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#### MAIN SECTION

# Hull's Maritime Industrial Heritage: Sites of Debated Value and Conflicting 21st- Century Port-City Mindsets. Case Analysis and Suggested Learnings.

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#### ABSTRACT

The study of Hull's curation of industrial maritime heritage in its redundant docklands depicts how values, mindsets, and visions concerning the 21st-century port city differ significantly between urban actors. Typically, non-economic stakeholders seek dock preservation as evidence of their contribution to Hull's growth, while investors favor a simplified and romanticized maritime narrative. Research on the redevelopment of three docks and Hull's Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan demonstrates the lack of consensus on the dockland's role in shaping Hull's contemporary maritime identity. These diverging mindsets are impeding future-making, as the priceless heritage which bore witness to Hull's maritime-industrial boom and testifies to working-class' contribution is rapidly degrading. There is therefore a need to develop a new consultation practice seeking a broader stakeholder consensus to preserve Hull's unique historical identity and acknowledge discordant readings of the past. This will enable urban interventions in sites presently gridlocked in conflicts of interest and will nurture a new mindset for 21st-century Hull shared by various stakeholder groups.

#### KEYWORDS

*Kingston-Upon-Hull; Maritime Mindsets; Maritime Industrial Heritage; Cultural Regeneration; Heritage Value*

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## Introduction

At its peak in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Hull was the third-largest British port, active in commercial shipping, deep-sea fishing, and passenger transport. <sup>1</sup> Today it is a shadow of its former self. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, a perfect storm dealt a blow that proved particularly hard to recover from; like the rest of the world, automation and roll-on/roll-off (“Ro-Ro”) facilities challenged existing shipping infrastructure, on top of which a reduction of fishing rights spelled the doom of Hull’s fishing industry. Consequently, half of Hull’s docks became redundant [Fig. 1]. Hull urgently needed to cultivate a new purpose and identity, and to do so, reassess the relevance of its vacant docks whose significant surface area, water bodies, and riverside visibility was both a blessing and a curse. Various forms of redevelopment, funded by the council and private investors, led the docklands to house residential, commercial, and leisure uses. Hull was shaping up as an increasingly diverse port city. However, to this day, the city still ranks lowly in socio-economic indicators, constituting one of the five most deprived local authorities in England, a statistic that says a lot about Hull’s difficulties in finding its footing as a 21<sup>st</sup> century port city. <sup>2</sup>

Hull, officially Kingston-Upon-Hull, is a medium-sized port city in East Riding Yorkshire, England with 259 000 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> It lies at the confluence of the River Hull and the Humber Estuary. The study of Hull’s docklands provides insight into the values and mindsets of the actors reshaping the built environment, namely investors, council leadership, and other stakeholders. Indeed, the built environment signposts the societal values of its time, and heritage illustrates the evolving values of built environment actors, as each stage of a building’s lifespan –namely construction, use, heritage designation and potential reconversion– illustrates how the past is instrumentalized in the creation of a revised urban identity. <sup>4</sup> As such, heritage is “a subjective political negotiation of identity, place and memory.” <sup>5</sup> The economical shift made by 20<sup>th</sup> century port cities led to urban redundancies which provide fertile grounds for analyzing changing urban identities and diverging actor values and mindsets. Given that *heritagization* – meaning the institutionalized process whereby a building or place is designated as heritage and subsequently protected, funded, mediatized, etc. – tends to favor buildings conforming with the desired image of the past and, often, the ruling class, docklands are particularly

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1 A. Bax and S. Fairfield, *The Macmillan Guide to the United Kingdom 1978–79* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 314–29, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-81511-1>.

2 “The English Indices of Deprivation 2019” (Ministry of Housing Communities and Local Government, 2019), 1.

3 “Mid-Year Population Estimates” (Kingston Upon Hull Data Observatory, 2019).

4 Sanjoy Mazumdar and Shampa Mazumdar, “Societal Values and Architecture: A Socio-Physical Model of the Interrelationships,” *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 11, no. 1 (1994): 66–90.

5 Laurajane Smith, *All Heritage Is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums* (Amsterdam: Reinwardt Academie, 2011).



FIG. 1 Diagrammatic representation of the evolution of Hull's Waterfront from the Middle Ages to future plans, reproduction drawing by author, 2020. [reproduced with GIS Data provided by OS Meridian 2, n.d.]

interesting cases to study as their claim to heritage value is contested.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, they capture the zeitgeist of maritime power from the point of view of laborers, entailing that they are often understood as working-class heritage. This ambivalence is evidenced by a Historic England public survey carried out in Humberside that identifies the high regard in which industrial heritage is held, as well as its negative connotation of decline.<sup>7</sup> Given the ambivalence felt toward dockland heritage value, one wonders whether the unique cultural capital they represent risks dereliction

6 Yaniv Poria and Gregory Ashworth, "Heritage Tourism—Current Resource for Conflict," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 3 (2009): 522–25, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.03.003>.

7 "Industrial Heritage at Risk Public Attitudes Survey" (BDRG Continental, 2011), <https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/har/nat-results-public-attitudes-industrial-heritage-pdf/>.

or misuse if redeveloped following tourism-related ambitions which may compromise truthful, inclusive, and diverse historical representation.

This research, therefore, seeks to uncover the values and mindsets influencing the curation of maritime heritage to understand Hull's desired port city identity, as this is key to safekeeping maritime industrial heritage as Hull transforms into a 21<sup>st</sup> century port city. *Value*, when used to refer to stakeholder or societal values, refers to the overarching societal principles that guide behavior. Examples of values consist of economic growth, social wellbeing, environmental sustainability, and many more. Societal values guide heritagization processes. Indeed, on the one hand, stakeholders that value economic growth may designate mostly heritage of high *destination branding value* – meaning a building that has a high potential to attract visitors and be financially profitable. On the other hand, a community which prizes their legacy and conviviality may relate heritage's importance to its *evidential value*, referring to the "potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity," or *communal value* entailing "the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory" according to Historic England.<sup>8</sup> *Mindsets* determine how values are interpreted in a specific situation, thus having a direct impact on both individual and communal ambitions in future-making. A mindset's ability to determine a compromise between competing values and frame the past makes it instrumental in dealing with heritage issues as it sheds light on conflicts between stakeholder groups who may share the same values, yet different mindsets. In Hull's case, understanding which values and mindsets drove the evolution of Hull's built fabric provides insight into how this evolution may continue. This research's premise is that the retention of facets of the maritime past, including contested ones, is key to port cities preserving their unique identity, culture, and social fabric. The stakes are high, as Hull's policy declares "the historic environment is a fragile and finite resource, once an element is lost, it is gone forever."<sup>9</sup>

This paper's research draws from a wide range of authors and media forms. Historical literature, policy readings, and archival sources have informed research on the evolution of Hull's docklands, while press clippings provide insight into their public perception and redevelopment. A 2020 photographic survey highlights the current condition of the docks and analytical infographics provide visual syntheses. Only one scholar, Atkinson, has published critical research on Hull's Victoria Dock and St Andrew's Dock. His last relevant publication dates to 2008. Since, many redevelopment initiatives have broken ground, entailing the need to re-appraise the values and mindsets influencing the curation of Hull's maritime

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8 "Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance" (Historic England, 2008), 20, <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesandguidanceapril08web/>.

