Art. On the Hoe there are a number of bathing facilities, where Tinside Lido stands out. There are other bathing facilities in Stonehouse Peninsula and Mount Wise. Finally, the Big Screen gathers large groups of people for special events and the Pavilions offer a diversity of leisure activities.



Main leisure attractions within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

4 Water-related activities and events

Plymouth offers a variety of events related to the sea all year round, it has also a number of facilities where it is possible to develop water-related activities. Water sports and marinas are relevant in guidebooks and webpages. Marinas exist along the whole waterfront of the study area and beyond. Around the Barbican there is a particular cluster of marinas and yacht clubs. Among the most relevant competitions the Tall Ships Race stands out and several regattas are covered by guidebooks, leaflets and webpages. As it has been explained, the event that focused almost all attention in 2011 was the America's Cup World Series.



Yacht clubs and marinas within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

5 Other sports

Non-sea-related sports attract visitors to the city as well, they are generally promoted in leaflets and webpages. The Plymouth Argyle, the local football team, is the main asset according to guidebooks and webpages. Other attraction is the Ski Slope in Derriford.

6 Events

Apart from marine and maritime-related events, the city hosts some well renowned spectacles, they are the main reason for an important number of visitors to come to Plymouth. Guidebooks dedicate extensive sections to explain them, the most popular in this source are the Summer Festival and the British Fireworks Championships. Leaflets promote events in general and in particular the Summer Festival, the British Fireworks Championships and Flavour Fest. Webpages especially promote the Barbican Jazz and Blues Festival and the British Fireworks Championship.

In 2011 a new major event took place in the city: the British Art Show, it was cited as strategic by the 2011 Visitor Plan together with the British Fireworks Championship.

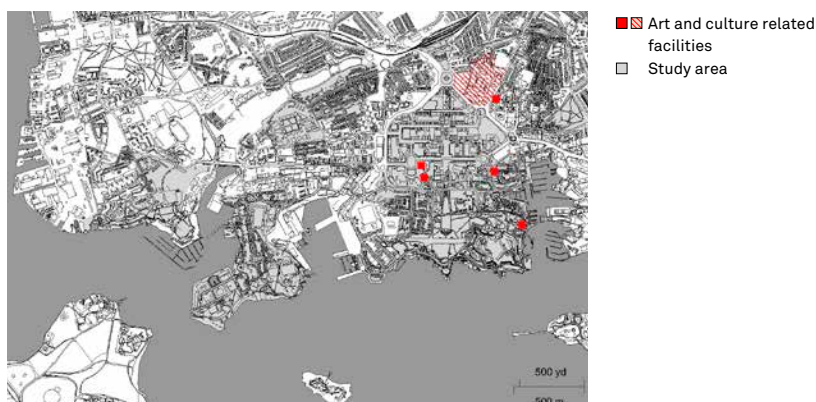
7 Arts and culture

Sources of information dedicate deep attention to arts and culture as well. Guidebooks recommend visiting a wide variety of locations, such as the Theatre Royal, City Museum, Arts Centre, Reel Cinema, the Barbican Theatre and the University, especially because of its lectures, performances, exhibitions and other events. Leaflets concentrate on the Theatre Royal, City Museum, Barbican Theatre and the University.

This kind of facilities is regarded as strategic by the 2011 Visitor Plan, in particular the Theatre Royal, City Museum, Barbican Theatre, Arts Centre and the University. Webpages recommend visiting the Theatre Royal, City Museum and Barbican Theatre. Finally, street signs guide pedestrians to go to the Theatre Royal, City Museum and University.

To sum up, among the most cited facilities we can find a museum, three theatres, a cinema and the University. Most of them offer a variety of services such as cafes, shops and different events.

Arts and culture venues are dispersed around the Barbican and the City Centre. Sutton Harbour allocates the Barbican Theatre and Plymouth Arts Centre. The Theatre Royal and Reel Cinema are in Derry's Cross. Finally, the University offers a variety of arts and culture-related events and the City Museum and Art Gallery are located just in front of the campus.



Arts and culture related facilities within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

8 Historic references

In urban destinations, another common aspect in tourist information sources is the link of a city with certain historic characters, artists or events. In the case of Plymouth, these references mainly focus on its military history and its link with some of the most relevant discovery voyages. These references appear in plaques, explanations, memorials, street names, comments in guidebooks and others. They have been divided in four categories: seafarers, war, Royal Navy and marine and maritime references.

The seafarers group includes references reminding to persons, ships and features related to discovery journeys. The most relevant are Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Chichester, Captain James Cook, Charles Darwin, Captain Robert Falcon Scott and the Pilgrim Fathers.

The second group includes references to the wars where Plymouth was involved, especially the two World Wars, the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the Napoleonic Wars, among other references to invasions, defences and military divisions based in the city.

The Royal Navy group gathers references to the Royal Navy, since it is the main military division historically based on Plymouth.

The last group includes references to all other sea-related aspects such as fishing, commerce, boat building, sea life, etc.

Guidebooks dedicate an extensive attention to these topics and the most cited historic characters or events are Sir Francis Drake, the Pilgrim Fathers who set sail on board the Mayflower, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Charles Darwin or the Beagle and Captain Robert Falcon Scott. Leaflets are not

focused on history and only a few references to Captain Robert Falcon Scott and the Pilgrim Fathers can be found. Tourism-related webpages scarcely refer to Sir Francis Drake, the Mayflower and the Spanish Armada. Finally, street signage dedicates more attention to historic events although no one is particularly stressed.

Apart from history and to a lesser extent, it is possible to find references to artists and architects linked to Plymouth. Guidebooks cite especially Sir Joshua Reynolds and information about John Foulston, James Paton Watson, Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Robert Lenkiewicz is also offered. City trails make references only to John Foulston and Robert Lenkiewicz, and tourism-related webpages only cite Sir Joshua Reynolds.

References to seafarers can be found in the whole city in diverse forms, proof of the identification of Plymouth with these renowned historic characters. References to wars are also quite extended, in particular the concentration of memorials on the Hoe stands out. References to the Royal Navy are located on the Hoe, in Stonehouse including the Royal Marine Barracks and the former Royal Naval Hospital, and in Devonport including the Dockyards. Finally, more general naval references can be found in all neighbourhoods of Plymouth.



Historic references within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

9 Accommodation

A good offer in accommodation is essential for attracting staying visitors. In historic guidebooks this information occupied a substantial part. However, as ways to book have changed, their importance in these sources has been reduced. Nevertheless, general information and advertisements are still shown in all guidebooks. Webpages pay more attention to this service, especially through booking platforms.

Three categories have been distinguished, namely hotels, guest houses and remains of former hotels. These categories are subject to interpretation and are more related to the size of the premises than to other aspects such as, for example, how each establishment describes itself. Thus, hotels refer to the largest businesses, they usually belong to international companies and offer services like full pension, parking places or conference rooms. Guest houses are the traditional small accommodation facilities, normally run by families or early retired couples who live there in some occasions, they normally only offer breakfast. This category includes bed and breakfasts and hostels. These establishments are charming but they do not fit the increasing needs of many international visitors, for that reason there are current plans to upgrade them and create more hotels of a higher standard. Finally, remains of former hotels give an idea of previous tourist areas that have lost this activity nowadays.

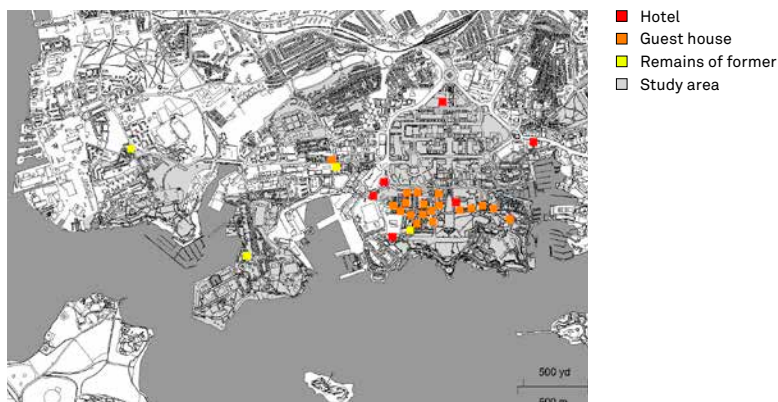
Location of large hotels does not respond to clusters, they are in the surroundings of the central areas where there is a good accessibility. It is possible to find one close to the bus station, another one close to the railway station and four of them around the Hoe.

Guest houses gather in two areas. The largest concentration is on West Hoe, there is another group of this kind of smaller establishments between the Hoe and the Barbican. Finally, there are a few remains of former hotels in areas which had a significant tourist activity in the past like the Crown Hotel in Devonport, Durnford Hotel in Stonehouse Peninsula and the Grand Hotel on the Hoe, now converted into luxury residences.

Outside the study area, there is a cluster of accommodation around North Cross-Alma Road, there are also road-related hotels at Marsh Mills and business hotels at Derriford.

There is currently a lack of capacity for conference attendants, while Plymouth Pavilions can host 2,500 delegates, 3 and 4 stars hotels only offer 1,903 rooms³³⁶. Guest houses are more guided by family and personal aims and are often not competitive, for example they have the difficulty of providing en-suite facilities. The City Council cites a number of sites for potential hotel development within the study area, namely the Admiralty House, Coxside, Millbay, the Palace Theatre, Plymouth Pavilions and Royal William Yard.

336 Essex S. Position paper on tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 24.



Accommodation facilities within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

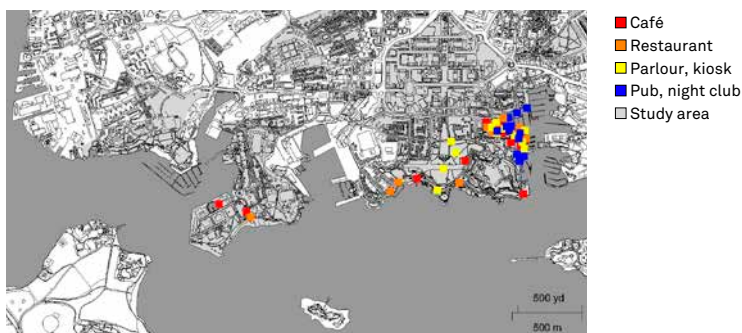
10 Eating and drinking

Gastronomy is another aspect which Plymouth is keen on promoting. The city offers some traditional specialties from Devon and Cornwall such as fish and seafood, cream tea, pasties and Plymouth Gin. The Flavour Fest highlights the culinary offer of the city.

The importance of restaurants, cafes and pubs can be seen in the extensive attention given in guidebooks and even more in leaflets. Webpages also recommend some places and delights to eat and drink.

Four categories have been distinguished, namely cafes, restaurants, parlours and kiosks, and pubs and night clubs. Parlours and kiosks include all premises offering food to eat in the street such as fast food, sweets, fudge, bakeries, ice creams and the like. Only establishments in areas with a high presence of visitors or where the numbers of people increases dramatically in bank holidays and major events have been considered. It does not mean that tourists do not visit premises in other areas, especially in the City Centre, which offers a wide range of restaurants and cafes, but in this area the demand is constant all week long. The City Centre is not promoted by guidebooks or other tourist sources regarding eating and drinking, as well as Union Street, which is the largest night life district in Plymouth but it is mostly enjoyed by residents.

Taking only into account the tourist references, it can be concluded that the Barbican concentrates in a very limited area most of the cafes, restaurants, parlours and pubs advertised for visitors. Outlets serving traditional specialties are also concentrated in the Barbican. The Hoe and especially its waterfront offers a number of establishments as well, more dispersed than in the Barbican. In Stonehouse waterfront there is a cafe and a restaurant frequented by people who come to sunbathe or to enjoy the views and in Royal William Yard there are a couple of premises facing the marina.



Eating and drinking facilities within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

11 Shopping

It is one of the main attractions of the city and it is dedicated special attention in leaflets. Guidebooks and webpages also promote shopping as a reason to visit Plymouth. Four categories have been distinguished, namely art galleries, craft and specialist shops, souvenirs shops and finally the City Centre shopping area.

Art galleries help to identify the Barbican as a distinct “art quarter”, some of them have occupied old warehouses. Crafts and specialist shops concentrate in the Barbican as well, they fit with the promotion of the Barbican as a historic neighbourhood and offer good quality products in locally run shops. Standard souvenirs are not as extended as in other cities, probably thanks to the existence of alternative shops of better quality, there are some examples of these on the Barbican too. Finally, the City Centre shopping area as a whole is one of the main reasons for visitors from the surrounding region to come to the city. National and international chains gather around Old Town Street and Armada Way, there are also two indoor shopping centres, namely Drake Circus and Armada Centre. The area around the City Market is being promoted as an “independent quarter”, with locally run specialist shops.



Main shopping facilities used by tourists within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

12 Tourist information and services

This group covers all means of showing visitors what to visit or where to look at. It includes explanations, plaques, plans, visitor centres, street signage and advertisements. In this group, we have also taken into account public toilets, which are a useful service for pedestrians, and townscape initiatives, which are concentrated in certain areas. Other services that help to improve visitors' perception are security and waste management, in the case of Plymouth these services are adapted to every neighbourhood and in general terms they work efficiently. In the waterfront, Barbican and City Centre, dedicated cleansing programmes are established.

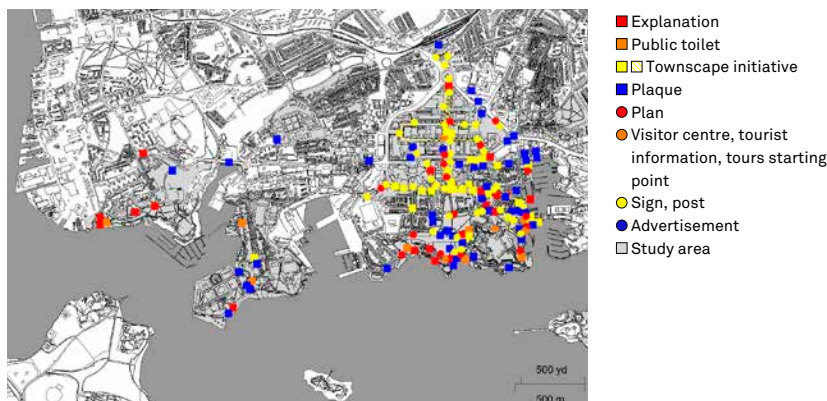
Under the framework of the City Centre Business Improvement District, some initiatives have been developed regarding cleansing, such as the Rapid Response Clean Team, a small mechanised sweeper to enhance cleanliness during shopping hours 7 days week, a steam cleaner to continuously remove chewing gum and clean pavements, additional larger capacity litter bins targeting food outlets and other high litter areas, a strategy of removing all graffiti and flyposting in the Business Improvement District area within 24 hours including private premises, a new enforcement code for fast food outlets and street cafes, a cardboard recycling scheme and additional car parking cleansing³³⁷. A similar initiative has been defined in the area included in the Waterfront Business Improvement District.

Explanations and plaques showing information about particular items or events are widespread in the city. Public toilets are regularly distributed as well and some of them are located in the busiest areas of the Barbican, Armada Way or the Hoe. In the last years, a number of townscape initiatives have been developed. The Barbican has conserved its cobblestones and its harbour floorcape and it has added artistic furniture, lighting, public art and street cafes. Public art has been extended around Royal Parade and Bretonside. Armada Way and some of its adjacent streets present cafes, landscaping and a varied floorscape. The area around the City Market has been recently regenerated too. Plans and street signage concentrate in major routes such as Armada Way, Barbican approaches and around the railway station. Advertisement clusters for pedestrians are located in the Barbican, around Southside Street and New Street.

Safety is another aspect highly valued by visitors and special initiatives are under way to reduce problems in tourist areas such as antisocial behaviour in the Barbican or litter in the City Centre. Devon and Cornwall Police has some strategies to reduce implications of night-time economy. Plymouth City Safe focuses on a responsible sale of alcohol, customer safety, good

337 Plymouth City Council. City Centre Business Improvement District project suggestions. Op cit. p. 2-3.

neighbourhood relations and exclusion of troublemakers. Plymouth After Dark is centred on reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder in Stonehouse and the City Centre, including the night life area of Union Street³³⁸. The police also give advice for businesses, helping to reduce conflicts such as vandalism, graffiti, speeding, littering, dog fouling, nuisance neighbours and intimidating groups taking over public spaces.³³⁹



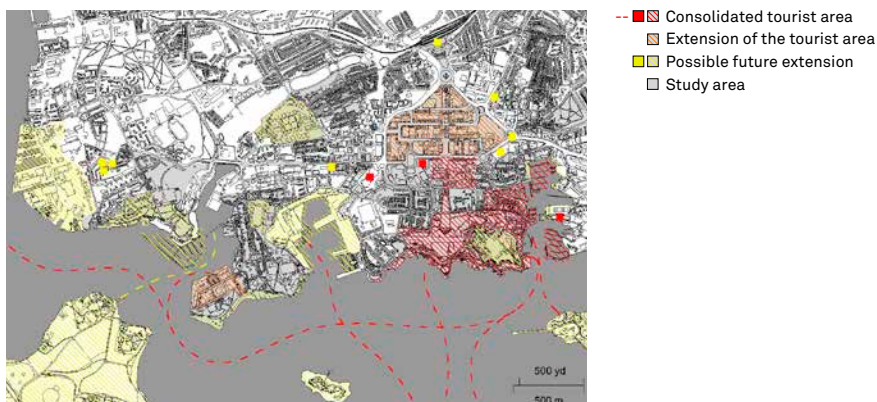
Tourist information and services within the study area and close surroundings. Source: the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

Taking everything into account, the consolidated tourist area covers the Barbican, the Hoe with its waterfront and the area around the Guildhall. Other significant assets are the marinas, ferries, National Marine Aquarium, Plymouth Pavilions and Theatre Royal. Areas where tourist activity is growing thanks to regeneration and marketing projects are the City Centre, Royal William Yard and Millbay, considering that the cruise terminal is

finally developed. Potential areas are South Yard, Mount Wise and Ker Street monuments in Devonport, the Sound including Mount Edgcumbe, the Cremyll Ferry, Drake's Island, Mount Batten, Stonehouse's waterfront, the main military areas of Royal Marine Barracks, Royal Naval Hospital and the Royal Citadel, the eastern and northern area of Sutton Harbour, the train and bus stations which need upgrading, the City Museum and Art Gallery, the Palace Theatre and Charles Church.

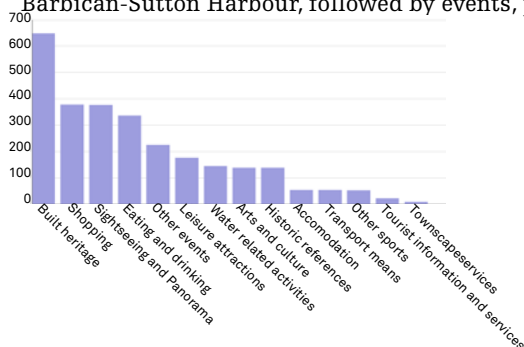
338 Essex S. Position paper on tourism in Plymouth. Op cit. p. 39.

