Made in Lincoln

Making Meaning of a Deindustrialized Landscape

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Introduction

As cities in Europe have faced changes in economic activity due to the deindustrialization of urban areas (Cooke et al. 2011), whether that be by a decline in industry or demands for new land uses (Tobe 2009b; Ferm and Jones 2015), many have had to reinvent themselves in order to find 'a new economic role' (Cooke et al. 2011: 6). Lincoln, in the East Midlands of England, United Kingdom, is a prime example of one of those cities whose economy from the Industrial Revolution to the late twentieth century was built on engineering, manufacturing and supply chain networks (Lincoln City Council 2008); however, the relative decline of these industries and the shift towards a more retail, leisure and education-based economy have resulted in changes in land use that have transformed parts of the city (Heritage Connect n.d.). The development of the University of Lincoln since the 1990s has converted what had become a postindustrial landscape, which embodied exactly what is understood, sometimes problematically, to comprise 'everything from polluted industrial landscapes to former factory buildings usually found in older, declining sections of a city' (Tobe 2009b: 35), into a vibrant leisure and educational zone (Lincoln City Council 2008; Walker 2012a).

Figure 8.1. View across the Brayford Pool to the University of Lincoln campus, 2020. © University of Lincoln

Development has taken place in partnership with those industries that once dominated, and are still part of, the local landscape, and industrial features are retained or emulated in the architecture within this landscape. In this way, Lincoln is a good example 'of how to make a city that will not only survive, but thrive [by] taking advantage of the existing physical and geographical attributes' rather than working in opposition to them (Tobe 2009b: 34). Lincoln is not unique in proactively moving to a knowledge economy to replace its dwindling industrial one, but the city's leaders were quick to see an opportunity to do so, and other cities have followed suit as universities continue to develop 'schemes to rejuvenate themselves that benefit the city' (Borsi 2009: 43). There is a clear pattern in the United Kingdom that the shift from the dominance of an economy based on industry to one based on services and more recently knowledge has propelled universities into having 'a key role in the cultural, economic, and social development of cities' (Borsi 2009: 43). In 2002, Simon Thurley, then Chief Executive of English Heritage, exemplified this point in relation to several historic cities that did not have universities before the 1960s when he wrote that:

> The economic and social value of Bath or York, Lincoln or Chester is more obvious today than it was forty years ago. Thriving centres of commerce and tourism, these are places people want to visit and live in. (Thurley 2002: 2)

All of the example cities provided by Thurley feature universities created in the twentieth century and it is clear that they cannot exist within the urban landscape in isolation from their hosts, and part of their role has become to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with the city, as '[u]rban life itself is recognised as an essential resource for economic development and innovation' (Borsi 2009: 43).

Accepting that changing economies have shaped and reshaped the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln over millennia, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that whilst economic shifts can result in the transformation of industrial landscapes, a deindustrialized landscape does not equate to a nonindustrialized landscape. The chapter is not a straightforward account of the area's economic and landscape history through periods of preindustrialization, to industrialization, and deindustrialization rather, it is an exploration of why there may be a greater emphasis on particular aspects of the Brayford Pool and its surrounding area's history, why multiple narratives can exist simultaneously, and why past, present and future narratives can exist in the same temporal space (Tewdwr-Jones 2011; Adams et al. 2016). In this way, the work moves beyond merely the representational and into the realms of Thrift's idea that people, places and things are all interconnected and therefore must be looked at as a whole rather than separately (Thrift 1996). It is intended that this approach will offer the opportunity for new discussions on the area that stretch beyond the well-covered history and fit with newer ideas about landscape history that have 'sought to disrupt standard linear historical narratives' and have 'suggested a greater interest in alternative apprehensions of the world' (Harvey and Waterton 2015: 906). In this way, the chapter offers a new understanding of the Brayford Pool area and the impact of the University of Lincoln campus on the landscape, and how it is possible to remember, interact and build relationships with landscapes. In essence, this chapter attempts to move beyond traditional representational interpretations of the landscape to consider how the Brayford Pool area is 'represented, experienced, and ultimately, rendered meaningful' (Harvey and Waterton 2015: 907). To achieve this, the research looks at the urban landscape not only from the discipline of history, but also that of geography, treating it as 'a natural object, a phenomenon in space which is perfectly and perfectly comprehended by all those who form part of it or establish relations with it' (Carter 1980: 339). It is intended as the first part of a larger project that will 'attempt to provide spaces for more voices, alternative discourses, hidden narratives, or affective and experiential understandings' of the Brayford Pool area, and particularly the growth of the university and the impact it has had on individuals and groups over the last twenty years or so. This will be done through the collection of oral testimonies relating to the university,