9 "Supplementary Planning Document 2: Heritage & Archaeology" (Hull City Council, 2017).



industrial heritage. Indeed, Hull is in the process of carrying out the Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan, thanks to which four historic maritime sites and two historic ships will be refurbished, and the port city hopes to present itself in a new light. Other key scholars consist of Crinson, Hewison, Tunbridge, Smith, and Ashworth. Their extensive research on urban memory and critical reflection on the concept of heritage through the lens of class struggle, social dominance, and historical representation have provided the basis for a critical review of Hull's heritagization process anchored in the wider discourse.<sup>10</sup>

Firstly, this paper carries out a historical review of the docklands. Secondly, a comparison is carried out between the regeneration of three Hull docks, namely Victoria Dock, Alexandra Dock, and St Andrew's Dock. Thirdly, a reflection is made on Hull's culture-led Yorkshire Maritime City regeneration masterplan and similarities are observed between Hull's approach to heritagization and other British Capitals of Culture. Finally, the paper suggests a heritage redevelopment practice that strikes a compromise between stakeholder aspirations, unlocks the potential of contested heritage sites, and paves the way for an inclusive 21<sup>st</sup> century port city mindset.

## Dockland evolution and the industrial mindset

Founded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century for exporting wool, Hull rose to fame quickly, becoming second only to London as a raw material importer by 1700.<sup>11</sup> The Hull Dock Company was founded in 1773 and five years later, Hull's first dock opened. In the following 150 years, another nine docks were built to keep up with growing traffic, following the mindset of industrial ambition at almost any cost [Fig. 2]. The urban evolution was driven by values of growth, trade, and prosperity with pragmatism trumping conservation.<sup>12</sup> The edge between city and water was then Hull's most active urban zone. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, seven miles of docks and warehouses fronted the Humber and the River Hull. Hull's last dock was built in 1914, and, in the following decade, all of Hull's 10 docks were active, with Hull ranking as the "third port in the Kingdom" after London and Liverpool.<sup>13</sup> The 1930s closure, infilling, and reuse of Queen's Dock marked the first permanent closure of a Hull Dock. The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

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10 Mark Crinson, ed., *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203414613>; Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen Publishing, 1987); John Tunbridge, "Whose Heritage to Conserve? Cross-Cultural Reflections on Political Dominance and Urban Heritage Conservation," *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 28, no. 2 (1984): 171–80, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.1984.tb00783.x>; Smith, *All Heritage Is Intangible*; Poria and Ashworth, "Heritage Tourism—Current Resource for Conflict."

11 Keith John Allison and Graham Kent, eds., *The Victoria History of The Counties of England* (London: Victoria County History, 1969).

12 *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, Scientific and Railway Gazette* (London: William Laxton, 1839), 357, <https://archive.org/details/civilengineerarc02lond/>.

13 "Kingston-upon-Hull: A Wool Port," *Journal of the Textile Institute Proceedings* 15, no. 7 (1924): 284–284, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19447012408660966>.

spelled the doom of the docklands, with the perfect storm of containerization, dock automation, and the loss of access to fishing waters making half of Hull's docks redundant by 1975. While most port cities' shipping was challenged, Hull's fishing industry which was specialized in deep-sea trawling was decimated by the loss of fishing rights for the Atlantic near Iceland. This was less of a blow to Grimsby, a town also located on the Humber estuary, as it carried out coastal fishing and was, therefore, less affected by the new agreement. These circumstances set the stage for Hull's exceptionally steep economic decline which is still felt today, making it a pertinent case study of values and mindsets informing the reshaping of a port city's identity following industrial collapse. The fishing industry which involved one-fifth of Hull's population in 1954, has proven particularly divisive.<sup>14</sup> One only needs to look at the importance of the fishing agenda in the Brexit talks to grasp the weight of these issues.

Following the 1980s British port city trend, Hull's local council regenerated its de-industrialized waterfront.<sup>15</sup> While all redundant docks laid idle for a period, four out of five were re-purposed for leisure and cultural uses [Fig. 2]. Junction and Railway docks were converted to a Marina, Prince's dock was built over with Prince's Quay shopping center and Victoria dock was infilled and turned into a residential neighborhood completed in 1988, constituting the only instance that a Hull dock was redeveloped through private funding. All other docks were re-used following the council's purchase of sites. St Andrew's Dock is the outlier as it is stuck in a redundancy phase, never having found a new use since its closure. The following three case studies, in bold in Figure 2, identify how the maritime past was curated according to diverging 21<sup>st</sup> century Hull mindsets.

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14 Chris Gooding, "Heritage Dock," accessed June 6, 2021, <http://www.hullnow.co.uk/concepts/heritage-dock>; David Atkinson, "The Heritage of Mundane Places," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 381–97, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315613031.ch21>.

15 Rodwell Jones, "Kingston-upon-Hull: A Study in Port Development," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 35, no. 5 (1919): 161–74, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14702541908541610>; "Kingston upon Hull. Heritage Evidence Base" (Hull City Council, 2014), <http://hullcc-consult.objective.co.uk/file/3598012>.