339 Devon and Cornwall Police [Internet]. Op cit.

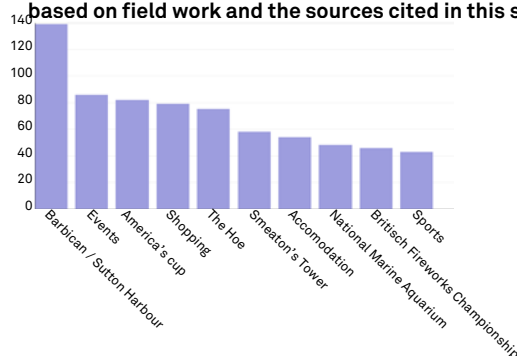


Consolidated tourist area and extension. *Source:* the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.

The most cited type of resources is built heritage, followed by shopping and sightseeing, and panorama. Focusing on specific assets, the most cited one is the Barbican-Sutton Harbour, followed by events, particularly the America's Cup.



Plymouth's main tourist assets by type and number of references. *Source:* the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.



Plymouth's main tourist assets by particular elements and number of references. *Source:* the author, based on field work and the sources cited in this section.



ACTORS AND INITIATIVES INVOLVED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TOURIST-HISTORIC CITY

200

Tourist development of the historic city is not only restricted to marketing policies or to preserving and enhancing the built environment, it is also linked to a number of organisations and initiatives which directly or indirectly have a role in improving the attractiveness of an area. These policies involve different regulations, plans, programmes, projects and actions. According to Brito, three groups of policies can be distinguished, namely tourism, urban planning and culture-heritage. We have added a fourth group: economy, since the maintenance and success of urban regeneration, built heritage preservation and tourism promotion policies are strongly linked to economic development in general. Economic development is also directly linked to city marketing and branding and to the development of the creative industries in particular. The four groups are strongly interconnected. Most of the initiatives serve to a variety of interests and affect different issues. The inclusion of each policy in one or other group is determined by which aspect is the motor of the initiative. Below, the different policies affecting management of the tourist-historic city of Plymouth between 2010 and 2014 have been analyzed.



Policies applied in the management of the tourist-historic city. Source: the author.

These policies are led and applied by three main bodies of actors, according to Ashworth's methodology these are the public administration, private sector and voluntary organisations. These groups of actors are linked with each other and the division is sometimes unclear, for example partnerships created by the public and private sectors are very common. In addition, voluntary organisations usually work hand in hand with the administration through advisory functions, citizenship involvement and funding. Private and voluntary sectors also collaborate through sponsorship. In many cases, the three bodies work together successfully, as it can be seen in some regeneration initiatives.

The role of civil society organisations in the city and the relationship between the public and voluntary sector is regulated by two agreements, namely the Plymouth Compact and the Third Sector Strategy.

Plymouth Compact³⁴⁰ was issued by the Plymouth's Local Strategic Partnership, also called Plymouth 2020. It is based on the national Compact, at the time of writing it was under revision to adapt it to the national Compact 2010³⁴¹. The agreement seeks to make it easier for the third sector to influence policy development, consultation, funding and procurement. Consultation processes are made clearer and Statements of Community Involvement are required to provide consistent standards for involvement

³⁴⁰ Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership. Plymouth Compact. Improving partnership working between the public and third sectors. 2009. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/lspcompact>

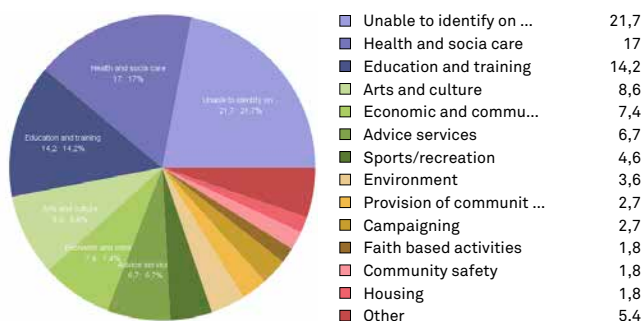
³⁴¹ Her Majesty's Government. The Compact. The Coalition Government and civil society organisations working effectively in partnership for the benefit of communities and citizens in England. London; 2010. Available from: <http://www.compactvoice.org.uk/about-compact>

in decision making. The objective is to achieve the involvement of public and private organisations, third sector and individuals in influencing Plymouth's future.

The Third Sector Strategy 2010-2013³⁴² was developed by the City Council and the Plymouth Third Sector Consortium to ensure that civil society organisations are able to better engage with decision makers. It is a response to the rapid growth that third sector has had thanks to regeneration funding since the 1990s, with initiatives like the Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities. In this document, Plymouth has been divided into six areas or localities, civil organisations in every locality work together with the administration in many issues related to urban regeneration and public realm, including streetscape improvement and environmental enhancement.

The third sector collaborated in the extinct Plymouth Community Partnership and it takes part nowadays in the Plymouth's Local Strategic Partnership, usually called Plymouth 2020, through the Plymouth Guild and Plymouth Third Sector Consortium.

202



Main activity of Plymouth's voluntary organisations. Source: the author, based on: Whitfield Consultancy. The infrastructure needs of frontline third sector organisations in Plymouth. 2009. p. 31.

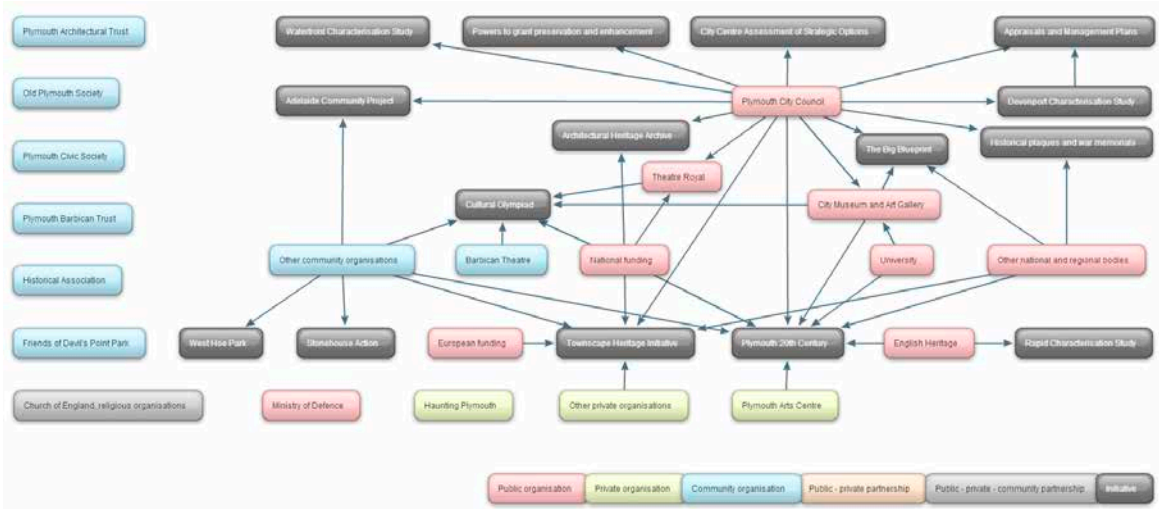
³⁴² Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership, Plymouth Third Sector Consortium. A Third Sector Strategy for Plymouth 2010-2013. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/communityandliving/plymouth2020/lspstrategies/lspthirdsectorstrategy.htm>

ACTORS AND INITITIVES FOCUSED ON CULTURE AND HERITAGE

Built heritage is a main tourist asset in Plymouth. In order to preserve and promote it, a number of specific initiatives are displayed apart from the preservation and management framework already explained. Some of these initiatives are more urban regeneration-related, while others are closer to culture promotion. There is a wide range of actors involved from the public, private and voluntary sectors.

MAIN ACTORS INVOLVED IN CULTURE AND HERITAGE-RELATED INITIATIVES

Within the public sector, the main actor is Plymouth City Council as a whole, diversified into specialised departments. As it has been previously explained, the City Council manages local heritage lists and buildings at risk registers. The City Museum and Art Gallery leads a wide range of initiatives aimed at spreading culture and knowledge concerning history, art and heritage in the city. Some of its activities are guided walks, holiday workshops, lunchtime talks about diverse topics related to Plymouth's heritage and history, exhibitions focused on communities and displays organised in partnership with the University and the College of Art.



Main actors and initiatives involved in culture and heritage management.
Source: the author, based on the policies explained in this section.

The City Council is responsible for the main regulations and projects regarding heritage preservation and tourism promotion of historic areas. It has developed the conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans. Other initiatives

where it has been involved are the Plymouth Townscape Heritage Initiative, developed with other bodies, and the Plymouth City Centre Precinct Assessment of Strategic Options for the Management of its Heritage Assets.

The Ministry of Defence owns and keeps in use some of the most valuable heritage sites in Plymouth, namely the Royal Citadel, Royal Marines Barracks and the South Yard in Devonport Dockyards. Military forces have shaped the urban form of the city and its history, they are still a key part of its economy and cultural identity and they have been involved in a number of regeneration initiatives concerning former military sites. The former Royal Naval Hospital was turned into a residential and educational precinct, Mount Wise was released to create an open waterfront park, the South Yard Enclave is being redeveloped into Devonport's urban centre and the former Royal William Victualling Yard has been transformed into a mixed use development and a potential tourist attraction.



Main gate of the Royal Citadel, erected 1670, designed by Sir Thomas Fitz.
Source: the author.

There is a variety of private bodies involved in a wide range of heritage and culture initiatives in the city. The Barbican Theatre is located at the heart of the Barbican, very close to Mayflower Visitor Centre and Mayflower Steps. It produces new theatre and contemporary dance with young people as leaders and encourages its audiences and participants to collaborate in the programme, events and celebrations in the venue. The original theatre was established in 1980 as a registered charity, in 1986 it won a campaign to save the privately owned 'Serenade Arts' building, where the theatre is currently located. Between 1998 and 2001, the company completed two phases of refurbishment funded by the National Lottery through the Arts Council of England. The building has now a 140 fixed seat auditorium, a studio space and a cafe-bar with a second stage.³⁴³

Plymouth Arts Centre is focused on contemporary visual arts and independent film and provides a popular social and cultural meeting place. It has got three galleries, cinema, artist studio, education and multipurpose studio space and an organic cafe.

³⁴³ Barbican Theatre [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Who we are [3 screens]. Available from: http://www.barbicantheatre.co.uk/who_we_are.php

The Theatre Royal is funded by the City Council, Arts Council England and the Theatre Royal Applause Club. According to information given by the theatre, it is the leading promoter of theatre in the South West. The theatre is divided into two performance spaces, the Theatre Royal and Drum Theatre. It also manages TR2, a production and education centre.

The third sector includes a significant number of organisations which have influence on a great variety of issues related to heritage. Plymouth Civic Society is an organisation that stimulates appreciation of Plymouth's history and character, and encourages preservation and enhancement of features that increase the area's attractiveness. It arranges meetings, lectures, study groups, cultural activities, exhibitions, publications and social activities. The Society is involved in promoting preservation in conservation areas, stimulating tourist attractiveness and policy making such as Area Action Plans.

The Old Plymouth Society was officially established in 1929 and in 1992 it experienced a rebirth. Its aim is to promote interest, research and preservation of Plymouth's heritage. It organises lectures regularly, visits to places not open to the general public, walks and publications. As it has been explained, it has had a deep impact in the history of heritage preservation in Plymouth since their opposition to the demolition of 32 New Street in 1927, which is now the Elizabethan House, and the fight against postwar slum clearance programmes which led to the creation of the Plymouth Barbican Association in 1957. The Society has nowadays around 250 members.³⁴⁴

Plymouth Barbican Trust is the current name of the Plymouth Barbican Association. It has a remarkable position on leading heritage preservation and enhancement. It is a non-profit making charity whose objectives are preserving buildings of historic or architectural value in the city. As it has been mentioned, it owns 25 properties, including the Elizabethan Gardens. The Association does not sell the restored buildings, they are let to small local businesses, organisations and tenants at affordable prices. Thus, a community of artists and craftspeople was attracted by the regenerated area. The Association also provides plaques and has contributed in the restoration of the Prysten House. In 2007, they created the South West Image Bank to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Association, which houses a collection of two million photographs from the Western Morning News and Evening Herald. It is located in 32 Looe Street, one of the properties managed by the Association. Among the documents that can be found there are 167 individual archives dating back to the 1870s.

344 Old Plymouth Society [Internet]. c2012-[cited 2014 Nov 2]. Home [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.oldplymouthsociety.net/index.php>



Plaque showing the names and personal details of the people who set sail on board the Mayflower.
Source: the author.

The Historical Association is a national charity that has a branch in Plymouth, it organises lectures and meetings in the University about general and local history.

Plymouth Architectural Trust is a charity included in the Architecture Centre Devon and Cornwall, it was founded in 1972. Its aim is to promote a debate about the quality of Plymouth's architecture and places, through lectures and visits to special buildings. It also participates in planning decisions of future developments and registers of historic buildings of architectural merit.

The Anglican Church owns St Andrew's Parish Church, the most visited religious monument. Other valuable religious buildings in use are St Paul's Church and St Peter's Church in Stonehouse, Church of Christ the King on the Hoe and the Methodist Central Hall, Unitarian Church, Baptist Church and the Synagogue in the City Centre. Former religious buildings nowadays reused to other purposes are Charles Church, a war memorial, and Sherwell Centre, a University venue.

> SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON CULTURE AND HERITAGE

The main plans responsible for preserving and managing changes affecting the built heritage and the special character of conservation areas are the conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans. Apart from them, the City Council leads regeneration initiatives focusing on townscape, the waterfront and the City Centre. Moreover, it has its own policy on historical plaques and participates in some city wide cultural initiatives. The private sector participates widely in physical regeneration and leads a particular initiative regarding non-material heritage. Voluntary organisations are deeply involved in heritage-related initiatives, particularly in actions in specific

areas, such as those in Adelaide Street, Stonehouse and West Hoe. All conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans follow the same structure, consisting in an introduction to the area, definition of sub-areas regarding their particular character and threats, analysis and a management plan. Analysis cover listed buildings and buildings that make a positive contribution to the area, building age and height, key views and spaces, land uses and townscape aspects. The management plan considers statutory and other designations.

It includes enforcement policies, a list of buildings for their inclusion at the Buildings at Risk Register, opportunities for preservation enhancement, monitoring and a review procedure. Some of the plans also include proposals for enlargement of conservation area boundaries.

Conservation Area Appraisals and Management Plans are reviewed every 3-5 years, their primary purposes are to identify issues that impact upon the character of the area and suggest solutions, assist the restoration and reuse of buildings at risk and reinstate the street scene. The plans establish controls on uses, position, scale, massing and materials of buildings. Moreover, provisions for high quality contemporary architecture, restorations and replications are included. Buildings making a negative contribution to the character of the area are identified and proposed for replacement. The plans seek to retain historic surfaces and street furniture, as well as historic views and vistas. There are also controls for all aspects affecting the public realm, including surface parking provision, transports, advertising, frontages and signage. These plans are adapted to the character and needs of every conservation area. A problem affecting all areas is the cumulative alteration in the form of inappropriate addition or alteration of doors, windows, boundary walls, railings, wall finishes and loss of architectural details. Other widespread problems are the use of rear gardens for garages, the introduction of cables, conduits and satellite dishes and the loss of historic surfaces and street furniture.

In Adelaide Street, a general problem is the high number of properties in multiple occupation which have had very little maintenance over long periods. There is also a group of empty properties and vacant sites dating from the Second World War bombings which are used for car parking.³⁴⁵

In the Barbican, the Royal Citadel walls are identified as a strong boundary and barrier to the south west of the neighbourhood, which is regarded as a problem without an easy solution. There is a vast underused space around Commercial Wharf, Phoenix Wharf, Elphinstone Wharf and Lambhay Hill car park. Postwar reconstruction was insensitive to the historic street pattern

³⁴⁵ Plymouth City Council. Adelaide Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 19.

and some buildings identified as negative to the area are Bretonside Bus Station, Magistrates' Court surrounding streets, Mayflower Visitor Centre and the public toilets. Traffic is also a problem on the Barbican, especially in Southside Street during the summer, and North Quay and Sutton Wharf exceed in car parking surface, creating a barrier to the waterside. The plan considers that the sense of community created by families living and working there and the mix of uses are key assets to be retained when considering future proposals.³⁴⁶

The Devonport Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan was based on the Devonport Characterisation Study, a comprehensive study on urban morphology, architectural significance and character areas in the town which included recommendations of enlarging the boundaries of the conservation area and listing a number of buildings³⁴⁷. The main issues identified in this area were dereliction due to lack of viable economic use and loss of the historic street pattern, surfaces and furniture after war and postwar redevelopments. These redevelopments left a poor quality townscape, dominated by cars and traffics. Opportunities have arisen with the release of some areas by the Ministry of Defence, such as Mount Wise, where an open waterfront park

was created though it is underused, and Southyard Storage Enclave, where there is an opportunity to re-create an urban centre for the town based on the lost street pattern.³⁴⁸

The Ebrington Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan detected empty or poorly maintained properties as one of the main problems in the area, along with insensitive modern developments, poor quality frontages and a poor public realm.³⁴⁹



Ebrington Street. Source: the author.

³⁴⁶ Plymouth City Council. Barbican Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 38-43.

³⁴⁷ Plymouth City Council. Devonport Characterisation Study & Management Proposals. 2006. p. 106-122.

³⁴⁸ Plymouth City Council. Devonport Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. Proposals. p. 10-18.

³⁴⁹ Plymouth City Council. Ebrington Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 40-48.

The Hoe Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan divided the neighbourhood into four character areas, namely the Royal Citadel, Hoe Park, residential streets and the waterfront. These areas have very different uses and needs, such as a military base, an open recreational park, a residential neighbourhood and the narrow stretch of the foreshore containing a number of 19th and 20th century bathing structures. The quality of the conservation area is very high. The main problem is the deterioration and lack of use of some bathing facilities and modern insensitive developments such as the Holiday Inn on Armada Way and the Quality Inn on Leigham Street. The plan also considers the replacement of other buildings that have a negative impact on the character of the area.³⁵⁰

The Millfields Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan refers to the former Royal Naval Hospital. This area has been converted into a mainly residential gated neighbourhood with negative consequences for the character of the area, such as the creation of domestic gardens in former communal spaces and breaches in the historic boundary wall.³⁵¹

The North Stonehouse Area Appraisal and Management Plan considers that many problems affecting the area's heritage are related to its inclusion in one of the most deprived areas in the country: St Peter's Ward. There are problems of poor additions and loss of architectural detail, use of rear gardens for car parking and demolition of boundary walls to provide access to houses. Many properties are in multiple occupation and have had very little maintenance over long periods and some bombed sites have not yet been restored. The plan identifies several potential sites for enhancement of the area, most of them around Victoria Park.³⁵²

The Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan identifies dereliction and disrepair as the main problem in the area, this is particularly severe in the sea walls. It also considers the retention of historic surfaces and structures as an opportunity to preserve the character of the area. Some parts still need public access improvement, especially Royal William Yard and the waterfront between the Yard and Millbay. Another problem is the entrance to the peninsula through Stonehouse Bridge, which provides a bad impression. Views to and from the conservation area are regarded as a key asset needing preserving and enhancement of the waterfront would increase its attractiveness.³⁵³

350 Plymouth City Council. The Hoe Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 14-39.

351 Plymouth City Council. Millfields Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 23-27.

352 Plymouth City Council. North Stonehouse Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 27-38.

353 Plymouth City Council. Stonehouse Peninsula Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. Op cit. p. 41-46.

Finally, the Union Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan has to deal with the most derelict historic area in Plymouth, which has suffered a significant decline since World War II and is evident in poorly maintained, underused and empty properties. The Palace Theatre is one of these empty properties, the restoration of this landmark building would contribute notably to the architectural and historic interest of the conservation area.³⁵⁴

Apart from conservation areas Appraisals and Management Plans, there are a number of initiatives developed by the City Council regarding heritage preservation and management, namely the Townscape Heritage Initiative,

the Waterfront Characterisation Study, the City Centre Precinct Assessment of Strategic Options for the Management of its Heritage Assets and the Plymouth Rapid Characterisation Study.