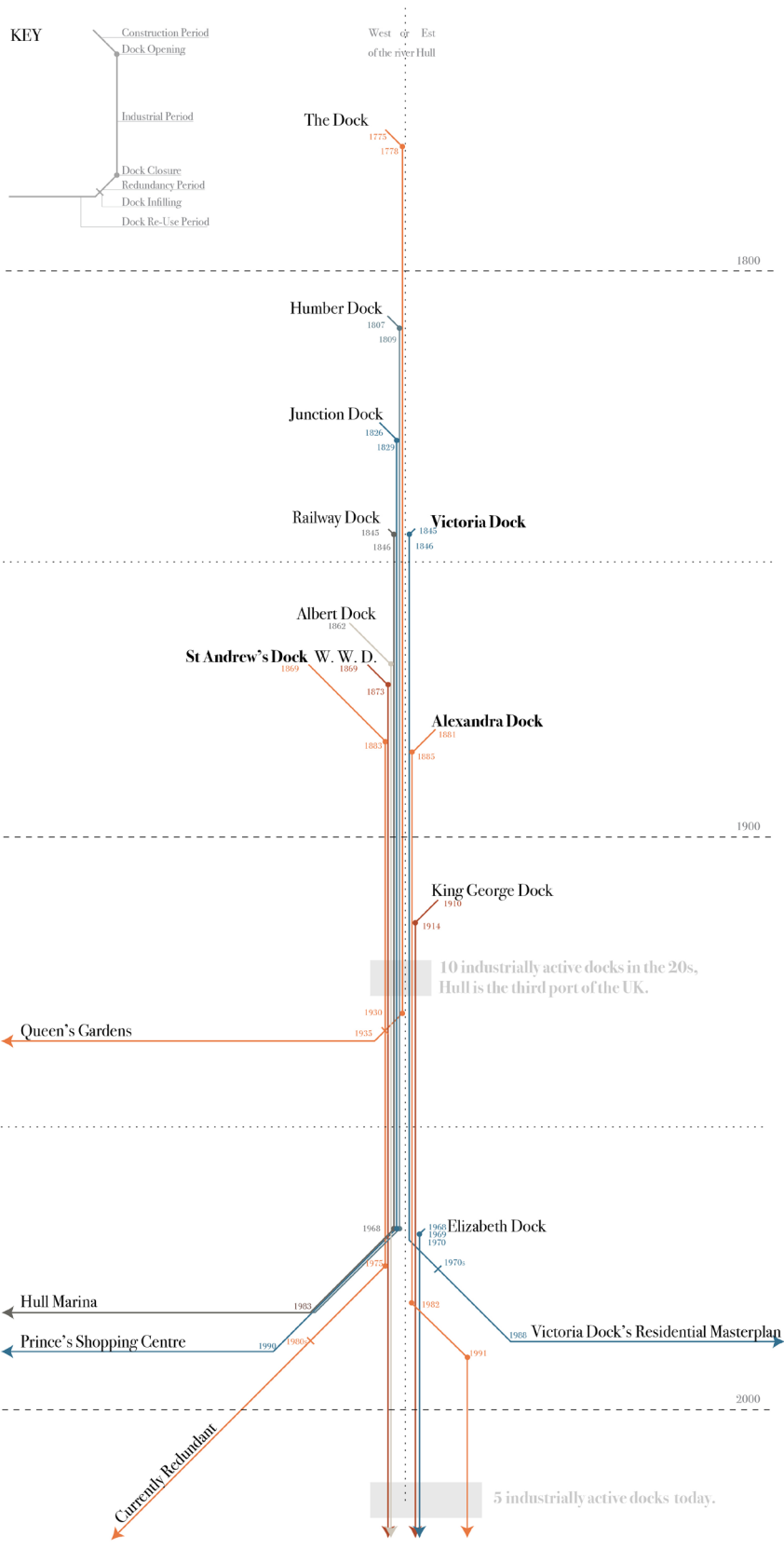


FIG. 2 Spatio-temporal diagram of the evolution of Hull's docklands, original drawing by author, 2020.

## Victoria Dock: the maritime romanticization of post-industrial Hull



FIG. 3 Victoria Dock with timber yard in Kingston upon Hull, England, 1942. Adapted from Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries.

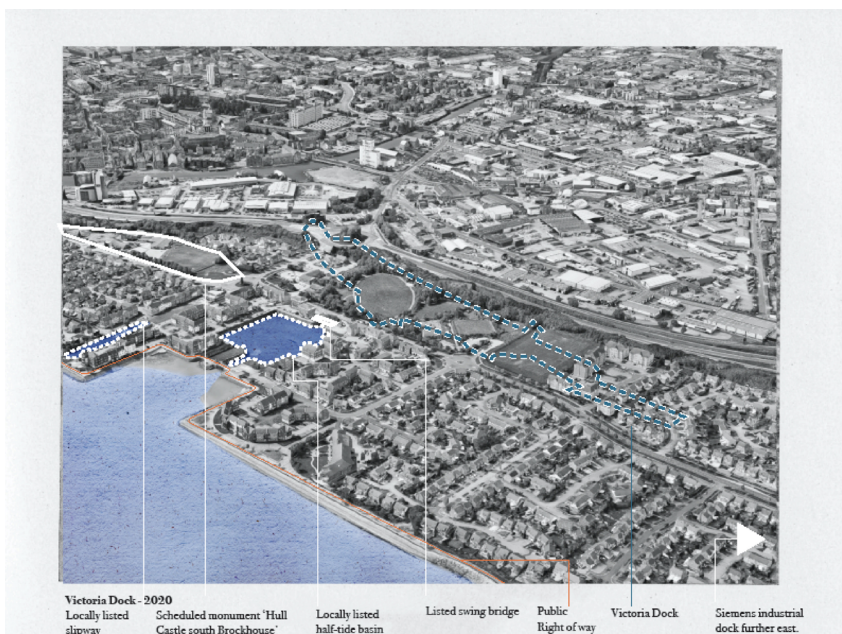


FIG. 4 Google Maps satellite photo of Victoria Park. Adapted from ©2020 Google.

Victoria Dock was the first mercantile dock outside the historic town and shipped cattle, coal, and timber. [Fig. 3]. Made redundant in 1968, the 150-acre site was vacant for more than a decade until it was bought by Bellway Homes. The private development company aspired to create a “riverside community, self-contained, yet essentially part of Hull, designed to link

with the port's past yet incorporating every amenity for today's lifestyle." <sup>16</sup> Planning permission was granted in 1986 for Victoria Dock Village's 1500 homes, soon followed by a school, village hall, waterfront promenade, and leisure amenities [Fig. 4]. Bellway Homes used maritime heritage as a place-marketing strategy, referring to the sea through archetypical street names and ornamental anchors. Atkinson called this maritime-themed aesthetics "maritime kitsch" referring to its mass production and high degree of legibility, and points out the evident commercial agenda behind such an approach, writing that the masterplan features "sufficient 'historic' maritime kitsch motifs to make it saleable to its middle-class residents." <sup>17</sup>

While the project won the title of "Best Urban Development of 1993", Victoria Dock Village did not receive unanimous support, described by some as a "rather crass development that has spoilt docks." <sup>18</sup> Avni and Teschner observe that the development lacks "substantial forms of recognition" of the local past, none withstanding the Heritage Trail which provides information boards about the dock's history. <sup>19,20</sup> Similarly, Atkinson remarks that while inhabitants appreciate the plainly fabricated décor, they feel detached from the area's history possibly due to the lack of heritage able to communicate the past. <sup>21</sup> Indeed, all that remains of the site's industrial history is infrastructural, namely a swing bridge, slipway and half-tide basin that convey mostly technological progress [Fig. 5], rather than the curation of buildings that would better communicate an understanding of working life at the dockside.

This approach to working-class heritage echoes Smith's observation that sites of labor are often curated with a bias favoring "physical fabric and technology over the social relations of production, labor process and class conflict." <sup>22</sup>

This approach depicts a nostalgic vision of the maritime past while leaving out specific aspects of local history to reduce potential controversy, a process sometimes referred to as "heritage sanitization", whereby narratives

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16 "The New Riverside Village in the Heart of Hull, Bellway Homes: Looking to The Future, Linking with the Past" (Bellway Homes, n.d.).

17 David Atkinson, "Kitsch Geographies and the Everyday Spaces of Social Memory," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 39, no. 3 (March 2007): 521–40, <https://doi.org/10.1068/a3866>.

18 Atkinson, "The Heritage of Mundane Places"; Fitzgerald as quoted in *ibid.*

19 Nufar Avni and Na'ama Teschner, "Urban Waterfronts: Contemporary Streams of Planning Conflicts," *Journal of Planning Literature* 34, no. 4 (2019): 408–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412219850891>.

20 Colin McNicol, *A Walk through Time: Victoria Dock Heritage Trail / as Described by Colin McNicol*, 2006.

21 Atkinson, "Kitsch Geographies and the Everyday Spaces of Social Memory."

22 Laurajane Smith, Paul Shackel, and Gary Campbell, eds., *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes* (London: Routledge, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203813232>.





FIG. 5 Silted locally listed slipway, original photo by author, 2020.

are simplified to appeal to broad audiences.<sup>23</sup> This approach negates the *evidential* and *communal* values of built heritage, merely framing them as assets for destination branding whereby Hull's maritime history is air-brushed into a romanticized and nostalgic brand straying significantly from truthful, inclusive, and diverse historical representation.<sup>24</sup> The use of such a model says a lot about the maritime mindsets shared by Bellway Homes as well as from the council which approved the project, and the contemporary school of thought regarding dock redevelopment which awarded Victoria Dock Village. What occurred in Victoria dock aligns with Tunbridge's analysis that

"Whichever social group is ascendant at the time shapes the city in its own image by deliberate or unconscious bias in its approach to conservation and alternative redevelopment."<sup>25</sup>

This model is troublesome as the erasure of the social context and

23 David Atkinson, Steven Cooke, and Derek Spooner, "Tales from the Riverbank: Place-Marketing and Maritime Heritages," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8, no. 1 (2002): 25–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250220119910>; Peter Howard and Brian Graham, eds., *The Routledge Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008), 388–93.

24 "Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance," 20.

25 Tunbridge, "Whose Heritage to Conserve? Cross-Cultural Reflections on Political Dominance and Urban Heritage Conservation."



working conditions negates the contribution made by local communities who worked at the docks. Furthermore, while planned, affordable housing was never built, and rents were soon among the highest in the city.<sup>26</sup> Through this redevelopment, a former site of blue-collar labor had become a middle-class neighborhood and initiated one of the first occurrences of post-industrial gentrification in Hull. The uniformity and increasing ubiquity of such waterfront redevelopments risk devaluing post-industrial docklands heritage, as all remaining maritime industrial heritage is stripped of meaning due to the erasure of its (in)tangible context. Hull, as seen in Victoria Dock Village today, is not a port city but rather a suburban city overlooking an estuary.

### **Alexandra Dock: the sustainable values for Hull's industrial renewal**

Located East of Victoria Dock, Alexandra Dock was built in 1881 to export coal.<sup>27</sup> Made redundant in 1982, the dock found a new purpose as a riverside container terminal, *Quay 2005*, which fueled tensions with the newly residential Victoria Dock Village. The dock handled bulk cargo and obtained a Ro-Ro terminal, demonstrating Hull's interest in remaining technologically relevant. In 2010, Associated British Ports' new project *Green Port Hull* enabled Hull to assert itself as an industrially active, sustainable, and innovative port city. This won Alexandra Dock the bid to host Siemens's new wind blade manufacturing site for the North Sea wind farms, whose transition from coal to wind was emblematic of changing port values. The blade factory, inaugurated in 2016, created hundreds of jobs and training opportunities.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, Alexandra dock exemplifies a different type of dock transformation than Victoria Dock: one that materialized Hull's sustainable values and industrial ambitions. Extensive information on Hull's green agenda is provided on information boards lining the footpath that skirts around the no-longer accessible high-security dockland [Fig. 6-7]. The cordoning-off of the dockland and waterfront has led to the loss of access to the listed heritage buildings located in Alexandra dock, only one of which can be seen through the site's fences [Fig. 8]. However, efforts have been made to retain a sense of history, namely with the maintenance of listed buildings by Associated British Ports and the commissioning of artwork for the sites' surroundings, inviting proposals relating to local heritage.<sup>29</sup> The

26 Atkinson, "The Heritage of Mundane Places."

27 Allison and Kent, *The Victoria History of The Counties of England*.

28 Steve Barnard et al., "Green Port Impact Assessment: Summary Report" (Hull: University of Hull, 2018), 8, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331234057\\_Green\\_Port\\_Impact\\_Assessment\\_Summary\\_Report](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331234057_Green_Port_Impact_Assessment_Summary_Report).

29 "Green Port Hull Sculptures Along the Public Right of Way at Alexandra Dock" (Associated British Ports, 2016), 7, [https://greenporthull.co.uk/uploads/files/Latest\\_A4\\_Greenport\\_artist\\_doc.pdf](https://greenporthull.co.uk/uploads/files/Latest_A4_Greenport_artist_doc.pdf).



FIG. 6 Information board on renewable energy, original photo by author, 2020.



FIG. 7 Siemens fenced-off industrial grounds, original photo by author, 2020.





FIG. 8 Grade II Listed Hydraulic Tower and Pump House, original photo by author, 2020.