The Plymouth Townscape Heritage Initiative was developed thanks to a grant given by the Heritage Lottery Fund in 1999. It was funded primarily through the Single Regeneration Budget, European Regional Development Fund Objective 2, Housing Corporation, Heritage Lottery Fund and private sector funding. It covered all the conservation areas in Stonehouse and ran together with other regeneration initiatives. It was developed by the City Council in collaboration with businesses, interests groups, residents and other bodies such as the South West Regional Development Agency, English Partnerships and the Plymouth Empty Homes Partnership, among others. The objective of the initiative was to find solutions to the problem of underused and derelict historic buildings and the neglected public realm. It consisted in two phases: 2001-2004 and 2003-2006³⁵⁵. The first phase was focused on upgrading housing and businesses, the second phase was centred on restoring buildings at risk. The initiative combined social, commercial and heritage elements successfully in a severely run-down area, with serious problems regarding unemployment, crime and health. It helped to reduce the number of empty homes and to improve the urban environment, reinstating architectural features and details with traditional materials. The initiative was also a catalyst in accelerating private sector-led regeneration without any grant aid, it has been used as a model for similar projects in countries which have recently joined the European Union such as Slovenia and Hungary.

The Waterfront Characterisation Study 2006 is a comprehensive study covering from West Hoe to Cattedown and from the forefront to North Hill, including the Barbican, the Hoe, the City Centre and Ebrington Street. It

354 Plymouth City Council. Union Street Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan. 2007. p. 29-30.

355 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Townscape Heritage Initiative phase 2 (2003 to 2006) [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/thiphase2>

analysed the different character areas and arose some opportunities and recommendations for heritage preservation and enhancement, creating the evidence base for the subsequent Area Action Plans. It was developed in 2006 by Alan Baxter & Associates for the City Council and English Heritage and follows on from a characterisation study of the whole city, produced by the same authors in 2005.

In the City Centre, the most significant proposal was to declare it a conservation area, which is still under debate and the statutory listing of some buildings like Louis de Soissons's churches, National Provincial Bank and Theatre Royal. It considered that other buildings merited local listing, namely NAAFI (demolished in 2010), the Civic Centre (now listed grade II), Pearl Assurance House, the Co-op buildings, Armada House, Norwich Union House, the Post Office, Church of Christ the King and Athenaeum Theatre. Other proposals were destined to solve some of the problems derived by the implementation of the Plan for Plymouth, like improvement of the pedestrian links across the ring roads through the replacement of footbridges and subways and the reduction of roads width, reintegration of the City Centre with Sutton Harbour through the redevelopment of Charles Church area and the Bus Station, increase of the buildings height, improvement of the quality of North Hill entrance to Armada Way and encouragement of mixed uses.³⁵⁶

211

On the Hoe, the study proposed to extend the conservation area limits integrating West Hoe and it recommended statutory and local listing of a number of terraced houses. The problem of on-street car parking around the Citadel and the waterfront was identified. The creation of new pedestrian links were proposed along the waterfront, to Millbay and from the City Centre to the Hoe and Barbican. It also suggested that the extension of public access to the Citadel should be negotiated with the Ministry of Defence. Moreover, the study proposed the renovation of landscaping, uses, surfaces, park structures, planting and lighting on Hoe Park and Promenade.

In Ebrington Street, the main proposal was to designate a conservation area, which did not exist before. The study also suggested to list some 18th century houses and to control that developments respect the potentially significant archaeological remains.

Finally, in Sutton Harbour it was proposed that the Barbican Conservation Area should be extended in order to include Coxside, which has not been carried out yet, and the statutory listing of some buildings. The study encouraged a sympathetic redevelopment of the low quality postwar buildings and the regeneration of Coxside, respecting historic elements and patterns.

356 Alan Baxter & Associates. Plymouth waterfront characterisation study. Prepared for Plymouth City Council y English Heritage; 2006. p. 90.

Plymouth City Centre Precinct Assessment of Strategic Options for the Management of its Heritage Assets was a report prepared by the City Council in 2008. It consists of a review of the heritage significance of the City Centre for the preparation of the Area Action Plan. The report disagreed with the proposal of designating the whole City Centre as a conservation area and increasing the number of statutory listed buildings, because it would detract private investment due to redevelopment restrictions. This opinion was also followed by the opposition by the City Council to the statutory listing of the Civic Centre, which was intended to be replaced by a shopping centre. Instead of declaring a conservation area, the report suggested to better manage the City Council's property rights since it owns the greatest part of the City Centre's land, and to consider a number of buildings for local listing, whose statutory protection would depend on Area Action Plan policies.³⁵⁷

The Plymouth Rapid Characterisation Study 2005 analysed the historic character of the city and the way it could contribute to the Local Development Framework, Area Action Plans and the regeneration programme. It was developed by Alan Baxter & Associates in 2005 for English Heritage and it served as evident base for the preparation of the City Council's Local Development Framework. The objective was to place Plymouth's built heritage at the heart of the planning policy and the regeneration agenda, solving the limitations detected in the previous Local Plan and regeneration initiatives in Sutton Harbour and Royal William Yard. The study covered the whole city boundaries, including the little recognised Plan for Plymouth's suburbs, the ancient settlements of Plymstock and Plympton, absorbed by the city in 1967, and the rich military heritage where Lord Palmerston Forts stand out. The opportunities and issues arisen by the study were divided into geology and topography, movement routes, historic growth, Plymouth and the sea, the influence of the Navy and Military and Abercrombie's postwar replanning.³⁵⁸

The report pointed out that Plymouth's topography offers dramatic locations and views which have not already been fully exploited. It also stated the potential of the city's heritage to attract an increasing number of visitors. Regarding regeneration policies, the study stressed the opportunity to reverse the erosion of postwar insensitive redevelopment especially in Devonport and Stonehouse, taking advantage of the presence of landmark buildings which survived the Blitz and have remained out of context such as the Palace Theatre and the monuments in Ker Street. The report also stated that conservation areas offer a framework to ensure retention and enhancement of the historic character and a possibility to access specific sources of regeneration funding

³⁵⁷ Plymouth City Council, Planning Services. Plymouth City Centre precinct, assessment of strategic options for the management of its heritage assets. 2008. p. 6-36.

³⁵⁸ Alan Baxter & Associates. Plymouth Rapid Urban Character Study. Prepared for English Heritage South West Region; 2005. p. 31.

from Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage. Because of that, it was proposed to enlarge them and designate new ones.

In relation to the waterfront, the report stated that the city could do more to appreciate its potential, especially now that the harbours are being reused for leisure purposes. This potential was checked in the demand of high quality housing in Royal William Yard, which risks becoming an upmarket ghetto and giving aside the need for better links to the waterfront and a greater choice of housing types.

The strong influence in the city's character of the Navy and the Military was recognised. The current process of property release is leading to unemployment and economic deprivation but it is also an extraordinary opportunity for regeneration using historic buildings and welcoming new activities and employers. This type of heritage has a common problem of difficult accessibility due to its original use. In addition, a better permeability is needed to ensure its economic viability.

Apart from the plans already mentioned, the City Council has its own policy on historical plaques. They add interest to the local built environment and help local residents and visitors to understand the history and character of the city. The City Council has been involved with the display of commemorative plaques for over 100 years and it manages its own catalogue with the following categories: "City" and "Blue" Circular Plaques, Arrivals and Departures, Buildings and Monuments, In Memory, Local History, More People and Places and Other Plaques. Everyone can suggest a plaque to a person of significance, for both local people and visitors to the city, who made some quantifiable contribution to the course of history, human welfare and happiness, technology, engineering, science, art and literature. The City Council is also responsible for maintaining all but one war memorials, namely the Naval War Memorial on the Hoe, which is managed by the Commonwealth War Grave Commission. It also runs the Plymouth's Architectural Heritage archive, a project granted by the Heritage Lottery Fund which documents the growth of the city and its architectural changes since 1851.³⁵⁹

359 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Plymouth's architectural heritage [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/plymouthsarchitecturalheritage>



Naval War Memorial. Source: the author.

In 2012, the City Council was involved in the national Cultural Olympiad programme, together with organisations that contribute to the city's cultural scene. The aim was that the Games should leave a lasting legacy that improves cultural life and showcases excellence in performing arts and creative industries, thus encouraging economic regeneration and tourism. The programme covered a series of events focused on Plymouth's history, heritage and cultural offer.³⁶⁰

An initiative related to the Cultural Olympiad was called "The Big Blueprint". It was a project which commissioned contemporary art works and three paintings from the Museum and Archives Collection for the south facing side of the Big Screen. The project involved the City Council, the City Museum and Art Gallery, the BBC and the City Centre Company.

Another relevant heritage-related project was Plymouth 20th Century City. It was created in 2009 with funding from Heritage Lottery Fund, it was developed by the Architecture Centre Devon and Cornwall and supported by many other private, public and voluntary bodies involved in the preservation of the city's heritage, including English Heritage, the University, Plymouth Arts Centre, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery and Plymouth City Centre Company. Its aim was to encourage people to explore Plymouth's 20th century planning, architecture and design, focusing on the Plan for Plymouth and its development. The organisation developed a number of events, material for schools and families, a walking trail and a guide with the most representative buildings and spaces from 1920 to 1978.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Cultural olympiad [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/culturalolympiad>

³⁶¹ Plymouth: 20th century city [Internet]. Plymouth: Architecture Centre Devon and Cornwall; c2010- [cited 2014 Nov 2]. About [6 screens]. Available from: <http://www.20thcenturycity.org.uk/about.html>

An original initiative led by the private sector, in this case regarding non-material heritage, are the walks organised by “Haunted Plymouth”. They are focused on the wide range of stories that are told in Plymouth’s historic city about ghosts, spectres and haunted inns. These walks take place on a weekly basis and are developed on the Barbican and its surroundings.

One of the most successful projects led by voluntary organisations is the Adelaide Community Project. It is a regeneration initiative developed by the City Council and the local community in the Adelaide Street Conservation Area, a severely deprived neighbourhood. Street surfaces, lighting and the public realm were upgraded in a coherent manner with the designs of John Foulston in the 1830s. Residents participated in the election of design and materials and helped to plan the works, they collaborate currently in

maintaining the scheme. This initiative has been acknowledged nationally through the Local Government News Street Design Awards 2008 and the Abercrombie Award, Best Community Design category in 2007. It was also finalist to the Royal Town Planning Institute awards in 2008³⁶². In the North Stonehouse Conservation Area, Friends of Wyndham Square was established in 2010 to deliver a similar initiative, in one of the 3% most deprived neighbourhoods nationally.³⁶³

In Devil’s Point, there is another project led by voluntary organisations: the Friends of Devil’s Point Park. The group develops a plan for physical enhancement and cultural development of the southern edge of Stonehouse. This section of Plymouth’s waterfront is a site of Special Scientific Interest and contains listed and scheduled buildings. A difficulty is that the area belongs to several land owners and is widely underused. One objective is to preserve the historic remains, including World War II defences and the Reservoir House. Another objective is to link the park with Royal William Yard and to include the area in the South West Coast Path. Foreshore swimming facilities are intended to be restored as well. Some of the new activities that are expected to be incorporated are an outdoor auditorium, diving facilities and stores, a sea angling fishing centre, rental of Admiralty Cottages for holiday use and regular events. The plan would incorporate a marketing strategy to promote it as a visitor destination.³⁶⁴

362 Adelaide Community Project [Internet]. PebblePad; c2010-[updated 2012 Mar 23; cited 2014 Nov 2]. Screens 1-3 [5 screens]. Available from: <http://e-portfolio.plymouth.ac.uk/viewasset.aspx?oid=126157&type=webfolio&pageoid=140886>

363 Friends of Wyndham Square [Internet]. [updated 2012 Nov 2; cited 2014 Nov 2]. [21 screens]. Available from: <http://friendsofwyndhamsq.wordpress.com/>

364 The Friends of Devil’s Point Park [Internet]. [updated 2012 Mar 30; cited 2014 Nov 2]. [4 screens]. Available from: <http://www.devilspointpark.org.uk/>

Civil society organisations are leading another interesting initiative called Stonehouse Action. It is developed by a group of local volunteers whose aim is to involve residents in the regeneration of Union Street. In 2011, they developed the action “Love Union Street. Love the Palace” consisting in putting new banners covering empty shops and sites and promoting local businesses. Since 2009 the group organises the annual “Union Street Party”, seeking to celebrate Union Street’s past and present inspired by the Palace Theatre.³⁶⁵

A recent successful action led by the volunteer sector was to stop the development of part of West Hoe Park. The park is located in the foreshore, on a site left by a 19th century quarry. The City Council approved to sell the land in order to develop residential apartments, a ground-floor restaurant, public toilet facilities and a basement car park. A pressure group was created to turn the land into public recreational facilities, respecting the character of the area. The group was formed by Friends of West Hoe Park and the Plymouth Civic Society. It was supported by English Heritage and some City Council departments and councillors. They collected 26,000 signatures, sent letters of objection, attended several meetings with the City Council and attracted wide media coverage. In the meantime, the empty site was cleaned up and maintained by the neighbours on a voluntary base. The development project was approved by the planning officers but was finally turned down by the councillors. Some of the arguments given by the objectors against the project were the over-dominance of the proposed building in the conservation area³⁶⁶, its excessive scale and massing and the loss of light that would have caused to the neighbours behind.³⁶⁷

365 Stonehouse Action [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Stonehouse Action [1 screen]. About us [2 screens]. Union Street 2012 [3 screens]. Available from: <http://www.stonehouseaction.btck.co.uk/>

366 Plymouth City Council. Planning Committee Addendum Report. 2012 Jan 12. p. 3. It can be found in: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. Council and democracy / Councillors and committees / Browse meetings / Planning Committee / 12 Jan 2012 1.00 pm / Addendum. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/modgov?modgovlink=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.plymouth.gov.uk%2FmgInternet%2FieListDocuments.aspx%3FCId%3D251%26amp%3BMId%3D4560%26amp%3BVer%3D4>

367 Ibidem. 2012 Sep 22. p. 3. It can be found in: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. Council and democracy. Op cit. 22 Sep 2011 1.00 pm / Addendum. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/modgov?modgovlink=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.plymouth.gov.uk%2FmgInternet%2FieListDocuments.aspx%3FCId%3D251%26amp%3BMId%3D4556%26amp%3BVer%3D4>

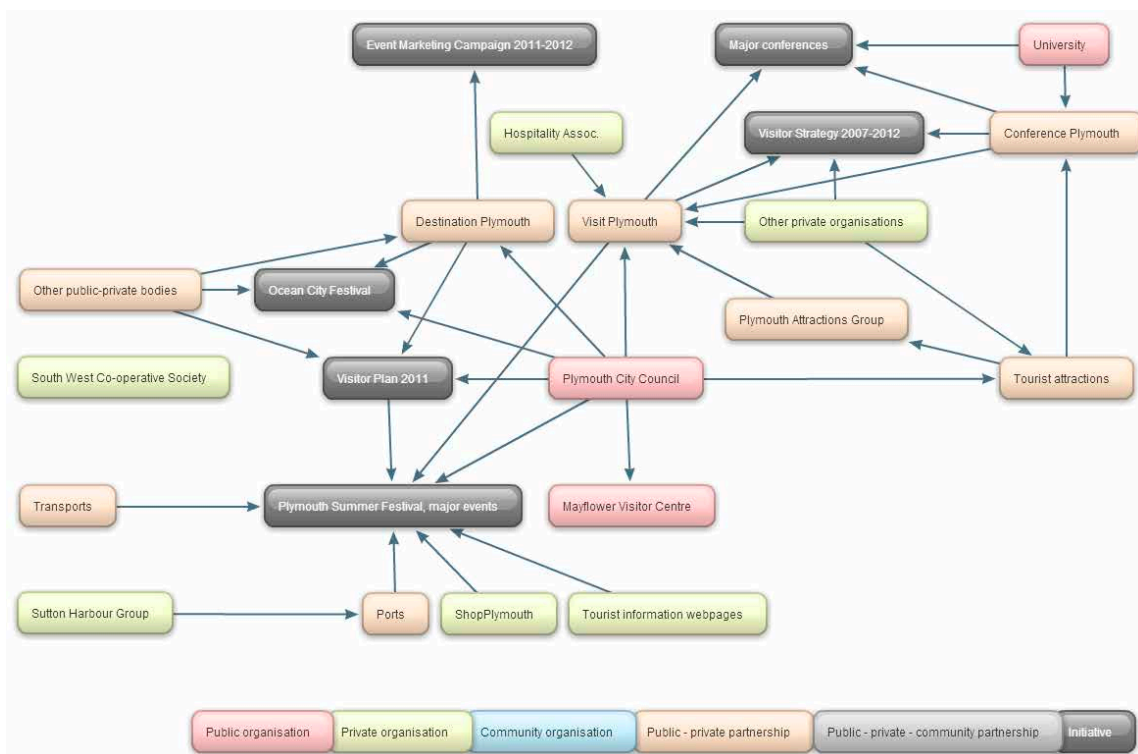
ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON TOURISM

With respect to tourism-related policies, public and private bodies are closely related through partnerships. These policies are mainly centred on marketing, developing a city brand, attracting far reaching events and, as a whole, increasing the number of visitors, expenditure and employment.

➤ MAIN ACTORS INVOLVED IN TOURISM PROMOTION AND MANAGEMENT

The most significant public-private partnerships are Destination Plymouth and Visit Plymouth. Destination Plymouth is a partnership between Plymouth City Council, Plymouth City Centre Company, Plymouth Waterfront Partnership, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and businesses in the City Centre, Barbican, Hoe and Waterfront areas. It coordinates the overall strategy for the city's visitor economy. It collaborated in the delivery of the Visitor Plan 2011 and developed the Event Marketing Campaign 2011-2012. It also collaborates in the delivery of the Plymouth Waterfront Business Improvement District.

217



Main actors and initiatives involved in tourism management. Source: the author, based on the policies explained in this section.

Visit Plymouth is the City Council's tourist board, it replaced the former Plymouth Marketing Bureau in 2005. It works in close partnership with private agents. It is responsible for issuing the annual official visitor guide and it establishes strategies for improving the tourism offer and attracting a greater number of visitors. It also organises the largest events in the city, most of them grouped under the "Plymouth Summer Festival" brand. Visit Plymouth joins the Association of Barbican Businesses, British Institute of Innkeepers, Conference Plymouth, Federation of Small Businesses, Maritime Plymouth, Plymouth Attractions Group, Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, Plymouth City Centre Company, Plymouth City Council, Plymouth City College, Plymouth Hospitality Association, Plymouth Personal Services, Plymouth Premier Hotels, Plymouth Centre for Vocational Excellence and Plymouth Summer Festival.