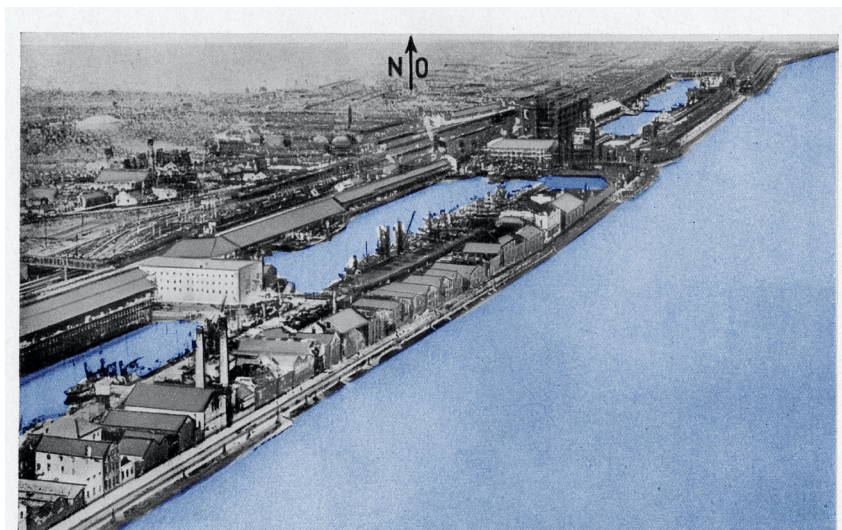
iconic 1960s Dead Bod graffiti was removed from a West Wharf building, saved for posterity, and exhibited during the City of Culture 2017 celebrations. However, once again, the selection of heritage is heavily biased towards technological buildings rather than those referencing the working life of the site.

Alexandra Dock's reuse reflects the interest of local leadership in continued industrial activity by making use of existing infrastructure and creating social value through jobs and training opportunities while ensuring the perpetuity of heritage for Alexandra Dock's post-Siemens future. However, the continuation of industrial harbor activity is leading to social unrest as the spatial buffer between Alexandra dock and Victoria Village may shrink.<sup>30</sup> This case study highlights diverging visions for 21<sup>st</sup> century Hull, envisioned on the one hand as an active, industrial harbor, and on the other peaceful residential suburbia, both of which compete for the waterfront.

30 "Site 3 Keystore Site Earle's Road Hendon Road" (Hull City Council, 2012), <http://www.hull.gov.uk/sites/hull/files/media/Editor%20-%20Planning/Keystore%20Site%2C%20Earle%27s%20Road%2C%20Hendon%20Road.pdf>.

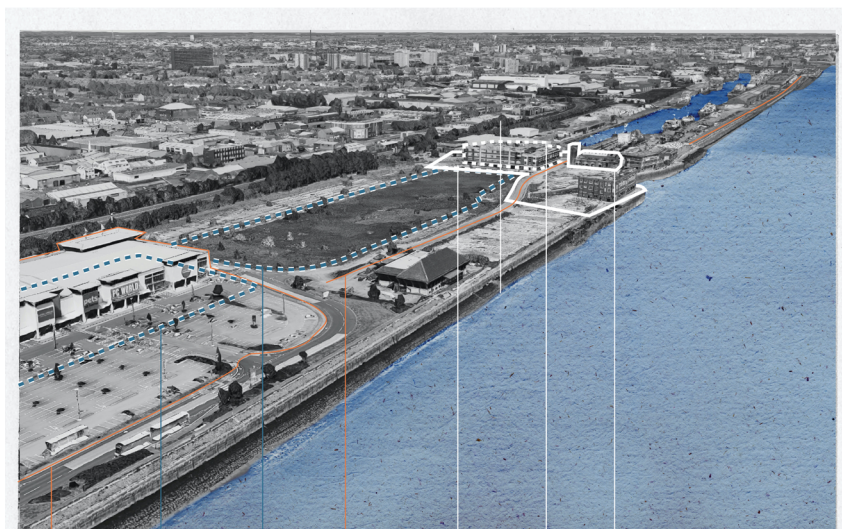


## St Andrew's Dock: clashing mindsets and development deadlock



GB 3, BB 10, Nr. 42: St. Andrews Dock in Kingston upon Hull.  
 Flußkai des River Humber, dahinter von links nach rechts St. Andrews Dock Extension und St. Andrews Dock mit großen Fischhallen auf dem Nordufer, William Wright Dock und Albert Dock.

FIG. 9 St. Andrew's Dock in Kingston upon Hull, England, 1942. Adapted from Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries.



St Andrew's Dock - 2020  
 St Andrew's Retail Park    Infilled Extension of St Andrew's Dock    Infilled St Andrew's Dock    Public Right of Way    St Andrew's Conservation Area (excludes the dock)    Locally Listed Lord Line Building    Grade II listed hydraulic tower and pump house

FIG. 10 Annotated aerial view of St Andrew's Dock. Adapted from ©2020 Google.



FIG. 11 St Andrew's Shopping Park, original photo by author, 2020.



FIG. 12 Mural in St Andrew's Retail Park referencing the site's past, original photo by author, 2020.

St Andrew's dock was built in 1883 and is rumored to have harbored the UK's biggest trawler fleet<sup>31</sup> [Fig. 9]. St Andrew's was home to a thriving community: "for every fisherman working at sea there were up to three people working ashore in associated jobs. This totaled almost 50,000 workers in 1954."<sup>32</sup> St Andrew's dock nurtured a unique mindset: while the women processed the fish in factories near the docks, the men lived on precarious trawlers for weeks at a time. St Andrew's was also a location of collective memory and mourning, as an estimated 6,000 Hullensian fishermen died at sea, leaving grieving communities onshore.<sup>33</sup> The high number of orphans and widows led women such as Lillian Bilocca to campaign for safer working conditions on trawlers. [Fig. 14] The strenuous lifestyle engendered by the fishing industry shaped generations of Hullensian who lived on Hessle Road.

The advent of freezer trawlers and the loss of access to Iceland's Cod-rich waters rendered St Andrew's redundant in 1975, leading to its infilling. Part of the site became an "anyplace" retail park with a mural as the only reference to the site's past [Fig. 10-12]. The remaining part of the site is a metaphorical graveyard for the fishing industry, subjected to trespassing, vandalism, and arson.<sup>34</sup> Today, St Andrew's has spent 40% of its life deteriorating and is in "very bad condition" according to the 2020 Heritage at Risk Register.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, the past's lingering presence can still be felt in dilapidated St Andrew's thanks to the open horizon over the estuary and the Memorial to Lost Trawlers which, to this day, hosts regular memorial services [Fig. 13].

31 "The Birth of STAND," St. Andrew's Dock Heritage Park Action Group, accessed June 10, 2021, <https://www.hullfishingheritage.org.uk/about-us/>.

32 Gooding, "Heritage Dock."

33 Sophie Kitching, "The Moving Moment Hull Remembers 6,000 Trawlermen Lost at Sea," *Hull Daily Mail*, January 20, 2019, <https://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/news/hull-east-yorkshire-news/moving-moment-hull-remembers-6000-2448450>.

34 Grace Newton, "Hull's Landmark Lord Line Trawler Offices Saved from Demolition," *Yorkshire Post*, November 8, 2019, <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/heritage-and-retro/heritage/hulls-landmark-lord-line-trawler-offices-saved-demolition-1747784>.

35 "Heritage at Risk Register 2020: North East & Yorkshire" (Historic England, 2020), <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/har-2020-registers/ne-yo-har-register2020/>





FIG. 13 Vandalized condition of St Andrew's remaining Lord Line building (left) and Grade II Listed Pump House (right) and lock gate (front), original photo by author, 2020.

There have been attempts at re-using the dock, with its riverside location and character presenting great potential for redevelopment. Multiple planning applications have been submitted by the successive owners, some of which were approved but never actioned, others which were rejected as a local group pressured the council to oppose due to perceived historical insensitivity, despite the inclusion of memorial artwork and landscaping. Indeed, the families who were involved with St Andrew's fishing industry wish to be acknowledged for their contribution to Hull's past prosperity, the poverty they suffered from lost livelihoods, and their grief for those who perished at sea and were last seen alive departing from the dock. Most recently, Manor Properties applied for permission to demolish St Andrew's Lord Line building on the grounds of safety, which was unanimously refused by the council.<sup>36</sup>

Complicating things further, Atkinson's observed that the Lord Line Building, which has recently been center stage in redevelopment debates, is a problematic symbol as it represents trawler management rather than the fishing community.<sup>37</sup> Indeed,

"The vast majority of fishermen, past and present, that pass-through memory lane do not wish to see the Lord Line Building preserved to the trawlers' owners, who they are in dispute with over their claim for compensation."<sup>38</sup>

36 Angus Young, "Lord Line Building Saved from Demolition by Councillors," *Hull Daily Mail*, December 6, 2017, <https://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/news/hull-east-yorkshire-news/lord-line-building-saved-demolition-886365>.

37 Hull Daily Mail as quoted in Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner, "Tales from the Riverbank," 38.

38 Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner, "Tales from the Riverbank."





FIG. 14 Fishing themed graffiti in Hessle road, home to the ex-fishing community and the Hull Fishing Heritage Center. The lower section depicts the 'Headscarf wives' who fought for safer working conditions on trawlers. Original photo by author, 2020.



FIG. 15 Sculpture part of Hull's historic center fish trail, original photo by author, 2020.

In the case of St Andrew's Dock, the meaning given to heritage is shifting as the original buildings are now tagged with very different emotional associations.

Studying the mindsets surrounding debates of St Andrew's redevelopment reveals the social class conflicts intrinsic to port cities. The value clash between entrenched local stakeholders and investors about the site's future has left St Andrew's Dock in developmental limbo. While the current owner attempts to prescribe change, the only power local stakeholders yield consists of rebutting planning proposals and demolition requests, as they can neither sway the balance in their favor nor purchase the site and take the matter into their own hands.

Some may blame St Andrew's Dock's prolonged redundancy on its remoteness or its private –rather than council– ownership. However, Victoria dock was redeveloped privately and, if private ownership were to impede redevelopment, ownership could change as there is a precedent of compulsory purchase in Hull.<sup>39</sup> Rather, the root cause of St Andrew's lack of activity resides in the contrasting views on St Andrew's value, compounded by the deep-seated disagreement on Hull's fishing industry's claim to heritage. Indeed, 60 years ago, the Times wrote that Hull is

39 "The New Riverside Village in the Heart of Hull, Bellway Homes: Looking to The Future, Linking with the Past."

"systematically removing its 'fish only' label" and Atkinson's observed the port city's attempt at "excising" less marketable images from the city's branding, such as the "dirty and smelly fishing industry."<sup>40, 41</sup> Figures 14 and 15 highlight the different mindsets affecting the portrayal of fishing, with the former representing the grueling trawler lifestyle and the latter referencing the fishing industry as wildlife pavement decoration. Given these deep-seated incompatible mindsets, it is no surprise that, until now, no proposal has satisfied both social and commercial interests at St Andrew's.

The study of these three docks not only highlights how trade-offs are made between heritage preservation and economic interests but confirms that, as Crinson observed, heritage is a "resource for conflict" which sows division and polarization as heritagization seeks to uniformize memory and conceal existing social heterogeneity.<sup>42</sup> Victoria dock's regeneration demonstrates the post-industrial mindset favoring the romanticization of docklands converted to residential and leisure uses, thus trading off the important commemorative value of the site to the working-class. Alexandra Dock's Green Port Hull testifies to industrial rebirth and environmental values, simultaneously safeguarding heritage while rendering it inaccessible. The conflict between both mindsets can be felt at the interface between Alexandra Dock and Victoria Dock, where the industrial activity impinges upon the suburban lifestyle. In contrast, St Andrew's Dock is torn between a mindset like the one which prevailed in Victoria dock which threatens to erase local history, and the ex-fisherman community that wishes to see the site's evidential and communal value acknowledged. This inability to act has led to the decay of the dock's sparse remains, much to the despair of Hessle Road's community. Indeed, left unchecked, this causes urban amnesia and challenges the perpetuation of living memory, leading non-hegemonic historic narratives to disappear, and negating the contribution of the fishing community.<sup>43</sup>

Based on these case studies, two preliminary conclusions can be drawn. On the one hand, Hull's top-down redevelopment model has proved incapable of translating complex, emotionally loaded histories into successful win-win redevelopment agendas. On the other hand, these case studies tell the tale of different aspirational port city identities, namely a suburban residential city, and an industrious, innovative port, both of which selectively curate the past, and finally a repressed need for historical representation.

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40 "Changing Face of Britain's Third Port" (The Times Hull Development Committee, n.d.).

41 Atkinson, "The Heritage of Mundane Places."

42 Crinson, *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*.

43 Avni and Teschner, "Urban Waterfronts."



FIG. 16 Location of the Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan sites, reproduction drawing by author, 2020. [reproduced with GIS Data provided by OS Meridian 2, n.d.]

## Troublesome biases of cultural renewal

At the turn of the century, Hull's soul-searching continued as the city still ranked lowly both in quality of life and popular opinion. It comes therefore as no surprise that the 2017 UK City of Culture nomination was used to improve perceptions of the city, as it provided an unprecedented opportunity for Hull to re-present itself in a new light, with certain stakeholders hopeful of Hull shedding its fishy overalls for an alluring cultural program.<sup>44</sup> This funneled billion-pound investment toward regeneration initiatives, which included renovations of heritage buildings and improvements of the public realm and yielded £300m in tourism revenue for the year.<sup>45</sup> Hopes were high that cultural renewal may break the vicious cycles of low aspirations and achievement. As a result, culture was consequently framed as the chief aim, paving the road for the Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan. Due for completion in 2024, the multi-million-pound heritage regeneration project involves the refurbishment and preservation of four historic maritime sites and two historic ships [Fig. 16]. The culture-driven masterplan is part-funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund and Hull City Council, and its brief recognizes the need to preserve and promote maritime history, and acknowledge how Hull became the city it is today by drawing on the port city's "unique spirit and sense of place."<sup>46</sup>

However, the masterplan presents a similar bias toward old heritage dissociated from most people's lives, with only one intervention made on 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage, namely the restoration of the Scotch Derrick Crane –once again an object whose value has more to do with technological

44 "Cultural Transformations: The Impacts of Hull UK City of Culture 2017" (University of Hull, 2018), 9, <https://static.a-n.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Cultural-Transformations-The-Impacts-of-Hull-City-of-Culture-2017.pdf>.