Plymouth City Council takes part in Destination Plymouth. It runs Visit Plymouth and manages the city's events. The City Council also leads the Mayflower Exhibition and Visitor Centre.

Plymouth Mayflower Exhibition and Visitor Centre is the only tourist information centre in the city. It is located in the Barbican. It offers an interactive exhibition about the Pilgrim Fathers, the fishing industry, the military harbour and the history of emigration to the New World.

The University has its role in collaborating in conferences and exhibitions, such as the British Art Show 2011. It also collaborates with the City Council in policy making and evidence base development for tourism promotion-related strategies.

There is a number of private bodies involved in policy making in Plymouth, a selection of some of the most representative is presented below. As it has been already explained, the city's ports are organised separately depending on their business sector. They are key agents regarding commercial activities, events, leisure, shopping and boat mooring. Some transport means involved in policy making are the ferry companies, tourist buses and local buses.

The South West Co-operative Society has sponsored the five Historic Plymouth Trails designed by Chris Robinson, the local historian, covering the Barbican, Hoe, City Centre and Coxside. Plymouth Hospitality Association represents hotels, bed and breakfasts and guest houses in the city, it takes part of Visit Plymouth. Conference Plymouth promotes conferences and meetings, offering a selection of venues including the University, National Marine Aquarium, the Pavilions and the largest hotels, it also takes part of Visit Plymouth. There are some webpages specialised on the city's leisure and tourist offer, in them it is possible to find information about events, attractions, accommodation and other aspects of interest for visitors.

Sutton Harbour Group is a company involved in some regeneration projects in partnership with the City Council. It is the statutory harbour authority owning and controlling Sutton Harbour. It owns the old quays and roadways around the harbour and a number of old buildings such as the old Fish Market and China House. It also owns some restaurants and it runned the airport until its closure. It was formerly known as Sutton Harbour Company and before of that, it was established as Sutton Harbour Improvement Company in 1847.³⁶⁸

ShopPlymouth is part of the Plymouth City Centre Company. It represents retail and catering establishments in the City Centre. Its primary purpose is to drive retail trading performance and re-assert Plymouth City Centre as the region's premier shopping and leisure destination. It develops promotions and collaborates in the organisation of the events that take place in the City Centre, in particular Flavour Fest. It also coordinates the delivery of the Business Improvement District plan.³⁶⁹

Finally, Plymouth Attractions Group is an organisation that works to promote Plymouth visitor attractions and to lobby for improvements supporting the growth of their industry. It involves representatives of all of Plymouth main visitor attractions and it takes part of Visit Plymouth. Tourist attractions are key partners in promoting tourism and defining products for specific markets. Some of the most active are Plymouth Pavilions, National Marine Aquarium, Clay Art or Plymouth Gin Distillery.

➤ | SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON TOURISM

The main strategies involved in the city's tourism promotion are the Visitor Plan, the Event Marketing Campaign and the Visitor Strategy. Apart from them, Plymouth Summer Festival is a significant initiative. It is the common brand that promotes most of the events held in the city.

The Plymouth Visitor Plan 2011 was developed by Destination Plymouth, Plymouth Waterfront Partnership and Plymouth City Centre Company. The plan establishes the City Council's vision and priorities regarding tourism and the visitor economy. It is formed on a series of background documents acting as the evidence base, and it includes a separate business and marketing plan detailing how the objectives are going to be achieved. The strategy is based on the city's superb natural location, its history and cultural experiences. Culture and heritage are intended to be at the heart of the reason to visit Plymouth. The plan includes four star projects, namely

³⁶⁸ Civic Trust, Regeneration Unit. Plymouth's Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan. Op cit. p. 5.

³⁶⁹ ShopPlymouth [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. About us; screen 1 [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.shopplymouth.co.uk/about-us>

signature and major events, Royal William Yard, Commercial Wharf and Telling Stories-Quality Public Realm and Trails.

The vision of the Visitor Plan is as follows:

*“By 2020, Plymouth will be the UK’s premier marine city and famous for its Waterfront. It will be recognised as unique among UK cities for its natural drama and for its 500-year old history as a place of embarkation and exploration. Plymouth’s continuing journey towards a world-leading marine city will support the cultural experiences it offers to visitors who are looking for authenticity and character”.*³⁷⁰

Regarding the waterfront, it is proposed to be consolidated as the natural arena for sailing events. Building on the success of America’s Cup World Series in 2011, the number of quality events are expected to increase progressively leading up to Mayflower 2020. Apart from events, the plan wants to make the waterfront more attractive, adding more specialist local shops and a wider eating, drinking and socialising offer.

Another objective is to expand the variety of hotels, opening new bespoke, boutique and independent ones, which is necessary to attract higher spending short break markets. This segment has grown dramatically and is expected to continue to do so according to VisitEngland researches³⁷¹. In this context, the city wants to differentiate from large metropolitan cities such as Manchester and Liverpool and also from traditional historic cities like Chester or York.

The schedule is to spend the first two years raising the profile of the city, consolidating existing markets and upgrading the public realm. Another objective is to deliver new markets, especially UK short breaks and East Coast USA, along with star projects and new infrastructures. Heritage and marine connections are regarded as the primary reason for the East Coast US market to come to Plymouth.

Regarding major events, the largest ones have had a considerable impact on raising the profile of the city, with British Art Show 2011, America’s Cup World Series 2011 and the future Mayflower 2020 as flagships. The objective is to create new sailing events and cover all of them under a new “Sail Fest”, which would also include quality on-shore activities. Other non-sailing events that are being increasingly promoted are Flavour Fest, British Fireworks Championships and Barbican Jazz and Blues Festival.

In Royal William Yard, the objective is to use some historic buildings for the creative sector and to increase the number of specialist shops, cafes and restaurants. The main way to arrive to this precinct would be by boat. In Commercial Wharf, the proposal is to open the 18 boatsheds to create a

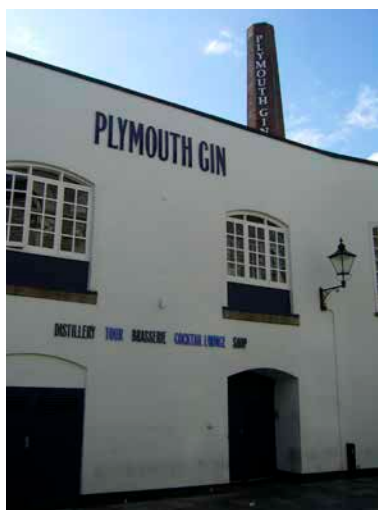
370 Blue Sail. Plymouth Visitor Plan, report for Destination Plymouth. Op cit. p. 2.

371 Ibidem. p. 7.

quarter for artists, independent specialist retail and cafe/bars. This proposal was already achieved partially at the time of writing. The plan seeks to increase the attractiveness of the City Centre, University, Art College and Theatre Royal through the intensification of leisure, cultural uses and events.

Moreover, Plymouth wants to take advantage of the ideas of embarkation and arrival to offer itself as a city that embraces radical ideas, liberty and innovation, reflected in its famous people, religious connections, artistic associations, engineering and architecture. Public art, creative interpretation, directional signing and arrival points to the city are being developed to express these ideas.

The main attractions are expected to be enhanced, namely National Marine Aquarium, Plymouth Gin Distillery and the Theatre Royal. Others would raise the profile of the city, such as Elizabethan House and Merchant's House. The possibility of creating a replica of the Mayflower ship has also been suggested to appeal the US market.



Plymouth Gin Distillery. *Source: the author.*

In order to increase business tourism, investment in creative and cultural small businesses was expected to be encouraged to create a vibrant and lively city. It is expected that visitors would also be clients of this kind of businesses. Upgrading conference facilities is another related objective.

Regarding marketing, digital promotion was to be prioritised delivering campaigns in collaboration with tourism and non-tourism brands, which share the same target markets.

A long lasting problem that is intended to be solved is the first impression of visitors. The surroundings of the train station and the facility itself are

proposed to be redeveloped, as well as the bus station. New facilities would be created to better welcome visitors arriving by ferry, cruise ship or private car and the number of short-stay and public moorings would be increased.

Finally, visitor information on site are expected to be upgraded with new digital access information via personal devices, and a dedicated tourist information centre to greet cruise ships and attend major events.

The Event Marketing Campaign 2011/2012 was developed by Destination Plymouth. It was focused on city marketing and the objective is to use a single, cohesive brand which was finally called "Positively Plymouth". This brand was replaced in 2013 by "Plymouth. Britain's Ocean City". The campaign was divided into four projects. The first one was the continuous exposure of the brand throughout the year, intensified during major events. It consisted of giant building wraps, bus wraps, outdoor banners, a new specialised visitor guide, a quarterly journal, an event guide, web banners, flyers and radio, digital and press advertisements. A second project consisted of building links with community groups in multiple actions throughout the year, to encourage public participation. Moreover, campaigns were designed for particular experiences or events like the theatre, festivals, etc. Finally, campaigns for every kind of visitor were designed depending on their way of arrival, periodicity and socio-economic characteristics.³⁷²

The Visitor Strategy 2007-2012 was prepared by Visit Plymouth. It created The Plymouth Marketing Company, which joined the Plymouth Visitor Development Group, established in 2005. The initiative encouraged associations with prime interests in the visitor sector, such as Conference Plymouth, Maritime Plymouth, City Centre Company, Chamber of Commerce, Plymouth Summer Festival, the City Council and Plymouth College of Further Education. It identified four sub-sectors in Plymouth's visitor sector, namely events and festivals, corporate and conferences, leisure and tourism, and visiting friends and relatives. Regarding conferences, an opportunity arose to work with the University in order to attract medical and health care sector meetings. To achieve this goal, an increase in accommodation in three-star plus hotels was made. Conferences also targeted voluntary organisations, since some studies showed that associations were bringing more delegates than companies, even if they spent less they brought more money in total. Another objective was to strengthen links with North American and Australasian travelers. In order to tackle the lack of cruise ships, Millbay was proposed to be redeveloped in collaboration with Destination Southwest. Finally, the document supported the development of Plymouth Summer Festival.³⁷³

372 Destination Plymouth. Event marketing campaign 2011/2012. p. 2-7.

373 Visit Plymouth. The Visitor Strategy for Plymouth 2007-2012. 2007. p. 5-28.

Apart from the strategies already mentioned, Plymouth Summer Festival is a significant initiative focused on the promotion of events. It is the brand which covers all events that take place in the city between Spring and Autumn. It is managed by Visit Plymouth. Some of the events are held annually and others take place only once. The specific events highlighted in 2012 were the Olympic Torch Relay, Cultural Olympiad, Diamond Jubilee and Armed Forces Day. The most significant regular events in 2012 were the Barbican International Jazz and Blues Festival, Flavour Fest and the British Firework Championships. Furthermore, the Ocean City Festival was finally established joining a wide marine-related activities programme. One of the most successful events recently developed by public and private partnerships was the America's Cup races, which joined the City Council, the University, Destination Plymouth and the Plymouth Growth Board.³⁷⁴

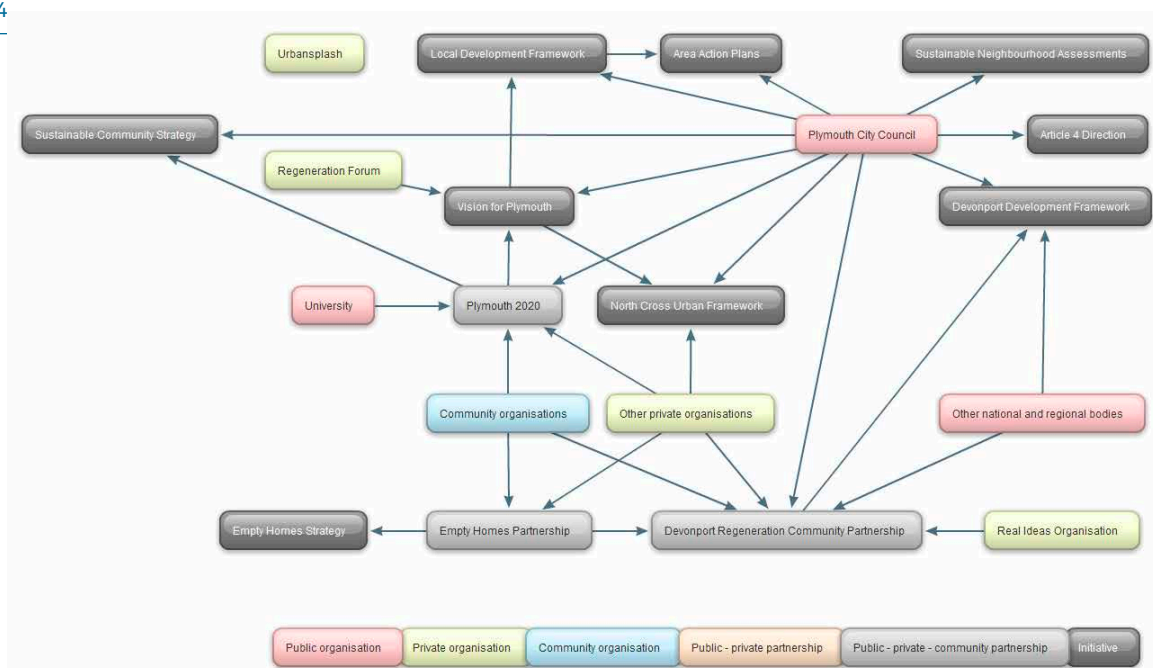
374 Plymouth City Council. Members' written questions and answers. 2011 July 29. p. 9-10. It can be found in: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. Council and democracy / Councillors and committees / Browse meetings / Members' written questions and answers / 29 July 2011-Agenda. [cited 2014 Nov 2]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/modgov?modgovlink=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.plymouth.gov.uk%2FmgInternet%2FieListMeetings.aspx%3FCId%3D627%26amp%3BYear%3D2012>

ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning is linked directly to the preservation of built heritage and the enhancement of the built environment. It participates in increasing the appeal of consolidated tourist areas or the creation of new ones. Urban planning policies are driven by the Plymouth City Council, which has created a variety of partnerships with private and voluntary bodies depending on the purpose. This way of working is especially consolidated in regeneration plans.

> MAIN ACTORS INVOLVED IN URBAN PLANNING

Some of the partnerships in which the City Council takes part or works with are Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership, Plymouth Regeneration Forum and Plymouth Empty Homes Partnership. Apart from them, the private company Urbansplash and the social enterprise Real Ideas Organisation are involved in regeneration of certain areas.



Main actors and initiatives involved in urban planning. Source: the author, based on the policies explained in this section.

Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership was formerly known as Devonport Regeneration Company and has its origins in a local consortium called "Devonport Five". It was established in 2000 to deliver the 10 year New Deal for Communities regeneration programme via six themes: health,

education, employment, community, safety and development. It works with the City Council and other partners including English Partnerships, the Plymouth Empty Homes Partnership and the South West Regional Development Agency. One of its key projects regarding built heritage was the restoration of Devonport Guildhall.

Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership was finalist in the Development of the Year-Large Schemes UK Housing Award 2012 for its regeneration initiative in Ker Street, designed by Lacey Hickie Caley Architects and developed by Linden Homes in collaboration with Plymouth City Council, Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership and Homes and Communities Agency. Other project awarded in the city was George House, designed by Form Design Architects and developed by Mi-Space UK Ltd, Plymouth City Council and Homes and Communities Agency.³⁷⁵

Plymouth 2020, officially called Plymouth's Local Strategic Partnership, joins public, private and community organisations including Plymouth City Council, Plymouth Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Plymouth Guild, Plymouth Community Partnership, Plymouth Third Sector Consortium, Plymouth Growth Board and the University, among others. Its aim is to lead the transformation of the city, delivering economic growth, raising people's aspirations and reducing inequalities. They are involved in most of the regeneration programmes taking place in the city. It has developed the local Agenda 21 plan "For Generations Ahead, Plymouth's Sustainable Community Strategy 2007-2020".

The Plymouth Regeneration Forum was established in 2004 following the launch of the Vision for Plymouth. The forum is comprised of developers, landowners, architects, surveyors and agents who work on regeneration projects within Plymouth. Its aim is to help turn the Vision for Plymouth into reality assisting the City Council in developing planning, regeneration, design, transport and asset management policies.

Plymouth Empty Homes Partnership is formed by Plymouth City Council, housing associations and the private sector. It has collaborated since 1993 in the delivery of the Plymouth Townscape Heritage Initiative. It has worked with Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership and it has delivered the Plymouth Empty Homes Strategy 2008-2011.

Urbansplash is a company specialised in the renovation of old buildings and regeneration of industrial cities. It has worked in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Bristol, Sheffield, Birmingham and Salford. They are currently in charge of Royal William Yard. They combine regeneration of old

375 Inside Housing [Internet]. London: Ocean Media Group; c2012-[updated 2012 Jun 28; cited 2014 Nov 5]. UK Housing Award 2012 winners named; screen 4 [15 screens]. Available from: <http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/regulation/uk-housing-award-2012-winners-named/6522510.article>

buildings with the construction of sympathetic new ones to create mixed uses neighbourhoods, including homes, offices, shops, bars restaurants, parks and hotels.

Real Ideas Organisation is a social enterprise team which works in partnership with the Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership and Plymouth City Council. It is responsible for managing five business units, among them the Devonport Guildhall, and they have recently got a Heritage Lottery Fund grant to fully renovate the Column. This monument has been re-opened to public.

> SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON URBAN PLANNING

The City Council has delivered a number of local urban plans in recent years following on changes in national regulations and local interests. Among them, the Vision for Plymouth, although not a statutory plan, established the path for the following years. The statutory urban plan until 2015 was the Local Development Framework, formed by a Core Strategy and Area Action Plans for smaller areas in the city. The City Council has also delivered its own plans focusing on tackling the problem of empty homes and developing sustainable communities. Apart from the wide range of plans and strategies, the Council has other statutory powers to control alterations within conservation areas, among which Article 4 Direction are particularly useful. Finally, Devonport, Millbay and North Cross have been or are expected to be subject of specific regeneration initiatives.

The Vision for Plymouth was published in November 2003, it was prepared for Plymouth 2020 by MBM Architectes and AZ Urban Studio under the lead of Barcelona based architect David Mackay. It followed the philosophy of the 1943 Plan for Plymouth and it developed a comprehensive idea of what the city wanted physically to be. It also had to face some of the problems of the delivery of the 1943 Plan. In 2004, the City Council resolved to adopt the Vision for Plymouth as an Interim Planning Statement of the Council's planning policy.³⁷⁶

In relation to the City Centre, the document suggested to turn the congested triangular traffic collar into landscaped avenues, to remove all car parking from central blocks to the perimeter and to recover relationships with surrounding neighbourhoods. It proposed the introduction of public transport along Armada Way, the redevelopment of Cornwall Street and the introduction of tall buildings and residential uses to create a mixed use

³⁷⁶ Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Interim planning statements. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/environmentandplanning/planning/planningpolicy/local-plan/ips.htm>

environment. The document suggested that Abercrombie's original vision for Plymouth was not effectively delivered and, as a result, the City Centre remains suburban in scale.