45 Nicholas Serota, "Why the Arts Can Lead the Revival of Britain's Towns," *The Guardian*, June 16, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/aug/26/art-revive-britain-towns-hull-margate-creative-high-streets-nicholas-serota>.

46 "6 Unique Heritage Sites, 1 Great City" (Yorkshire Maritime City, 2020), <https://maritimehull.co.uk/>.





FIG. 17 Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan breaks ground along the Hull riverbank to host the Arctic Corsair, a deep-sea trawler which was turned into a museum, original photo by author, 2020.

proWess than lived experience.<sup>47</sup> All other intervention sites for the masterplan have lost their industrial function for a long time already, having since become recreation spaces: Queen's Dock has been a park since the 1930s and the Old Dock Offices, which present the maritime industries from the point of view of administration and not labor, has been Maritime Museum since the 1970s. The masterplan merely adds a layer of re-use on something that had already had a curatorial purpose, rather than using the opportunity to share lesser-known stories in dire need of unearthing. Furthermore, its geographically limited scope favors the old center, importantly leaving out St Andrew's dock, with the only link being made to fishing through the Arctic Corsair trawler's exhibition [Fig. 17]. Given the limited scope of the sites curated in the masterplan, the maritime narrative depicted by Yorkshire Maritime City cannot be representative of Hull's diverse maritime history as it fails to acknowledge the contribution made by working-class communities. The narrative presented by Yorkshire Maritime City is that of a removed maritime-industrial past that has since been overcome. Kisiel writes that this approach to industrial pasts is prevalent in post-industrial cities that won the title of Capital of Culture such as Liverpool and Glasgow:

"In the European Capital of Culture framework, the industrial past is not so much silenced, but rather is packed as part of the narrative of [the] rise and fall of the industry, which is replaced by the service economy, part of which is the culture. [...]"

47 Ann Day and Ken Lunn, "British Maritime Heritage: Carried along by the Currents?," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 4 (2003): 5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352725022000155045>.

It was not the old shipyards and former factories that stood in focus, but rather the creative industries that replaced them.”<sup>48</sup>

The continued bias in curating a romanticized vision of Hull’s maritime history, rather than specific histories, has led to the discrimination of the industries around which Hull’s working-class’ lives revolved and whose urban traces now lie in ruin. However, the lack of attention given to 20<sup>th</sup> century fishing heritage is neither due to a lack of stakeholder interest nor of lack of awareness regarding the value of recent heritage, as evidenced by local policy. Indeed, already 50 years ago, it had been acknowledged that “the historic character of the city, including the fishing activities, is clearly important to the indigenous population.”<sup>49</sup> Thirty years later, the St. Andrew’s Dock Conservation Area Character Statement observed that this held true and that as the dock degraded “many Hull people felt that a part of their history was also disappearing, a history with which many of them had close family ties.”<sup>50</sup> Beyond policy writing, Hull must acknowledge in urban terms the evidential and communal values of heritage.

Remarkably, the Yorkshire Maritime City masterplan highlights that tourism-based cultural regeneration cannot unlock sites whose heritage value is contested, given that appealing to a broad audience requires heritage sanitization that prevents an inclusive, if not faithful, testimonial of the past.<sup>51</sup> However, in nature as in architecture, what fails to evolve is destined to extinction. There is therefore a need for a new approach, able to give a post-industrial future to redundant docklands. As Hardy pleaded in parliament, “let us act now to save this piece of Hull’s history. The people of Hull will not forget or forgive us if we do not.”<sup>52</sup>

## **A new redevelopment model based on stakeholder consensus.**

The key question for Hull’s maritime industrial heritage is not whether Hull’s promotion of a maritime heritage is biased, as conservation is inherently biased. Rather, it is whether heritage processes can become more inclusive of discordant past experiences. Heritagization is not clear-cut and gives rise to many conflicting interests. However, the decision-making process leading to the choice of sites and the form of re-use must be transparent, informed, empathetic and should not allow key histories to

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48 Piotr Kisiel, “Unwanted Inheritance? Industrial Past as the EU Heritage,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 7 (2019): 9, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2019.1678053>.

49 Jacquelin A. Burgess, *Image and Identity: A Study of Urban and Regional Perception with Particular Reference to Kingston upon Hull* (Hull: University of Hull, 1978).

50 “Urban Conservation and Design St. Andrew’s Dock Conservation Area Character Statement” (Hull City Council Planning & Design Committee, 1996).

51 Avni and Teschner, “Urban Waterfronts”; Atkinson, “The Heritage of Mundane Places.”

52 Emma Hardy, *Compulsory Purchase and Planning*, 2019, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2019-09-04/debates/B1964971-1317-48D3-BD1C-0ADB694921D3/CompulsoryPurchaseAndPlanning>.

disappear. The factors influencing the condition of the docks today are still at work in future development and, given its earlier outcomes, this relationship needs urgent reconsideration. Indeed, Crinson writes that "if development sweeps buildings away, then memory loss and identity crisis follow."<sup>53</sup> The prize of consensus is on the one hand the retention of a priceless heritage, and on the other, a sustainable social rebirth anchored in Hull's maritime identity.

Kisiel writes that "overcoming this rather simplistic view of the industrial past would require much deeper engagement with the past, beyond mere scenography."<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the safekeeping of Hull's heritage requires a reconciliation with painful pasts and the plurality of histories that these spaces materialize. The mindset would then shift to viewing contested heritage sites as assets rather than hindrances, following Tunbridge and Ashworth's "inclusivist" approach for the resolution of heritage conflicts which seeks to incorporate all perspectives into a "patchwork quilt" of heritage.<sup>55</sup> In this aim, public consultations and archival exploration may aid in identifying why, what, and how various stakeholders wish to preserve or (re)develop.