Following the examples of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle and Leeds, the document proposed the introduction of new residential, leisure and cultural evening uses in the City Centre and an intensification of density. The basic idea was to recover the tradition of the street and to discourage the extension of the city into the countryside. A key component to allow this development is that the City Council has retained the ownership of 36 hectares (88 acres) at the heart of the city. In Armada Way, it proposed a simplified regular landscape design to recover the original idea of a grand vista linking the train station to the Hoe. In North Cross, the Vision suggested the continuation of Armada Way across the roundabout and the construction of a new transport hub with a tall structure, glazed to the north and south, providing a marker for the transport interchange.³⁷⁷

In the waterfront, it proposed new and refurbished visitor attractions with piers and walkways along the foreshore, water transport links from the Hoe to Sutton Harbour, Millbay and beyond. It was also suggested to create a ribbon of light by repaving the walkway around the foreshore in non-slip glass lit from underneath. The tourist offer is expected to increase in Millbay and Sutton Harbour, for this reason the Vision recommended to insert new tourist attractions on the Hoe and increase connections with other areas. A proposal was to remodel the Dome, extending it with a triangular gallery dedicated to Joshua Reynolds, which would be located just in the axis of Armada Way. Another attraction suggested was to establish a pavilion dedicated to marine discovery and investigation with a suitable exhibition area and conference centre in the site of West Hoe Park. Another project was to build projecting piers with restaurants or cafes. Finally, the waterfront's natural environment was pointed out as an asset in the increasing market of short-term breaks.

In the University area, it proposed the creation of a cultural quarter dedicated to cultural facilities and creative industries, which would incorporate the University, City Museum and Central Library. The cultural quarter would be associated with two new cultural buildings at the entrance to Armada Way from the station.

In Sutton Harbour, it proposed to keep the balance of tourism, housing, commerce and industrial activities, especially fishing. It also suggested relocating Bretonside bus station close to North Hill train station, thus providing a pedestrian link between Sutton Harbour and Charles Church. The area would be crossed by a new Light Rapid Transit system.

377 MBM Architectes, AZ Urban Studio. *A Vision for Plymouth. Final Copy. 2003. p. 52.*

Millbay was regarded as one of the greatest opportunities for transformation. A major mixed commercial/residential scheme was proposed, together with a centre for marine science and research, a new cruise terminal, a new marina

with 250 moorings, a sailing club and marine employment uses. In order to link the new development with the City Centre, a new boulevard was proposed through the site currently occupied by the Pavilions, connected to a reinvigorated cultural area around Derry's Cross. The cultural area would be extended to the Palace Theatre, which was proposed to house a large auditorium. This idea of demolishing the Pavilions was opposed by a large number of people and an alteration has been approved by the City Council, including an extended arena, a hotel, an arts cinema, cafes and restaurants. Part of the current uses are proposed to be relocated in the new Life Centre in Central Park.

The Vision for Plymouth also suggested reusing the current military sites in Millbay in order to provide a better access, waterfront linkages and activities related to the new development. In the inner basin, a marine industry facility was proposed, thus keeping a balance of residential, leisure and industrial activities. The traditional slipways and pier structures of dockside installations were encouraged to be preserved, along with other elements of the area's industrial heritage. On the waterfront level, main uses would be bars and restaurants with outdoor seating areas, inspired in the Olympic Port in Barcelona. Another proposal was to use the grain silo for an international conference centre linked to a hotel, but unfortunately the silo was finally knocked down.

Another controversial proposal of the Vision was to erect high-rise buildings in order to create a more metropolitan feel, and in particular two 18-storey towers on the eastern side of Sutton Harbour, behind the National Marine Aquarium. Furthermore, the proposal included a number of tall buildings in the City Centre, even calling it a "*Mini Manhattan of the South West*".³⁷⁸

The Vision for Plymouth is now becoming out of date, together with all the documents that have been based on it, especially the Local Development Framework. It is because of the changes in the national urban planning framework, but also because of its lack of implementation. The Vision was produced in a context of rapid economic development that is gone, it is based on an increasing demand of housing and on a densification of the City Centre. According to Chris Balch, the Vision for Plymouth needs revisiting because of the low development moment. Rob Hotkins goes further, pointing out that the British planning system only works when there is growth and there would never be that return to growth³⁷⁹.

³⁷⁸ Ibidem. p. 22.

³⁷⁹ Balch C. Planning for sustainable urban living: problem or solution? Lecture given on 21 Oct 2012 at Portland Square Lecture Theatre, University of Plymouth.

The Local Development Framework 2007 (LDF) has remained the statutory Development Plan for Plymouth until the new Plymouth Plan was approved. It consists of a Core Strategy for the whole city, detailed Area Action Plans for some neighbourhoods and other statutory Development Plan Documents. The Core Strategy was based on the proposals given by the Vision for Plymouth and it replaced the City of Plymouth Local Plan First Deposit 1995-2011. It follows on the regulations established in the Town and Country Planning Regulations 2008³⁸⁰. It was intended to cover the period 2006-2021 and beyond.

The Local Development Framework Core Strategy was intended to be a strategic document, setting out a vision and path to improvement, as well as establishing strategic policies to guide change following the Enterprise Zone approach. The changing situation on the national framework affects some documents that were in course of approval, such as the Hoe Area Action Plan and the Sustainable Neighbourhoods Development Plan Document, which were being revised so that they could be incorporated into the new Plymouth Plan.³⁸¹

The vision of the Local Development Framework is the following: *“By 2020 Plymouth will be one of Europe’s finest most vibrant waterfront cities where an outstanding quality of life is enjoyed by everyone”*³⁸². This vision has been retained in all subsequent urban plans in the city.

229

The planning system requires that Development Plans are kept up to date, providing certainty for longer term planning and investment decisions. Thus, the Local Development Framework had to be in line with national and European policy, Regional Guidance (RPG10), the Devon Structure Plan and the Regional Spatial Strategy. The Local Development Framework identifies priority areas depending on their opportunity to change, importance for the city as a whole and their need for regeneration. Some of these areas are the waterfront of Devonport, Millbay and Stonehouse, the City Centre, the Hoe, Sutton Harbour, East End and Central Park.

The document is structured in three levels although all statements are interconnected and must be read as a whole. Strategic Objectives reflect the Council’s targets in order to deliver the Vision for Plymouth, Area Visions guide the preparation for Area Action Plans and Policy Statements guide the Council’s consideration of development proposals. The Core Strategy contains concise policies for delivering the strategy to be applied in the whole city or

380 The Town and Country Planning (Local Development) (England) (Amendment) Regulations 2008 (June 27, 2008).

381 Plymouth City Council. Local Development Scheme. 2011. It can be found in: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Local Development Scheme. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/environmentandplanning/planning/planningpolicy/ldf/lds.htm>

382 Plymouth City Council. Local Development Framework, Core Strategy. 2007. p. 6.

in parts of it, but it does not identify individual sites, which are treated in Area Action Plans.

Some of the objectives of the Core Strategy are to promote the City Centre as a high quality mixed use area and the primary place for retail development, and to enhance the image of the city, its identity and heritage, through the creation of accessible, safe and attractive public spaces.

Regarding heritage, the goal is to capitalise on Plymouth's natural and built heritage and create well designed, safe, vibrant, diverse and sustainable neighbourhoods. A target to achieve is the removal of 5 per cent of properties from the 2005 Buildings At Risk Register per annum. In addition, an up-to-date record of historic assets and a list of locally listed buildings was created. The document establishes that new developments must respect the character, identity and context of Plymouth's historic townscape and landscape, and in particular Plymouth's unique waterfront, its moorland setting and the settlement pattern. Furthermore, new controls are established to avoid projects that do not contribute positively to an area's identity and heritage in terms of scale, density, layout and access. The Local Development Framework seeks to enhance key views through the promotion of high quality projects in local gateways and approach corridors, protecting longer-distance views and controlling developments in terms of scale. In relation to major planning proposals, the City Council counts with the support of the Plymouth Design Panel and the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment to provide specialist design advice.

Regarding natural heritage, the Local Development Framework restricts development within Special Protection Areas, Special Areas of Conservation and Sites of Special Scientific Interest. Habitats and species which are worthy of retention are especially preserved as well. These policies affect some protected areas within the historic city, particularly in the waterfront foreshore, the Hoe and the Sound as a whole. Development is not permitted if it harms the value and reason for the designation, unless there is no reasonable alternative solution and the development is necessary for overriding public interest, or conditions can be used to prevent damaging impacts.

The waterfront is acknowledged as the most valuable natural asset, upon which the future prosperity of the city should capitalise. Thus, specific regulations for the foreshore are included in the Local Development Framework. It states that development resulting in the loss of inter or sub-tidal land is not permitted, unless there is no unacceptable impact on the marine/coastal environment, the development requires a coastal location or it is demonstrably in the greater public interest. Areas affected are the urban fringe around the Sound, estuaries and some of the most heavily modified foreshore areas.

One of the aims of the Local Development Framework is to ensure that sites and areas of heritage value are safeguarded and enhanced. Therefore, more specific policies for the protection and enhancement of heritage assets were included in Area Action Plans apart from listed buildings and Conservation Area Appraisals and Management Plans.

Regarding tourism, the Local Development Framework establishes provisions for the creation of more leisure space compatible with marine employment uses in key attraction areas around the City Centre, including the Barbican and Millbay. Millbay is expected to be turned into a new tourism and leisure area with better links to the City Centre and Union Street.

In relation to shopping, the Local Development Framework considers that the City Centre is flexible enough to house increasing needs for the duration of the plan. The Council is also interested in increasing the height of buildings including towers in key locations, as well as the overall mix of uses and its connectivity to adjoining areas, in order to create a more attractive shopping and leisure experience. New controls for frontages enhancement were included as well. Other proposals are to redefine the current ring road barrier and redevelop the railway and bus stations, which give a poor impression for visitors arriving by those means. There is a proposal to create more permeability north-south, breaking the current blocks and to selectively reintroduce traffic in certain streets.

The Local Development Framework identifies two cultural clusters, namely Derry's Cross-Millbay with the Theatre Royal, Casino, Cinema and the Pavilions and the University. In the latter, it is proposed to replace and expand the City Museum and Art Gallery and create a Plymouth Architecture



Plymouth College of Arts. Source: the author.

Centre that would join the Plymouth College of Arts. This cultural quarter would also include new creative industries, helping to create a vibrant and active atmosphere. There are also proposals to develop cultural activities around South Yard Enclave and Mount Wise, Devonport.

In the Barbican, as well as in Union Street, the problem of pubs, bars, cafes, restaurants and nightclubs concentration is acknowledged and policies are given to reduce excessive noise, litter, anti-social behaviour and lack of mix of uses. A proposal is to redistribute part of these uses to the City Centre. According to the Local Development Framework, the Hoe, Millbay and Devonport offer opportunities for a balance of these uses as well.

The plan also promotes the waterfront as a leisure, culture and entertainment neighbourhood. There is a need for restoring some derelict elements of the foreshore structures to put them again into use and to create new attractions along the waterfront and on the Hoe. New water transport services were suggested to link with other areas and tourist venues.

In Devonport, the main proposal is to develop a new urban centre in the former Ministry of Defence South Yard Enclave, re-establishing the traditional street pattern and creating a mix of uses.

In Sutton Harbour, there are plans to create new attractions in key gateway locations that currently do not contribute positively to the first impression of the area. The objective is to enhance the balance of uses to create a vibrant place for residents, workers and visitors. Proposed uses include marine, retail, community uses, commercial, leisure, arts, workshops, offices and a balanced mixture of housing types and tenures, including affordable housing. Regeneration of disused or under-used land and buildings is promoted.

At the time of writing, the Local Development Framework was going to be replaced by a new Plymouth Plan following the changes in national planning regulations included in the Localism Act which received Royal Assent on 15 November 2011³⁸³. Regarding heritage preservation, one of the changes is the creation of lists of assets of community value, included in part 5 “Community Empowerment”, which came into force in April 2012. The Localism Act withdraws Regional Spatial Strategies and creates a new Neighbourhood Planning regime. The City Council aimed that the new Plymouth Plan replaced the 138 plans, strategies and partnerships that were in force. At the time of writing, consultation had been taken in order to inform the draft of the Plan.

383 Localism Act of 2011 (November 15, 2011).

Although many plans and strategies were going to be replaced by the new Plymouth Plan, it was expected that some planning tools were kept, such as Area Action Plans. These are part of the Local Development Framework and are built on Conservation Area Appraisals and Management Plans. Area Action Plans are used to guide development in specific areas with some special circumstances such as those which are targeted for regeneration, those presenting a wealth of natural or built heritage and are sensitive to change, and those defined by multiple ownership and experiencing development pressures. Area Action Plans are expected to run for the period from 2006 to 2021.

Plymouth's Area Action Plans propose ways of using built heritage in regeneration projects following on several previous studies, among which the Plymouth Urban Rapid Characterisation Study is a referent. Area Action Plans provide the planning framework for areas where significant change or conservation is needed. In relation to heritage preservation and enhancement, their main objectives are to stimulate regeneration, protect areas particularly sensitive to change, resolve conflicting objectives in areas subject to development pressures and focus the delivery of area-based regeneration initiatives. Area Action Plans identify the distribution of uses and their interrelationships, including specific site allocations and set the timetable for the implementation of the proposals. The documents sometimes include layout of uses within these allocations and design requirements.

The City Centre Area Action Plan was adopted in 2010. Part of its evidence base are the City Centre Future Direction investment and development strategy and the West End Study, which are going to be explained later. The plan recognises the heritage value of the 1943 Plan for Plymouth in aspects such as the street pattern. Other valued aspect is the high quality of buildings around Royal Parade and Derry's Cross, as well as the monuments that survived the Blitz, clustered around St Andrew's Church. These elements are intended to be respected and integrated into any future changes as they are part of Plymouth's attractiveness. The plan points out that the City Centre is too large for current commercial needs, taking into account that it has a similar footprint area to the ones in Manchester or Liverpool. Moreover, shopping units are too small for current trends and anchor stores are poorly distributed, they are clustered around New George Street and Drake Circus. In conclusion, the City Centre does not offer enough attractions and activities to encourage visitors to use the entire district, there is a monotone townscape partly due to the straightness of the street pattern and visitors do not perceive the variety of character because of the dominance of postwar developments.³⁸⁴

384 Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. City Centre and University Area Action Plan 2006-2021. 2010. p. 9.

A general idea is to divide the City Centre into architectural sectors from south to north, each of them representing a period of the city's development. Thus, medieval Plymouth would be represented on the Barbican, prewar developments would be represented south of Royal Parade, 20th century examples would be located north of Royal Parade and the rest of the City Centre would be redeveloped with contemporary architecture. This distribution would create a variety of character and stimulate new shopping experiences, with the objective of converting the City Centre in one of the top ten shopping centres in the UK through increasing high quality retail floor space in 100,000 sqm (24.71 acres) and office floor space in another 100,000 sqm by 2021³⁸⁵. Another projects are to deliver a new public transport system and a low carbon energy network, in accordance with the target of reducing 60% of CO2 emissions by 2021 city wide. In order to increase mixed uses, it is proposed to insert tall buildings sensitively and create gathering areas with outdoor seating and evening uses. A problem to be solved is water pollution in Plymouth Sound. A proposed solution is to improve surface water drainage, taking into account that the Sound is protected as an European Marine Site. Car parks are proposed to be entirely replaced by modern and attractive facilities.

The plan includes proposals to attract shoppers to other parts of the City Centre, such as the West End and the northern area. For the West End it is suggested to safeguard its character of small, independent traders and to encourage galleries, studios and artists accommodation. A redeveloped Colin Campbell Court would act as an anchor for the district, incorporating retail, culture, leisure and housing uses. The City Market would also be used for cultural events, arts and crafts, performance and local produce.

It is suggested to replace Armada Centre with a new landmark building that would act as an anchor to the area. It would house a department store of 25,000 sqm (6.18 acres), along with 700 new homes to be accommodated within the development.

As it has been explained, North Cross is a poor gateway to the city, it is disconnected from the City Centre and needs complete redevelopment. The plan proposes to build a new railway station and an office district. Armada Way would be continued to a new public space at the heart of this new district. This redevelopment would be accompanied by a new high quality hotel replacing the existing one.

The University is proposed to be converted in an education and culture district, in association with Plymouth College of Art and the Museum. It would include accommodation for artists and incubator/start up units to encourage the development of creative industries.

³⁸⁵ Ibidem. p. 12.



Roland Levinsky Building, one of the main buildings of the University of Plymouth.
Source: the author.

The plan suggests concentrating leisure uses around the south west of Royal Parade, where the Theatre Royal is located, and civic functions to the south and east of Royal Parade, around the Guildhall and Magistrates Court. Derry's Cross is proposed to be better connected to the West End and the new development at Millbay. The civic district is proposed to be enhanced as it is the gateway to the Barbican, including uses such as leisure, hotels, bars, restaurants and dwellings. A challenge remarked by the plan is to better connect the City Centre to the Barbican through the remaining streets of prewar Plymouth, which is confusing nowadays. The most controversial proposal is to convert the Civic Centre into a mixed uses development that would include homes, commercial, a hotel, bars, restaurants and a new City Library.

Devonport Area Action Plan was adopted in 2007. The document appeared in a moment of major changes in the physical fabric, such as the release of the South Yard Storage Enclave by the Ministry of Defence. Moreover, the plan had to be a useful tool to help the regeneration process in which the neighbourhood was deeply involved, replacing postwar council estates for higher quality buildings. Much of the historic character of Devonport had been destroyed as a consequence of the war, postwar developments and the acquisition of central areas by the Ministry of Defence. An opportunity to establish a better link to the waterfront appeared since the Ministry of Defence decided to give parts of Mount Wise back to the city. In addition, South Yard Storage Enclave is being transformed into the new town centre, consisting of mixed uses including a local shopping centre, high density residential development and employment uses focusing on creative and cultural industries. The proposal includes the recreation of the previous street pattern and the restoration of the listed grade II Old Market Hall.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. Devonport Area Action Plan 2006-2021. 2007. p. 14.

Millbay and Stonehouse Area Action Plan was adopted in 2007 as well. The area belongs to St Peter's Ward, which ranks among the worst 5 per cent of wards nationally in terms of multiple deprivation score. The objective of the plan is to develop the area as an attractive mixed-use neighbourhood that maximises its rich heritage, using the redevelopment sites around the harbour as a catalyst for further regeneration throughout the area. The plan builds on the different character of each subarea to create a network of vibrant, well-connected, urban neighbourhoods. Union Street is one of these subareas and a main gateway to the City Centre, nowadays some parts are of a bad quality and the goal is to preserve and enhance its special historic and architectural character, encouraging a mix of uses with retail or employment uses on ground floors and residential use above to create a continuous activity. Other proposal is to create high quality public realm initiatives and the revival of the Palace Theatre. With these ideas, Union Street daytime activity is expected to be increased and more late night uses would be restricted.³⁸⁷

In Millbay Docks, the proposal is to create a high quality waterfront with a mix of uses, including cafes, restaurants, shops, marine-related industries and craft workshops, as well as new homes of all tenure types. Marine-based employment would capitalise on the unique location and it would help to sustain and reinforce the long-established tradition of water-related jobs in Plymouth. Marine-based science and technology have been identified in Plymouth's Economic Strategy as one of the growth areas for employment. The development would incorporate the vacant sites south of Union Street. The inner basin would be occupied by a marina, in the outer basin there would be a yacht club and a cruise liner terminal is proposed to be established on Trinity Pier. In the whole intervention, it is intended to respect the heritage value of the area, including built heritage and marine wildlife. Other urban interventions seek to restore the traditional street pattern, where bombing and postwar development created gaps not relating to their environment. The Grain Silo was suggested to be incorporated as a key element of the new development including hotel, office, retail and leisure uses, but as it has been said, it was finally knocked down. Other elements that still remain and are proposed to be integrated in the redevelopment are the original dock walls, designed by Brunel and listed grade II.

The plan recovers the idea already suggested in the Vision for Plymouth of creating a boulevard crossing the current location of the Pavilions' swimming pool and ice rink. The boulevard would be the spine of a new neighbourhood that would include residential uses, cafes, restaurants and shops, local and tourist leisure-related shopping facilities, a hotel and small scale marine and water-related employment at Clyde Quay. The corner between the new

³⁸⁷ Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. Millbay and Stonehouse Area Action Plan 2006-2021. 2007. p. 39-44.

boulevard, Union Street, Derry's Cross, Western Approach and the West End would be the site of a new high quality building to mark the strategic entrance of all these areas, which would include leisure uses and public parking spaces.

Royal William Yard regeneration is considered to be near completion so now it is the moment to correct some mistakes. Much of the restoration has been based on residential uses and because of that, future buildings are proposed to house other uses such as leisure, offices, craft workshops, exhibition and workshop space.

Sutton Harbour Area Action Plan was adopted in 2008. It covers the Barbican, Bretonside and Coxside. The plan follows on from the Plymouth Barbican and Sutton Harbour Action Plan, produced by the Civic Trust for the Council and Sutton Harbour Company in 1991. One of the main objectives of the plan was to reuse strategically important vacant sites, some of them are at key locations and create a poor first impression of the area. The first gateway needing redevelopment is the access from the City Centre by Charles Cross, where visitors are not aware of how close they are to the harbour.

237

Development pressures are intended to be managed in a way that conserves and enhances the area's historic character, safeguards marine-related uses and improves public access to the waterfront. At this point, it is proposed to complete the circular walkway along the harbour. The lock bridge has fulfilled this objective. However, walking over it is restricted at night and when boats go through. It is proposed to build a new memorable bridge to reflect its important gateway role without compromising pedestrian and boat movements.

The walkways would be associated to an enhanced Sutton Harbour Heritage Trail that would include active uses at ground floors such as small scale food and drinks kiosks and public realm enhancement, including public art, surface treatments and heritage interpretation.³⁸⁸

In the Barbican, it is suggested to keep the balance between its residential, cultural, leisure and tourism uses. On Commercial Wharf, Phoenix Wharf, Elphinstone and Lambhay Hill it is proposed to create new arts, entertainment, leisure and tourism-related uses. These interventions would integrate the public slipway, landing stages, cranes, public slipways and listed grade II Phoenix Wharf, which was formerly used as immigration gateway and is now used by the Mayflower Sailing Club. It is also intended to create a waterfront landmark building of high architectural quality that relates sensitively to the historic context and the site's prominence as a local

³⁸⁸ Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. Sutton Harbour Area Action Plan 2006-2021. Op cit. p. 36-37.

and international gateway. This development would create a positive first impression for people arriving in Plymouth. The new Fish Market at Coxside is proposed to be improved, adding retail, restaurant and visitors welcoming uses. Finally, Queen Anne's Battery is proposed to be more accessible for pedestrians without compromising operational requirements, new cafes and restaurants would be added.



Redevelopment of Commercial Wharf. Source: the author.

Hoe Area Action Plan was planned to be approved and incorporated in the new Plymouth Plan. Nevertheless, an Issues and Options document was completed in 2005. The goal was to improve links to surrounding areas and promote tourism, leisure and residential uses. There are some pedestrian barriers that need improvements, in particular the link with the City Centre through Armada Way needs to reach its full potential as a better enclosed pedestrian axis towards the water, with high quality active frontages that would attract and encourage movement between the areas. In addition, there is a suggestion to build a new pier extending seawards from the Belvedere.³⁸⁹

A city wide initiative to tackle the problem of vacant properties is Plymouth Empty Homes Strategy 2008-2011. It includes a combination of prevention, support for owners and a willingness to take enforcement action. It is centred on properties that have been empty for 6 months or more. According to the project, empty homes can blight a whole neighbourhood and are socially, environmentally and economically unacceptable. The objectives of the strategy are to support the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods and to promote partnership working to increase the city's supply of decent, energy efficient, private sector homes that meet the increasing need for affordable

³⁸⁹ Plymouth City Council, Department of Development. Hoe Area Action Plan. Issues and options. 2005. p. 1-3.

housing. Plymouth Empty Homes Partnership gives advice, guidance and financial assistance to fulfill these objectives³⁹⁰. The Empty Homes Strategy follows on from the 2002-2007 strategy, which was reviewed in 2004 and 2005, and it was born thanks to the Housing Act 2004³⁹¹. The Act introduced an order for councils to report the number of empty dwellings within their area. The councils' performance in reducing the percentage of empty dwellings compared to the total number of dwellings within their area is also monitored. In October 2010, there were 769 empty privately owned homes in the city, during the former five years the City Council helped owners to re-use over 400 properties. At the time of writing, a new plan related to empty homes was being prepared to cover up to 2016.³⁹²

Focusing on sustainable development, Plymouth has got its own Local Agenda 21 plan, based on the UK's National Strategy for Sustainable Development 1999. It is called "For Generations Ahead, Plymouth's Sustainable Community Strategy 2007-2020", developed by Plymouth 2020. The only reference to heritage and tourism is the proposal to build on Plymouth's heritage attractions and its environment to make the city a regional centre for tourism.³⁹³

In some areas, Sustainable Neighbourhood Assessments were developed in 2005-2007. They had as an objective to review the role of local and neighbourhood centres in creating sustainable communities. They covered three areas, roughly coinciding with the three historic towns of Devonport, Stonehouse and Plymouth.

In Devonport, it was expected that redevelopment of the former Ministry of Defence's South Yard Enclave would be finished in 2016. With it, Devonport would recover part of its lost urban fabric and the two current communities would be reconnected. A number of listed buildings were expected to be restored, providing architectural landmarks for the neighbourhood, as well as community uses. Individual buildings would contribute positively to regeneration through the creation of urban focuses, community identity and tourist assets. Former military open spaces surrounding the town would be transformed into a ring park.³⁹⁴

Stonehouse is formed by a number of areas with their own character, such as Wyndham Hill, Adelaide Street, Emma Place, Durnford Street, Union Street, Royal William Yard and Millfields. Union Street still provides a negative image with poorly maintained buildings and much of the underused areas

390 Plymouth City Council. Plymouth Empty Homes Strategy. 2008. p. 6-32.

391 Housing Act 2004 (November 18, 2004).

392 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 June 13]. Empty homes. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/homepage/housing/privatehousing/emptyhomes.htm>

393 Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership. Securing the future for generations ahead. Plymouth's Sustainable Community Strategy 2007-2020. 2008. p. 14.

394 LDA Design. Sustainable Neighbourhood Assessment Devonport. Exeter; 2005. p. 1-8.

to the south look neglected and unattractive. There was a provision for including these areas in the comprehensive redevelopment of Millbay. The Palace Theatre could contribute as a landmark of city wide importance but it needs complete restoration. Public access to the waterfront at Millbay and Stonehouse Peninsula would add attractiveness to the area as well.³⁹⁵

In the case of the Barbican, there is a mix of uses mostly related to visitors, such as cafes, restaurants and pubs, and activities mostly related to the local community, the aim was to maintain this balance of uses. Another objective was to preserve and enhance historic elements including listed buildings and the Barbican, Hoe and Ebrington Street Conservation Areas, maintaining their own identity and character.

In relation to the City Centre, the document stated that the sense of place decreases in parts of the area because of examples of bad quality architecture and public realm which should be upgraded.³⁹⁶

Apart from urban plans, the City Council has a number of powers to grant preservation and enhancement of the special interest of conservation areas. They include the use of Building Preservation Notices, Urgent Works Notices, Repairs Notices, Dangerous Structures Notices, Tree Preservation Orders and Section 215 Notices. They are used in cases where it is considered that the condition of land or buildings adversely affects the character of the area. Informal contact, discussion and advice are also used to encourage owners to undertake repairs and maintenance.

Regarding listed buildings, the Council uses listed Building Consent to regulate alterations. This consent is required for works of alteration affecting the special character and/or appearance of listed buildings.

In the case of unlisted buildings within conservation areas, Article 4 Directions are used. Unlisted buildings enjoy the benefit of permitted development rights, which allow alterations such as minor extensions, demolitions and replacement of doors and windows. As a result, some buildings have been altered to the detriment of their townscape quality and important architectural features have been lost. To address these issues, articles 4(1) and 4(2) of the General Permitted Development Order allow Local Planning Authorities to make directions withdrawing all or some of the permitted development rights given under the Order. Article 4(1) Directions remove general permitted development rights to any area or building designated by the Local Authority and they have to be confirmed by the Secretary of State. Article 4(2) Directions remove permitted development rights, but apply only to those parts of dwelling houses and associated

³⁹⁵ Ibidem. p. 1-6.

³⁹⁶ Ibidem. p. 1-9.

buildings or structures facing highways, waterways or open spaces. These Directions bring specific types of alteration under planning control to ensure that improvement and modernisation of property is not done at the expense of the townscape merit of a building or area.

Article 4(2) Directions have been imposed in all Plymouth conservation areas. They include control of the enlargement, improvement or other alterations of a dwelling house, any alteration to the roof, the erection or alteration of a gate, fence, wall or other means of enclosure and the painting of any exterior of any building or work.

At the time of writing, a new Article 4 Direction was in course of approval. If finally adopted, planning permission would be required to change the use of a family dwelling to a house in multiple occupation.³⁹⁷

In addition to the strategies already explained, Devonport, Millbay and North Cross have been subject of a number of other regeneration initiatives. They are explained below.

Devonport has been subject of a number of regeneration plans, which continue nowadays. As it has been explained in the introduction to the case study, Devonport is among the 1% most deprived Lower Super Output Areas nationally, together with St Peter and the Waterfront ward. In 2008, 75% of the population in Devonport lived in social housing, life expectancy was 73.1 years while in Plymouth as a whole it was 78.6 years and there were 156 criminal incidents per 1,000 people.³⁹⁸

Devonport Development Framework was produced in 2003 for the Devonport Regeneration Company. Devonport Regeneration Company is an organisation led by the local community which got funding via the Government's New Deal for Communities initiative. It collaborates with English Partnerships, Plymouth City Council, South West Regional Development Agency and The Government Office for the South West. The objective was to manage the two areas released by the Ministry of Defence in 2005 in order to incorporate them back to the community, those areas were the South Yard Storage Enclave and Mount Wise. Proposals for the Dockyard's South Yard were also included. Four scenarios were taken into account, with differences on which uses and community facilities could be inserted. In South Yard Storage Enclave, the

397 Plymouth City Council. Growth and prosperity overview and scrutiny panel. 2012 Jan 9. In can be found at: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. Council and democracy / Councillors and committees / Scrutiny / Overview and scrutiny panel / Growth and prosperity overview and scrutiny panel / 2012 Ene 9 3.00 pm. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/modgov?modgovlink=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.plymouth.gov.uk%2FmgInternet%2FieListMeetings.aspx%3FXXR%3D0%26Year%3D2012%26Cld%3D914>. p. 6.

398 South West Observatory Core Unit. Op cit.

idea was to reinterpret the prewar street pattern to provide the physical setting for modern living and high quality working conditions. The overall strategy regarding heritage assets and waterfront open spaces was to encourage visitors to come to Devonport and stay longer, as well as providing facilities for local people building on the close identity with its waterfront setting and its naval heritage.

One key project to fulfill these objectives was to create small businesses within the central area with workshop and studio space, acting as business incubators. It would be branded as Devonport's "Creative Village" and would include a gallery space with media and IT-related uses. It would be associated to a heritage trail linking spaces of interest via an inter-connected series of way markers, plaques and maps.

Provisions were included for more civic use of the Dockyard's South Yard area, which is still under military use, taking advantage of the heritage assets clustered around the listed buildings of the Ropery, Master Ropemaker's Office, Slipway Number One and Kings Hill Gazebo to the south and North Smithery, Heavy Lifting Store, Former Fire Station and former Pay Office to the north. A mixed use development was suggested, including a Naval Base Visitor Centre, guest houses, pubs and restaurants. The overall proposal was to create a "Heritage Quarter" in the South Yard, the future of which would be related to visitor and tourism uses if finally released by the Ministry of Defence. This area contains buildings and remains from every period of Devonport's history and could become an important tourist attraction, as well as provide employment and commerce benefiting the residents. Thus, a "living visitor centre" would be created with buildings in different ownerships, brought to life in the form of a museum, workshops, offices, training facilities and housing.³⁹⁹

Regarding waterfront open spaces, the objective was to increase their use by local people and encourage visitors to come. It was proposed to create new water-related recreational spaces at Mutton Cove, linked to the future Naval Base Visitor Centre. In Mount Wise, the plan suggested to introduce a series of recreational spaces that would include new uses for Admiralty House, which now stands empty, a proposed use was a niche hotel. Richmond Walk would be integrated into a more accessible public waterfront walkway.

In Ker Street area, the objective was to recreate the prewar civic centre, including the restoration of five key spaces, namely Granby Green, Morice Square, Cumberland Gardens, the Guildhall and George Street. There were plans by the South West Regional Development Agency and English Partnerships to give new uses for Devonport's listed buildings that are not currently in long-term sustainable use, as part of the Sustainable Communities Programme.

³⁹⁹ Matrix Partnership. *Devonport Development Framework. Prepared for Devonport Regeneration Company. 2003. p. 68.*



Devonport Guildhall in Ker Street. Source: the author.

The Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership has delivered a number of regeneration initiatives in the neighbourhood. The Partnership's programme was set out in the Delivery Plan "Devonport's People's Dreams" 2001. It was supported by a range of partners including Plymouth City Council, English Partnerships, the South West Regional Development Agency and the Government Office for the South West. Funding came from the New Deal for Communities programme. It has assisted regeneration for over 15 years and the work continues. Key sites being developed or under consideration include Cornwall-Cannon Street where a mixed tenure residential development is under construction, Pottery Quay where a mixed tenure residential scheme with community and commercial uses is proposed, James Street-Bennett Street where a mixed tenure residential development is under construction, Storage Enclave and Mount Wise, both of which have already been explained.⁴⁰⁰

Other projects delivered by the Devonport Regeneration Community Partnership include a family centre in listed grade II Admiralty House.

Millbay has been subject of a number of regeneration initiatives, some of which have already been explained. In 2003, a partnership was created between English Partnerships, South West Regional Development Agency, the City Council and English Cities Fund, resulting in the preparation of the Millbay Regeneration Strategy, which also served to produce the Millbay Action Plan. These documents were supplemented by a community-led study of the needs of the community and have been brought together in the Stonehouse and West Hoe Study. The initiative proposed the development of a vibrant waterfront district with a mix of residential, leisure, business

⁴⁰⁰ Plymouth City Council. Devonport Characterisation Study & Management Proposals. Op cit. p. 11.

and retail opportunities. The project included a new 179-berth marina and waterside facilities in Millbay's inner harbour, to be built by the Sutton Harbour Group in collaboration with English Cities Fund and the Homes and Communities Agency, it would be known as King Point Marina.

Finally, the remodeling of the city's gateways has been under consideration in a number of projects, since they create a poor impression for visitors. The North Cross Urban Framework is a strategy focusing on the train station and its surroundings. The strategy was produced for the Plymouth Chamber of Commerce with the specific aim of reconnecting the railway station to the City Centre, building on the idea included in the Vision for Plymouth. It would ensure an adequate consideration of the linkages with Plymouth University, Central Park, the City Centre and surrounding residential districts. It is a very complete proposal for the station site but it does not include the relocation of Bretonside bus station, which could offer an opportunity of creating a transport hub.

Nowadays, the station's relationship to the surrounding streets is confusing for visitors and the multi-storey car park in front of the station creates a bad image. This perception is reinforced by the out-of-scale North Cross roundabout and the lack of uses and density around. The strategy's objectives are to create a high-density landmark development, including tall buildings as markers announcing an urban gateway. The proposal includes removal of Caprera Terrace, one of the few remains of the prewar city in this area.

The proposal consists of a square enclosed by a number of buildings disposed in different heights. In Armada Way, a light transit system would be developed, which would terminate at the new square. North Cross roundabout is suggested to be replaced by the extension of Amada Way and a road bridge, giving a generous and direct pedestrian route between the station and the City Centre.⁴⁰¹

401 FORM Design Group Architects. North Cross Urban Framework. 2008. p. 36.

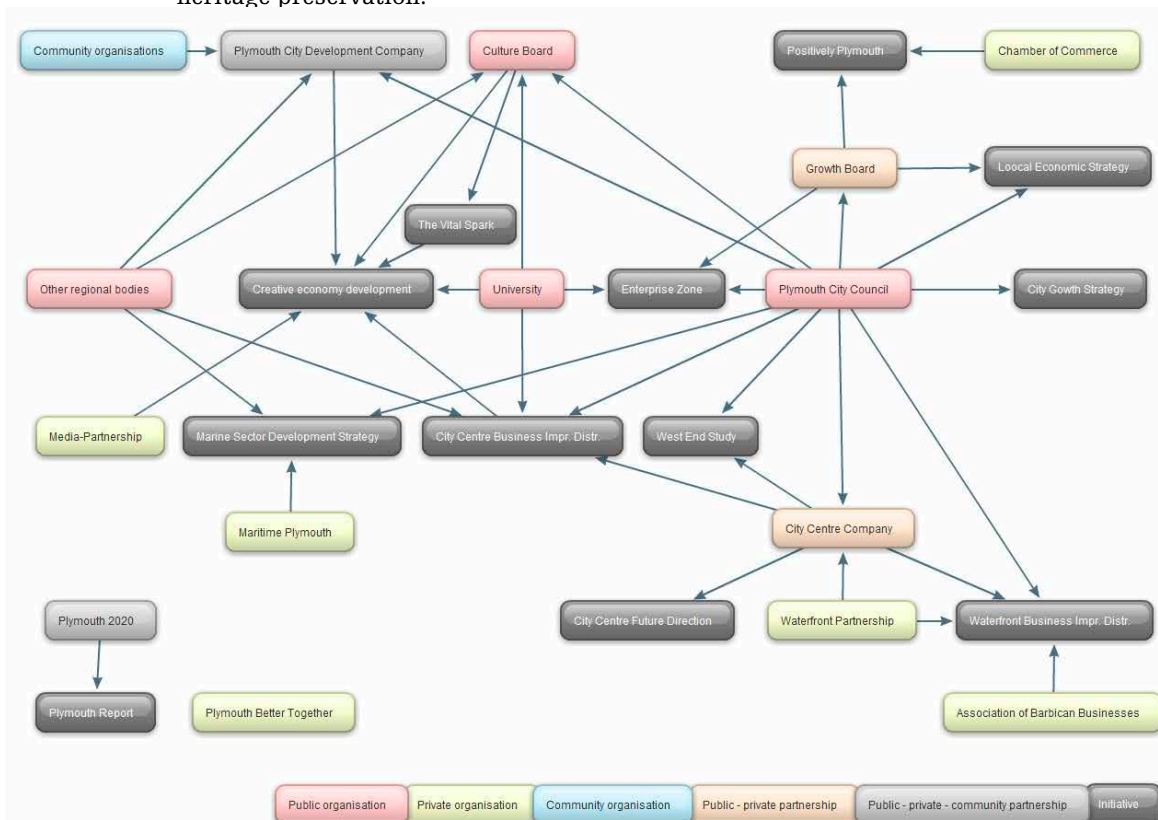
ACTORS AND INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Finally, a number of economic strategies in Plymouth use tourism promotion and an enhanced built heritage as a tool for stimulating economic growth. These initiatives affect the management of built heritage and tourism in the historic city in a wide range of aspects, such as regeneration, balance of uses, urban marketing, city branding and development of the creative economy. Some connections to these topics have already arisen when explaining culture, tourism and urban planning-related policies. The actors involved are also diverse and among them business organisations have a strong influence.