The sensitive redevelopment of contentious heritage sites relies on bottom-up processes, an observation that aligns with Historic England's high-level principle that "everyone should be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment."<sup>56</sup> The council's ability to approve, refuse, coordinate and fund urban projects would be supplanted by its role as a third-party conversation facilitator, nurturing constructive debate between actors. Indeed, a consensus among local stakeholders, investors, council leadership, and policy actors is a prerequisite to successful change in sites such as St Andrew's. New, diverse uses should attract footfall and re-integrate the currently isolated site to the urban fabric, thus ensuring its memorial role is sanctified. Similarly, the relocation of the Hull Fishing Heritage Centre, currently managed by ex-fisherman and dockworkers, may enable the transition of lived memory across generations and social classes. To reduce gentrification threats as experienced in Victoria dock, the focus should lie in job creation and training opportunities suited to the local level of qualification. The site may also seek to foster new forms of maritime interactions. Such non-residential uses may also reduce potential tensions with the neighboring, industrially active William Wright Dock. Sites of heritage thus provide opportunities for social, economic, and perhaps even environmental sustainability.

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53 Crinson, *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*.

54 Kisiel, "Unwanted Inheritance?," 7.

55 John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past As a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester ; New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1996).

56 Historic England, "Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance," 20.



Policy such as the *Statement of Community Involvement* does enshrine the role of local participation in redevelopment, however, Hull lacks precedent where this is viewed as a design driver, rather than as a necessary formality.<sup>57</sup> Lessons can be learned from examples such as Granby Four Streets, whereby the practice Assemble supported and coordinated a community-led project to rebuild a Liverpool neighborhood. Over the course of two decades, the derelict urban fabric was salvaged and turned into a locally valued area.

“The approach was characterised by celebrating the value of the area’s architectural and cultural heritage, supporting public involvement and partnership working, offering local training and employment opportunities, and nurturing the resourcefulness and DIY spirit.”<sup>58</sup>

Such community involvement is vital when dealing with heritage whose value is significant locally, yet not recognized at a national or regional level as observed by Hodges and Watson.<sup>59</sup> However, support should be provided by the council, whose incentivization may break down the reticence of private actors, thus unlocking funding. An interesting approach has been pioneered with success by “Yorkshire Forward”. This approach acknowledges that typically the heritage which attracts investors differs from the heritage revered by local communities and the challenge lies in combining interests toward a common development goal. Yorkshire Forward made (compulsory) land purchases in Hull and gathered public-sector agencies and private-sector investors towards a common development goal. Though not active in the docklands, Yorkshire Forward proved effective in re-using derelict heritage sites, as it “avoided the discontinuities that political cycles and events can entail.”<sup>60</sup> From a process point of view, such a model may follow growing guidance on empathetic development such as the Royal Institute of British Architects’ Social Value Toolkit for Architecture that advocates for the creation and monetization of social value to ensure the communication of the worth of such new models.<sup>61</sup>

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57 “Statement of Community Involvement” (Hull City Council, 2014), <http://www.hull.gov.uk/sites/hull/files/media/Editor%20-%20Planning/Statement%20of%20community%20involvement.pdf>.

58 “Granby Four Streets,” Assemble Studio, accessed June 6, 2021, <https://assemblestudio.co.uk>.

59 Andrew Hodges and Steve Watson, “Community-Based Heritage Management: A Case Study and Agenda for Research,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 3 (January 2000): 231–43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250050148214>.

60 Harry Smith and Maria Soledad Garcia Ferrari, eds., *Waterfront Regeneration*, 0 ed. (Routledge, 2012), 63, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203133378>.

61 “Social Value Toolkit for Architecture” (Royal Institute of British Architect and University of Reading, 2020), 9, <https://www.architecture.com/-/media/GatherContent/Social-Value-Toolkit-for-Architecture/Additional-Documents/RIBA-UoR-Social-Value-Toolkit-2020pdf.pdf>.

## Conclusions

Studying the mindsets of private investors and Hull's council revealed that following industrial collapse, the evolution of Hull's port cityscape was guided by the belief that past hardship could be overcome by erasing it. This resulted in a romanticized maritime-themed urban landscapes such as Victoria Dock and modern facilities seeking to reinvent the port, as found in Alexandra Dock. In both scenarios, maritime heritage related to this collapse was not prized for its present-day communal value. If such redevelopment dynamics continue, they will cause the continued loss of built heritage, accelerating the loss of unrecorded memories. This in turn causes an absence of acknowledgment and empathy towards social groups who are disappearing from the urban fabric, yet who will continue to suffer for multiple generations from post-industrial collapse.

While approaches seeking to balance heritage imperatives and redevelopment were attempted in St Andrew's dock, the systematic push-back of local stakeholders who find heritage sensitivity insufficient has led to development deadlock. There is therefore a need to find ways of aligning various stakeholder interests to secure the funding to satisfy the local community's entitlement to its heritage. Understanding the existing, conflicting mindsets –particularly those of disenfranchised stakeholders– provided a way of understanding stakeholder interests, and the entrenched opinions that aiding and/or constraining future-making. However, so long as this understanding remains in the sphere of academia, these findings alone cannot break undesirable path-dependencies and behavioral trends. Indeed, only site-specific stakeholder engagement can yield a satisfactory compromise and enable urban intervention on divisive heritage. Over time, one could foresee that the engagement process and new spaces created by the latter will enable the crafting of a new vision of 21<sup>st</sup> century Hull. With it, a new maritime mindset that values a multiplicity of pasts in future-making, acknowledges heritage's value separately from its destination branding value, and esteems cross-stakeholder collaboration may surface.

Port cities have an abundance of contested heritage that relates to environmental and social injustices by today's standards. As such, it is fair to assume that most port cities harbor a "St Andrew's" of their own -a site whose heritage value is debated to such an extent that conventional, top-down redevelopment models cannot unlock redevelopment. So long as port cities do not engage with the historic complexities of their unique heritage and continue to curate an image that leaves out undesirable pasts, such sites are fated to crumble, leaving little for intangible stories to cling onto. This entails a loss of unique cultural capital which one could foresee might, in time, provide unique tourism assets as heritage "offers a 'hereness' that reproduces stable, historic identities" for cities

and communities in a globalizing environment.<sup>62</sup> Reassessing and redesigning heritage redevelopment processes is therefore of utmost social *and* economic value.

The waterfront is a palimpsest at the interface between the city center and estuary that has constantly evolved and will continue to do so. The question is not whether the waterfront will change but rather how to guide its evolution. Hull urgently needs a new developmental paradigm, enabling it to approach the entirety of the docklands not as a past to be overcome but rather as a social and economic resource, to visitors as well as local communities. Such a mindset will be instrumental to Hull claiming an identity of its own among a maritime landscape populated by port cities looking and feeling increasingly similar. One can hope that a new model of community-based redevelopment may enable the retention and protection of Hull's contentious maritime industrial heritage. Hull has always made a living from the sea and the loss of its legacy activities must not be the reason for this 800-year-old traditional to wane.

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62 Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner, "Tales from the Riverbank," 29.

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