➤ MAIN ACTORS INVOLVED IN INITIATIVES RELATED TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As in the case of tourism-related policies, public-private organisations have the main role in economic development initiatives linked to tourism and heritage preservation.

245



Main actors and initiatives involved in economic management. Source: the author, based on the policies explained in this section.

Plymouth City Council takes part or collaborates with many partnerships and organisations, such as Plymouth City Centre Company, Association of Barbican Businesses, Plymouth Waterfront Partnership, Plymouth Better Together, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Plymouth Culture Board, Plymouth Growth Board, Plymouth City Development Company. It collaborates in management of the City Centre and Waterfront Business Improvement Districts. It is also involved in the development of an Enterprise Zone in Plymouth. The City Council delivers the Plymouth Local Economic Strategy 2006-2021 and collaborates in the execution of Plymouth City Growth Strategy. It also supported the delivery of the West End Study 2007.

Among public-private partnerships, Plymouth City Development Company stands out. It was set up by the City Council, South West Regional Development Agency and Homes and Communities Agency. Its mission is to provide the lead for a step-change in the delivery of Plymouth's economic growth. It operates within a framework set by the Local Development Framework and the Local Economic Strategy. The main clusters on which the Company focuses are marine and maritime industries, medical, creative industries, advanced engineering, tourism and business and professional services.⁴⁰²

The Plymouth City Development Company's efforts include facilitating relations with US East Coast, focusing on the celebrations in 2020 of the 400th Anniversary of the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers. The strategy goes further than attracting North American visitors, it includes potential economic, investment, educational and cultural exchanges between Plymouth and the Greater Boston area as the first step for larger relations with the US East Coast.

Furthermore, the Plymouth City Development Company is involved in the European Territorial Cooperation Programme-Channel 2007-2013, funded by the EU. This programme is expected to link the UK's south coast with France's north coast in a circular tour route and Plymouth has the potential to be a key international point on that route.

The Plymouth City Development Company would also be involved in four potential major physical regeneration projects, namely Millbay Cruise Terminal, the West End, North Cross Train Station and The Hoe.

According to the Plymouth City Development Company, the Theatre Royal can be seen as a key economic asset, as well as a respected international venue to attract people to Plymouth and to promote the city on a national and global scale. The Theatre Royal is one of the only key attractions bringing into the City Centre higher income individuals from Plymouth's more affluent

⁴⁰² Plymouth City Development Company. Work plan. 2008. p. 1.

suburbs and from around the South West. It is working in partnership with the Plymouth City Development Company to raise awareness that Plymouth's current performing arts offerings are a major economic driver. The Plymouth

City Development Company works with the Theatre Royal as a key partner in the development of Plymouth's tourism industry, bringing additional opportunities for Plymouth to either grow or recruit complementary venues to make Plymouth emerge in the long-term as the UK's number two performing arts venue after London.⁴⁰³

Plymouth Culture Board was established in 2009, it works with the Plymouth City Development Company, City Council, Plymouth 2020, Arts Council England, Sport England, English Heritage, Theatre Royal, the University, the Architecture Centre Devon and Cornwall, and Museums Libraries and Archives South West. Plymouth Culture Board has as main objective to place culture in a broad sense at the heart of the city, in order to make it more attractive for people that live, work or visit Plymouth, making a positive impact in the city's economy. Some of the key assets to achieve this positive economic impact are creative industries, the Theatre Royal, Plymouth's Argyle Football Club and high profile regattas⁴⁰⁴. The organisation is responsible for ensuring effective delivery of The Vital Spark 2009-2020, a strategy for the city that considers culture and the creative economy crucial for Plymouth's regeneration and economic development. The Culture Board has supported the city's bid for major events like the America's Cup, British Art Show, FIFA World Cup 2018 and Mayflower 400 in 2020. It has also assessed the viability of a Plymouth's bid for the UK City of Culture designation in 2017.

Plymouth Growth Board is responsible for delivering wealthy related initiatives at Plymouth 2020 Partnership. It is focused on the execution of the Local Economic Strategy⁴⁰⁵. It collaborates in the development of an Enterprise Zone in Plymouth.

Positively Plymouth was a high profile city branding campaign run by Destination Plymouth in collaboration with the City Council, Plymouth Growth Board and Chamber of Commerce, among others. Its objective was to offer a unique sense of place of the city to visitors and investors. It took advantage of cultural facilities, sports, events, career opportunities and heritage to attract investments and visitors to the city⁴⁰⁶. The brand has been replaced by "Plymouth. Britain's Ocean City".

403 Ibidem. p. 16.

404 Culture Board [Internet]. Plymouth 2020 Partnership [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Why a culture board [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/cultureboard.html>

405 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Plymouth Growth Board. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/pgb>

406 Positively Plymouth [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. About. Available from: <http://www.positively-plymouth.co.uk/about/>

The Plymouth City Centre Company is a business-led partnership working to create a more profitable trading environment in the City Centre. It works on business advertising, events and promotion. It also leads the City Centre

Business Improvement District and collaborates in the Plymouth Waterfront Business Improvement District. It collaborated in the production of the Visitor Plan and it takes part of Visit Plymouth. It developed the City Centre Future Direction investment and development strategy and commissioned the West End Study 2007.

Plymouth Waterfront Partnership is an organisation that sits alongside the City Centre Company, within the framework of Destination Plymouth. Its main agenda is to attract more customers to local businesses. It leads the Waterfront Business Improvement District and collaborated in the delivery of the Visitor Plan.

Plymouth Better Together is an association of businesses, which collaborates in policy making with the City Council concerning improvement of the business environment in Plymouth.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry represents businesses and influences a wide range of policies impacting on Plymouth's economic growth. They lead and support regeneration programmes with other pivotal organisations such as the City Council, Plymouth 2020, City Centre Company, the Culture Board or Destination Plymouth. It takes part of Visit Plymouth. One of the regeneration projects commissioned by the Chamber of Commerce was North Cross Urban Framework.

The Association of Barbican Businesses has been running for about thirty years. Its objective is to deliver ideas to promote the area's businesses, it collaborates with the City Council to fulfill it. They have backed the creation of the Waterfront Business Improvement District. It takes part of Visit Plymouth.

The Plymouth Media-Partnership is a network of companies and individuals working in the creative industries sector in Plymouth and the surrounding area, whose objectives are to promote the sector, enable growth, build links between industry and education and offer a range of business support services.

Maritime Plymouth represents the maritime sector in the city. It promotes an active, economic and sustainable relationship with the sea. It takes part of Visit Plymouth.

> SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Among the initiatives focused on stimulating business, the two Business Improvement Districts stand out. In addition, there are a number of city wide economic strategies. The creative industries are determinant in which affects the use of built heritage and the tourist promotion of the historic city. Finally, two initiatives are focused in particular areas, namely the City Centre and the West End.

A Business Improvement District is a private sector-led management organisation for a defined geographical area, where businesses have identified projects and services that would have a positive impact on their trading environment. Businesses vote to invest collectively in delivering these improvements, which are wholly additional to those already delivered by local, statutory bodies. Once a Business Improvement District has been established, all businesses contribute a Business Improvement District levy based on the ratable value of their premises. The Council's contribution covers all of the Business Improvement District's management and administration costs. Business Improvement Districts have a maximum duration of five years. In the UK, there are already 110 Business Improvement Districts⁴⁰⁷. Business Improvement Districts are regulated in the UK by the Local Government Act 2003 and The Business Improvement Districts Regulations 2004.⁴⁰⁸

249

The Business Improvement District for Plymouth City Centre was established in 2005. Since then, it has delivered 25 major projects to make the City Centre more attractive, cleaner, safer and better promoted. It is managed by the Plymouth City Centre Company, which delivers many services previously managed by local authority departments. This organisation works in partnership with Plymouth City Council, the Police Authority, the University, South West Regional Development Agency and other public agencies and associations. It is funded through a one per cent Business Improvement District levy on every retailer's ratable value. Direct funding and quality of services offered by the City Council have not been reduced. The total budget of the Business Improvement District depends in a 47% on the levy, 13% on voluntary contributions, 33% on City Council funding and 7% on the City Centre Company entrepreneurial benefits.⁴⁰⁹

The City Centre Business Improvement District follows on from a number of successful initiatives that had been running since the establishment of

407 ShopPlymouth [Internet]. What's the BID idea? [2 screens]. Available from: <http://www.shopplymouth.co.uk/index.php/bid-info/business-plan/whats-the-bid-idea>

408 The Business Improvement Districts (England) Regulations 2004 (September 11, 2004).

409 Plymouth City Centre Company. Plymouth BID Final Consultation. Your choice for 2010-2015. 2009. p. 2.

Plymouth City Centre Partnership in 1996, such as the City Centre Vitality Package 1996, which helped to improve environment, lighting and public realm. In addition, the City Centre Action Plan 1997 created a CCTV system, an urban design guide and car park improvements. Moreover, West End Revival 1998 enhanced the market quarter. Thanks to the Single Regeneration Budget 2000 initiative, the new Armada Way event space was created and a public information scheme was developed. Finally, Home Office Challenge fund was used to set up new Christmas lights.⁴¹⁰

General objectives of the City Centre Business Improvement District are to improve the visitor experience, attract more shoppers, improve the quality and management of public spaces, create a safer environment and improve accessibility.

The projects that are developed by the Business Improvement District are chosen and prioritised by businesses. Some projects already developed are a rapid response clean team and mechanised street sweeping and street wardens to reduce low-level anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, 24 major events have been created and promoted, which have attracted nearly 600,000 additional visitors, new Christmas lighting has been set, as well as new pedestrian signage, planting, transport plans and car parking strategies.

For the phase 2010-2015, priorities are to attract more customers to the City Centre, improve the customer experience, support small businesses and deliver major regeneration projects with other partners.⁴¹¹

Some of the projects are focused on enhancing the West End or "Independent Quarter" and attracting more people to shop there. It is proposed to create a continental style events space and cafe quarter at Frankfort Gate. In New George Street, a new cafe street scheme with public seating area and performance space would be introduced. In Cornwall Street, it is suggested to open a new town square with high quality public landscape and a series of covered spaces for markets and entertainment. The City Market would be the key anchor supporting the upgrading of the West End. The overall objective is to convert it in the "Covent Garden of the West".⁴¹²

Other City Centre wide projects include floral/shrub displays at gateways, innovative cleansing policies, car parking improvements, new pedestrian signage, a free shoppers bus and improved Park & Ride. Another initiative is the "Ambassadors Program", consisting of an accredited training program for all City Centre frontline staff including customer service skills and

410 ShopPlymouth [Internet]. Op cit. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Historical development [5 screens]. Available from: <http://www.shopplymouth.co.uk/bid-info/historical-development>

411 Plymouth City Centre Company. Plymouth BID Business Plan. 2009. p. 7-19.

412 Plymouth City Centre Company. Plymouth BID Review. Three years of delivery 2005-2008. 2009. p. 4-24.

visitor information about local history, attractions, restaurants and events. The Cruise Ships Initiative is delivered to welcome, promote and attract cruise ship passengers to the City Centre. The City Centre is better promoted through new branding and new events are organised while shops are open. Street performances are organised including music, dance and comedy, as well as public art installations. It is proposed to extend the area of the Business Improvement District to cover the Theatre Royal and the Pavilions, thus establishing the arts as a cultural and economic driver for the City Centre. There are also projects for enhancing North Cross railway station.

Plymouth Waterfront Business Improvement District was approved in April 2012. It is run by Plymouth Waterfront Partnership, which works in partnership with Destination Plymouth, Plymouth City Centre Company and Plymouth City Council. The initiative is supported by Association of Barbican Businesses. Its primary purpose is to enhance the visitor economy, asserting Plymouth as a must-see UK visitor destination. It is funded through a 1.5% levy of businesses' ratable value.⁴¹³

One of its main objectives is to improve marketing through the creation of major events, including street performance, tall ships and sea and shore-based activities. In order to better welcome visitors, it is proposed to improve access, signage and information with new trails. There are also projects to develop a better cleaning and to regenerate obsolete foreshore bathing structures. The Business Improvement District also serves to lobbying and influencing the City Council and other bodies' decisions affecting the waterfront.

The area covered by the Business Improvement District includes the primary visitor attraction areas of the Barbican, Sutton Harbour, The Hoe and its foreshore, Millbay and Royal William Yard. It limits to the north with the City Centre Business Improvement District, ensuring enhanced links and management between the two areas.

The Waterfront Business Improvement District is expected to assist the city to increase visitor numbers from 4 million to 4.8 million per annum and rise visitor spend from £252 million to £315 million in 2020. Jobs in the visitor economy are expected to grow 33% in 2020. The Business Improvement District would also help to target new markets, including day visitors, short breaks and US East Coast visitors. The Business Improvement District would produce better quality destination publications, visitor guidebooks and web marketing. It would develop linked on-water and on-shore trails and it would promote Plymouth nationally as a conference destination.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ Plymouth Waterfront Partnership. *A Business Improvement District for the Plymouth Waterfront. Business Plan 2012-2017*. 2012. p. 26.

⁴¹⁴ Ibidem. p. 8-11.

A new programme of events has already been created: the Ocean City Festival. This event is based on Plymouth's marine and cultural heritage. It serves to extend the summer season, spread visitor spend and create a new platform for destination marketing. It is linked to on-shore activities and entertainment, including a seafood and fine dining experience linked to a wider city event programme.

Another proposal is to re-enact Sir Francis Drake playing bowls on The Hoe and to attract rotating prestigious ship visits. Themed weekend activities are delivered for Christmas celebration and a Fisherman's Fun Day would be established.

The Business Improvement District works with the City Council to enhance the city's gateways, including Bretonside Bus Station, the Ferry Port and the Railway Station. Waterbuses are being better coordinated, additional car parking spaces would be provided and free short term berthing and moorings would be created.

Other proposals include ground and planting maintenance, memorial care, a "visitor welcome" training programme for bus and taxi drivers, and hotels, shops, restaurants and pubs staff, enhanced lighting and safety, and better maintenance of public conveniences. Furthermore, the waterfront walkway is being completed in its last tracks, from Devil's Point to West Hoe, through Stonehouse and Millbay.

Among the initiatives linked to the Waterfront Business Improvement District is the new annual Plymouth Seafood Festival. It provides live music, street entertainment and food by top local chefs. Moreover, a Seafood Trail is being created with restaurants and cafes across the waterfront and the City Centre as part of the festival, highlighting the best in sustainable and locally caught seafood.⁴¹⁵

An initiative currently under discussion and related to the ones previously presented is to deliver an Enterprise Zone. It is an area in which businesses enjoy favourable tax credits, financing and incentives in order to attract new businesses moving there⁴¹⁶. Organisations involved are Plymouth City Council, Plymouth Growth Board and Plymouth University.

415 Plymouth Marine City Festival [Internet]. Visit Plymouth; [cited 2014 Oct 15]. Press release. Available from: <http://www.marinecityfestival.co.uk/>

416 Plymouth City Council, South Hams District Council, University of Plymouth, Plymouth Growth Board. The case for an Enterprise Zone in Plymouth. It can be found in: Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Plymouth Enterprise Zone. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/enterprisezone>

Other city wide initiatives are the Plymouth Local Economic Strategy, the Plymouth City Growth Strategy, Plymouth Report and Plymouth Marine Sector Development Strategy.

The Plymouth Local Economic Strategy 2006-2021 & Beyond has been developed by the City Council with some partners. It focuses on establishing Plymouth's new brand and marketing strategy to make the city more attractive for investors. The initiative links economic targets with the tourist industry through city branding. The new mottoes are "Plymouth: The High Technology Hub" and "Plymouth: The National Events Capital".

"Plymouth: The High Technology Hub" was expected to target business services, creative industries and the healthcare industry. The tourism industry contributes to this initiative by profiling itself for business tourism and by giving information of the offer on hotels, event amenities and gateways to the city.⁴¹⁷

"Plymouth: The National Events Capital" is based on the marine and lifestyle assets of the city, including the National Marine Aquarium, cruises, festivals and heritage assets. It aims to attract an increasing number of national and international visitors and to develop events tourism, exploring the many linkages between the visitor economy and maritime activities. Exploiting marine resources is seen as a catalyst for business tourism, thanks to the activities themselves or because of the events based on these assets.



Plymouth Marine Laboratory. Source: the author.

417 Plymouth City Council. Plymouth Local Economic Strategy 2006-2021 & Beyond. Update 2011. Appendices. p. 5.

Specific suggestions to improve Plymouth's tourism offer are to enhance linkages, signage, maps and marketing in the entire waterfront and the city as a whole. Other proposals are to attract a greater number of cruise ships, develop interactive uses in heritage attractions, promote a regular international festival of the sea, attract national marine events, encourage people attending events to visit the rest of the city and expand the hotel stock and conference facilities.

Tourism and leisure are one of six prioritised sectors within the strategy, along with business services, creative industries, medical and healthcare, marine industries and advanced engineering. The branding strategies seek to target these sectors.

The waterfront location and the foreshore's built and natural heritage are important assets to be exploited within marine-related events. It is proposed to develop transport facilities to allow visitors to take trips to different parts of the city by the sea.

Devonport, the City Centre, Cattedown, Sutton Harbour and the Barbican, the Hoe, Millbay and Stonehouse were expected to be the primary location for creative industries, tourism and leisure, marine employment and urban regeneration-led initiatives.

Plymouth City Growth Strategy 2004-2009 is still a referent to identify the city's economic priorities. It proposes as competitive advantages for the tourism and leisure sector in Plymouth its high quality environment and natural setting, its outstanding maritime heritage, its potential as a major centre for marine leisure including yachting, diving and other water sports, its role as a transport hub thanks to the cross channel ferry, intercity rail and coach services, and its large population offering potential to develop leisure and entertainment services that serve both the local population and the tourism market.⁴¹⁸

The key challenges are the lack of a distinctive and positive image of the city to potential visitors, the poor rail and air links and the poor car parking facilities, the bad quality of the gateways into the city, especially the train and bus stations, some local environmental problems such as litter, anti-social drinking, transport issues and under-developed retail potential.

Economic growth is expected to be based in cultural opportunities, where the built environment, arts, music, creative industries, libraries, maritime activities, museums and archives, parks and open spaces, sports, recreation,

418 South West Regional Development Agency. Plymouth City Growth Strategy. 2004. Main strategy. p. 39.

tourism, festivals and events play a key role. Regarding heritage, it is proposed to preserve or enhance existing historic buildings, structures, monuments, remains or areas of acknowledged importance.

Plymouth City Growth Strategy includes a number of specific projects such as a new family attraction on Drake's Island and Mount Edgcumbe, including the installation of a light transit rail system over "the bridge" between Drake's Island and Mount Edgcumbe, a natural ledge visible at very low water. Drake's Island is a heritage site of great importance with remains of every historic period at least since the 16th century. Another project is the construction of a World Exploration Centre facing the Sound using iconic architecture, to celebrate Plymouth's role in the discovery of the New World. This strategy is inspired in the examples of Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum and Sydney's Opera House. This centre would also be used to build upon the city's ties with USA.

Water transport is proposed to become part of the "visitor experience" if improvements in vessels, shore-side infrastructure and support facilities are delivered.

255

The Grain Silo at Millbay was suggested to be converted into a cultural attraction, inspired in the project carried out at the Baltic Flour Mills in Gateshead, Newcastle, of similar dimension as Plymouth's silo. While the Baltic Flour Mills is now a major international centre for contemporary art, Plymouth's silo was finally demolished.

In South Yard Naval Base, the creation of a visitor centre is suggested. The Plymouth Naval Base Visitor Centre Trust was formed in January 2001 to develop this project in the area currently occupied by the Plymouth Naval Base Museum. It is proposed to tell the story of the fleet at Plymouth through interpretation of key assets, including the Naval Base Museum collections, the former Royal Navy nuclear powered submarine *Courageous*, which is the only nuclear submarine in Britain and one of a handful in the world open to the public, the historic buildings in South Yard and the whole of the Naval Base.

In Royal William Yard, the strategy proposes to include a significant cultural attraction within it, namely an art collection linked to a five-star hotel. Another project is the construction of a Mayflower replica vessel, the idea is to moor the ship in Sutton Harbour as a visitor education centre. A proposal under consideration is to obtain the 1950s superliner SS *United States*, a ship mightier than *Titanic* and the fastest liner ever, then developing her as a static-site maritime tourist attraction in Plymouth, inspired in the *Queen Mary* at Long Beach, California, which has received over 50 million visitors to date.

Plymouth Report is a compendium of needs analyses and capacity data within the city. It was produced in 2010 for Plymouth 2020. In order to increase the number of visitors, it focuses on major events, such as the bid for being a World Cup city in 2018, British Art Show 2011 and Mayflower 400 in 2020. The waterfront occupies a prominent position in this strategy, since it reflects the historic relation of the city with the sea. The main resources that the initiative identifies to promote tourism are Plymouth's military history and its seafarers, especially Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers. It also emphasises the potential of the ferry links to France and Spain and to the region surrounding the city.⁴¹⁹

Plymouth Marine Sector Development Strategy is an interesting initiative because it seeks to increase marine activities and water related-tourism, keeping a balance between both of them. It was prepared in 2001 by MDS Transmodal and DTZ Pida Consulting for the South West Regional Development Agency, the City Council and Maritime Plymouth. It is concluded that the marine technologies, tourism and marine science are the most important sectors in the city and as such, the strategy adopts five strategic objectives. Regarding marine tourism, apart from promoting the use of the River Tamar for leisure activities, it suggests to increase marketing Plymouth as a cruise port and as a venue for water sports events. Moreover, it proposes to further develop water sports tourism and enhance the tourism offer of the waterfront.⁴²⁰

Regarding the creative industries sector, there are a number of organisations actively involved in its promotion and some initiatives are under way. Plymouth has a recognised media cluster, which generated some 3,300 employees and £457 million in 2007.⁴²¹

From 1998 to 2009, the number of people working for the creative industries rose by 43% and its contribution to the city's Gross Value Added more than doubled up to 88 million pounds. Creative industries are one of the eight priority sectors in the South West economy.⁴²²

419 Plymouth 2020 Local Strategic Partnership. The Plymouth Report. Op cit. p. 2-19.

420 MDS Transmodal, DTZ Pida Consulting. Plymouth Marine Sector Development Strategy. Prepared for South West Regional Development Agency, Plymouth City Council and Maritime Plymouth. 2003. p. 11-61.

421 Plymouth City Council [Internet]. [cited 2014 Nov 5]. Creative sector. Available from: <http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/textonly/creativesector>

422 ECON online [Internet]. Op cit.

The creative industries sector has been defined by the Department for Culture, Media and Sports as

*"those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property".*⁴²³

They include advertising, architecture, art and antiques market, crafts, design, fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio. A research undertaken by Perfect Moment identified the creative industries sector as one with actual and potential strategic significance in both the economic and social profile of Devon.

Some of the organisations involved in the creative economy's promotion are Plymouth Media-Partnership, Designed in Devon, Plymouth Culture Board, Plymouth College of Art, City College Plymouth, University of Plymouth, Theatre Royal, Barbican Theatre, Plymouth Arts Centre and Arts Matrix.

Culture is regarded as an opportunity against future decline, and by some public and private investors as a value-added distinction and as an accelerator of development. Moreover, culture can contribute to regeneration by acting as a catalyst for it, as well as integrating cultural activity within the development and planning process. Physical transformation is accompanied by symbolic change, a combination of cultural investment and new capital infrastructure. Moreover, re-branding increases inward investment and creative industries can be attractive to retain high level employees.⁴²⁴

The Vital Spark 2009-2020 is a strategy for the whole city that places culture and the creative economy at the centre of the city's regeneration and economic development. It is delivered by the Plymouth Culture Board.⁴²⁵

The Culture Board seeks opportunities to build on the city's distinctive harbour and waterfront heritage to develop economic opportunities in heritage and tourism sectors, supporting the creative economy to create a cluster of activities that acts as a destination motivator, attracting people who might otherwise not visit the city. Heritage can be used to develop a unique brand and generate additional jobs and economic impact. Heritage buildings can be the location for a range of cultural and artistic activities.⁴²⁶

423 Social Research & Regeneration Unit. Creative industries. Mapping & economic impact study for Plymouth. Plymouth: University; 2006. p. 9.

424 SERIO. Culture and regeneration: opportunities for Plymouth. Plymouth: University of Plymouth; 2011. p. 5-19

425 Plymouth Culture Board. The Vital Spark. A cultural strategy for the city of Plymouth 2009-2020. 2009. p. 10.

426 SERIO. Culture and regeneration: opportunities for Plymouth. Op cit. p. 10-16.

Creative industries are a key part of the local strategy linking culture and economic development. In Plymouth, two projects to create creative clusters have been under discussion in recent years: one in the University-City Museum area and the other one around the City Market, in the so-called Independent's Quarter.

Finally, there are a number of initiatives focusing on particular areas. Those related to the City Centre and the West End are going to be explained.

City Centre Future Direction is the investment and development strategy established in 2007 by the City Centre Company to identify options for attracting further development and investment, in coordination with the Local Development Framework's Core Strategy objectives. Its objective is to ensure that the City Centre remains competitive as a shopping, leisure and tourism destination locally, regionally and increasingly internationally and to assist regeneration. One proposal is to further stimulate Sunday shopping and evening sales, following the consideration of shopping as a leisure activity. The combination of leisure shopping, historic environment and family events has proved to be very successful to attract day trippers.

258

The initiative includes a study about shops distribution which points out that there are only 33 shops from a total of over 450 which are located between the principal anchor stores, this means that less than 10% of units are "well anchored" and only 20% are located near principal and secondary anchors. Having said that, the proposal is to stimulate the creation of larger shops in average size to the rest of the country and locate new anchors to the northwest of the City Centre.⁴²⁷

The current bad image of the railway station was expected to be improved through the redevelopment of the station and of the buildings surrounding it. Pedestrian links and transport connections were also proposed to be improved. The creation of a new public transport system in Armada Way was analyzed; it was expected to be something in the form of a "road train" or a Light Rapid Transit, which was finally rejected because of the impact that may be caused in shoppers and pedestrians particularly if intensification of activity is sought. An alternative proposed is a cable car running from the railway station to the Hoe, this was expected to provide a new attraction for both locals and tourists.

The currently available car parking spaces is lower than in some comparable centres such as Aberdeen, Swansea and Exeter, and some of the existing car parking facilities are of poor quality. Because of that, it is intended to

⁴²⁷ Cushman & Wakefield. Op cit. p. 35-38.

enhance them. Another proposal is to reserve Royal Parade only for buses and create a new public pedestrian boulevard linking Millbay, Sutton Harbour, The Hoe and the City Centre.

The Civic Centre was proposed to be redeveloped to include a mix of commercial and leisure uses, residences, hotels, catering and a cinema. Once the building was listed, the proposal was readapted and instead of knocking it down it was suggested to convert it into a hotel, offices or educational purposes.

The strategy defines five specialised quarters. The first is the Prime Retail Quarter including Drake Circus Shopping Centre, New George Street East, Central Armada Way and Cornwall Street East. The Value Retail Quarter is expected to be located in New George Street West. The Food/Gastronomy Quarter is proposed to be established in Frankfort Gate, Pannier Market and Colin Campbell Court. The Independent Boutique Quarter is planned to be placed around Cornwall Street West and finally the Evening Leisure/Restaurant Quarter was expected to be located in Royal Parade.



Drake Circus Shopping Centre.
Source: the author.

Colin Campbell Court redevelopment is one of the key projects in the City Centre Future Direction. The objective is to create an area characterized by quality architecture, cafes, restaurants, art, quality living and high quality niche retail. The area is proposed to be associated to the Theatre Royal, the new public space at Derry's Cross, the upgraded City Market, Millbay and Union Street.

Finally, for the area around the City Market, also called the West End or the "independent quarter", a specific initiative has been developed: the West End Study 2007. It was developed by LHC Urban Design Company for the City Centre Company. 20 projects were proposed to be achieved over a 20 year period, covering aspects such as improved access for pedestrians, cars and public transport, environmental enhancement including public realm and enhanced landscaping, and physical improvements to the building stock and the general layout.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ Plymouth City Centre Company. *Awakening the West End. 20 Projects in 20 Years.* 2006. p. 15-62.

>> | CONCLUSIONS

In the city of Plymouth, the interest in heritage began in the hands of a group of prominent followers of the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, who opposed the demolition of relevant buildings. In the 1920s-1930s, the movement gained adherents in reaction to slum clearance actions on the Barbican and the sale of architectural pieces to North Americans. This movement led to the creation of the predecessor of the today called Old Plymouth Society, which collaborated with the City Council in regenerating the neighbourhood while maintaining the urban fabric and the buildings deemed to have heritage interest.

261

The reconstruction of the city by the Plan for Plymouth, designed by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and James Paton Watson, contributed to the elimination of existing built heritage in the city's central area but it also helped create a new architectural heritage, which has only recently begun to be listed. The central urban area and all buildings interfering with the new layout were replaced and the emotional references of citizens were lost.

Implementation of the Plan was not as imposing as expected. Armada Way, the main axis, is not the great avenue overlooking the Hoe that was announced. In addition, the postwar City Centre is physically isolated from the rest of the city and has a rigid segregation of uses that results in lack of vitality when shops close. The Barbican was proposed to be kept as "historic Plymouth", although only a handful of buildings were expected to be kept. However, slum clearance restarted, and with it the conservation movement reappeared, launching the predecessor of the today called Plymouth Barbican Trust. This organisation is currently a relevant example in restoring and maintaining properties of heritage value in the city.

There are currently nine designated conservation areas in Plymouth's central area. These areas are not physically connected due to varied reasons. On one hand, the city originated from three former towns that grew independently until they joined in 1914. Moreover, the degree of destruction brought by World War II and the implementation of the Plan for Plymouth eliminated the central area of the city, leaving a gap in the conservation areas network.

The City Centre is the most complete and less transformed postwar planning example in Britain. It is considered that the designation of a conservation area in the City Centre would serve as an act of recognition of its heritage value. While its architectural quality decreases from south to north, there are relevant examples of buildings of the 1950s, where leading architects, artists and sculptors of the time collaborated. Plymouth is today the city having more listed buildings from this period outside London, but this architectural style still generates rejection in the city and only began to be listed since 2003. Designating a conservation area would serve to preserve the urban layout and common architectural features like height, rhythm, symmetry and materials, integrating them into the new building interventions.

262

There are 327 listed buildings in the study area. Since the first list was developed in 1918, they have followed different criteria in terms of scope, classification and statutory character. Since English Heritage created the National Heritage List for England, there is a continuity in listing criteria. Plymouth as a whole has 823 buildings included in the National Heritage List for England. It is an average figure among unitary authorities in the Southwest of England. It is at the second position among heritage cities and at the first position among coastal cities of Devon and Cornwall.

Regarding the city's tourism history, Plymouth was not a classic seaside resort during the nineteenth century until World War II, although the city had many of its components. Since the late nineteenth century, new bathing facilities were created in the rocky cliffs of the Hoe and the public space was configured with its walks and monuments as we know it today, this area is nowadays the principal image of the city. Furthermore, the first voices considering the tourist interest of the Barbican emerged in this period but its regeneration for tourist uses took several decades.

World War II destroyed some of the most important facilities and attractions and, even before it came to an end, the city was committed to recover its share in the tourist market. The Plan for Plymouth incorporated this objective but it was not carried out as planned since the main interest in the postwar period was to rebuild the City Centre.

The city's tourist sector recovered momentum thanks to the Plymouth Marketing Bureau, the first public-private tourism promotion agency in

Britain. It succeeded in developing business tourism and creating new attractions and events. Thus, between the 1970s and early 1990s, some of the main current attractions were opened, such as marinas, the new Theatre Royal, Plymouth Dome and Plymouth Pavilions.

In number of visitors, Plymouth is in the third position among unitary authorities of the Southwest of England and in the first position among heritage and coastal cities of Devon and Cornwall.

Regarding accessibility, it is essential to improve rail infrastructure especially to shorten journey times to London and Heathrow. Arrival by train or bus cause a bad first impression of the city, it is necessary to renew both stations as well as their surroundings. Segregation of pedestrians and cars in the City Centre is excessive and a coexistence of means of transportation might be desirable in some interior streets. Traffic calming and urban integration of the ring road is desirable as well.

According to tourism information sources, the consolidated tourist area includes the Barbican, the Hoe with its waterfront and the area around the Guildhall. Other major attractions are the National Marine Aquarium, Plymouth Pavilions and the Theatre Royal, one of the most attended British theatres outside London. Regarding accommodation, a concentration of guest houses around the Hoe can be found. There is currently a lack of beds for conference attendees, a sector well represented in the city. In relation to gastronomy, Plymouth has a varied offer. Shops are also a main attraction of Plymouth, since the city is the main shopping centre of Devon and Cornwall. Broadly speaking, in Plymouth there is a separation between the shopping area and the tourist and entertainment areas. Because of that, increasing shopping and urban quality of the City Centre is a major objective in several policies.

Built heritage is the main attraction of the city. The heritage area concentrating tourist interest is located around the Barbican, the Hoe and monuments such as St Andrew's Church. A heritage area that has potential for further tourism development is Royal William Yard.

Among historic references, tourist information sources make reference particularly to renowned navigators and discoverers such as Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, Darwin, Scott and the Pilgrim Fathers. Military references are also important, especially those related to the two world wars, the victory over the Spanish Armada and the Royal Navy in general.

In relation to management of the tourist-historic city, the role of non-profit organisations in public policy is regulated by two general agreements, apart from the specific functions of each one. They are relevant in their advisory

role when applying for permission to intervene in a heritage asset. They also participate in plans related to heritage preservation and enhancement, and they have the ability to lobby against projects affecting negatively the built heritage or the local character of historic areas.

The Ministry of Defence has a significant role regarding heritage preservation, since it retains ownership of some relevant sites, such as the Royal Citadel. Its presence in this prominent site with no controversy reflects the strong roots that this institution has in the city. In recent years, some redundant sites have been released but the regeneration process is being slow and the results have not matched the expectations yet. That is the case of Royal William Yard, an exemplar project of heritage integration but not the expected tourist referent, especially due to the lack of attractive activities.

The main plans focusing on protection and control of interventions in conservation areas are the Appraisals and Management Plans. Their scope goes beyond listed buildings, identifying elements that contribute or affect negatively the character of the area, even outside the boundaries of conservation areas when necessary. In addition to a defensive function against detrimental interventions, these plans incorporate a proactive attitude to enhance the character of the area. In general, there are not major differences in heritage preservation requirements among conservation areas except for Union Street, where a significant improvement is needed. Even in neighbourhoods with social needs such as Devonport and Adelaide Street, a relevant effort has been made to improve townscape quality and heritage integration.

A remaining task is to promote social appreciation for the Plan for Plymouth and postwar reconstruction. In that respect, the 20th Century Plymouth City project is a remarkable example of multiple collaboration for disseminating the value of planning, architecture and design from the 1950s.

Regarding tourism policy, public-private partnerships have the leading role. There is a significant correlation between tourism and business strategy, represented by Destination Plymouth. The University plays a major role in attracting conferences and organising special events. The important role of private initiative can be seen in Sutton Harbour Group's control of the most relevant historic port, where it has the power to influence its regeneration and tourist strategies.

Public administration does not normally fund large projects on its own. Thus, private involvement and a relevant consensus about their viability are essential. On one hand, this approach delays interventions and in some cases makes them impossible to be implemented. On the other hand, a shared, long term vision is achieved, where priority is given to small-scale interventions that maximise benefit.

Regarding city branding, a thematic coherence around the sea can be observed, highlighting different meanings depending on the symbolic values to be transmitted. Emphasis has changed from the prominent role of the city in important battles in British history to voyages of discovery and research, maritime activities and marine life, seeking to transmit the idea of a dynamic and open-minded city. This aspiration is reflected in the city's new brand: "Plymouth, Britain's Ocean City", as well as in the events recently developed and being under preparation, in tourism promotion campaigns, in the priority given to the waterfront and in the economic diversification strategies that consider maritime activities as a priority sector. On the other hand, the monolithic discourse around the sea disregards personalities related to the city that could have a greater prominence, such as Robert Lenkiewicz, Joshua Reynolds and John Foulston.

Plymouth is rich in urban plans. However, their degree of implementation varies substantially, depending on many factors. An example was the ambitious Vision for Plymouth, which might have involved a change in the city's physical dimension comparable to that of the Plan for Plymouth. Few of its proposals were carried out. However, it left a legacy in subsequent plans. One of its weaknesses was the excessive reliance in major interventions which can only be implemented in times of economic expansion.

In terms of urban regeneration, there is a close collaboration between public, private and non-profit sectors, although representation and leadership varies by case. Interventions tend to seek a balance between residential, cultural, tourist and leisure activities. Heritage integration is used as a tool for improving local pride, enhancing the character of the neighbourhoods and increasing the attractive of a place to invest and live. There is an analysis of the causes of physical decay, such as social deprivation, low levels of education, unemployment, etc. These aspects are tried to be solved in regeneration projects.

In relation to economic development, public-private organisations have the main role. Private sector is crucial in incentivising business projects in the City Centre and the waterfront, expressed in Business Improvement Districts. Culture in its broad sense is seen as a stimulus for economic development, as is reflected in the philosophy of Plymouth Culture Board.

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References have been divided in the following sections:

- Introduction and theoretical framework
- General information about Plymouth
- Evolution and current situation of heritage protection in Plymouth
- Evolution and current situation of tourism in Plymouth
- Cultural, tourist, urban and economic management in Plymouth

267

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>> ATTRACTING VISITORS TO ANCIENT NEIGHBOURHOODS



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