which has been recognized as important, as many of those involved in the early phases of the development of the university and the redevelopment of the landscape in which it sits are now reaching retirement age (Walker 2019: personal communication). It is intended that individuals' memories, feelings and emotions, will aid in the production of a history that is not linear and factual, as this is well covered in the existing literature, but focuses more on the meaning made from landscapes. This is heavily influenced by Waterton's work, which looks at the landscape from a more-than-representational per-spective and has considered 'immediacy performance, engagement, feelings, and emotions' when exploring historic landscapes (Waterton 2018: 221). In this respect, the chapter is a literature review of existing primary and second-ary sources intended to provide a theoretical framework, historical and geo-graphical contexts, and an identification of ideas to test in the future work.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used to underpin the chapter is the notion of a sense of place. The term 'sense of place' is understood in this context to mean:

> the way we perceive places such as streets, communities, cities or ecoregions [and how this] influences our wellbeing, how we describe and interact with a place, what we value in a place, our respect for eco systems and other species, how we perceive the affordances of a place, our desire to build more sustainable and just urban communities and how we choose to improve cities. (Adams et al. 2016)

Whilst this definition is accepted in its entirety, the key areas focussed on within this piece of work and in the context of the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln are:

- how individuals perceive places;
- why individuals perceive places in particular ways;
- what people value in a place;
- how individuals describe and interact with a place;
- the sustainability of places.

This chapter links to the overarching theme of the book – that the world is always in the making and that there are no fixed stable states. It explores the idea that our cities are never in one state, but are 'constantly evolving' and 'are either aggrading or degrading, sometimes both in different parts … or for different reasons' (Tobe 2009b: 34), and that whilst a city might ap-pear 'stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail …

There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases' (Lynch 1960: 2). In historical terms, this falls under the auspices of the concept of continuity and change, and the idea that change is a constant feature related to time, but the rate and extent to which it takes place is not (Hunt 2013, 2016). Historians have been criticized in the past for accepting continuity with no explanation, focusing on change as being dramatic and revolutionary, or for overemphasizing either continuity or change during the periods under examination (Burke 1979; Cannadine 2008). In his key 1979 work, which still has relevance today, Burke described historical continuity as either representing no change or a particular type of change that had taken place that was even in terms of its pace and course, but my work rejects the idea that continuity is representative of a static society as society is constantly changing, just at different rates at different points in time (Hunt 2013, 2016, 2018). Sociocultural practices constantly change; it is just the extent and rate of change that differs, and thus the impact on our landscapes (including urban ones), everyday life, and society in general. Burke (1979) provided three models of sociocultural change: the first is that of a pattern of fluctuation of change around a fixed point in time; the second is a gradual rise and decline in trends; and the third is an abrupt change that is a turning point in history representing a clear discontinuity in sociocultural trends. This chapter perhaps best represents the second notion of change, one of a rise and decline in trends. In this case, it fits with the idea that:

> cities mature, and 'are', they grow old, bear the signs of passing time, give birth to new playgrounds, extend into bridges, as the inhabitants weave their way through them, constantly remapping, and reasserting ownership over new routes and land. (Tobe 2009b: 35)

Much in the same way, the 'concept [of] landscape has transformed as it takes on new meanings and loses some at the same time' (Ozey et al. 2018) and it can be examined from the stand point that it is in a 'perpetual state of becoming' (Waterton 2019: 94).

Discussion

Sense of Place

Sense of place can be thought of at its most basic level as a 'strong and recognisable character' of a landscape (Lock and Cole 2011). However, it is a more complex idea than just one relating to visual appearance and, if we are seeking to move beyond representation in order to better understand landscapes, it should be considered as the meaning ascribed to landscapes by people inhabiting them, the emotions people have relating to the landscape,

and the attachments they form with it (Lynch 1960; Lock and Cole 2011). Lynch is often cited as being the first academic to ask in his pivotal work *The Image of the City* (1960: 197) 'what does the city's form actually mean to the people who live there?'. This notion implies that meaning is collective, and Lynch has been critiqued (most notably by himself) for doing this. So, the individual nature of perception is crucial as 'every inhabitant has most certainly a partial and most probably an idiosyncratic, view of the urban environment in which [they] live' (Carter 1980: 339). As well as perception being individual, it is complex in its construction as it is a way in which people build a relationship with, or an attachment to, a place and then ascribe symbolic meaning to it (Lock and Cole 2011; Adams et al. 2016). Interaction with, and making meaning of, urban landscapes is equally as complex as building a relationship with the landscape, as the environment impacts on all the senses and is not 'experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, and the memory of past experiences' (Lynch 1960: 1). In addition to meanings being influenced by multiple experiences, they are arguably fragmentary and, much like cities themselves, constantly evolving, whilst simultaneously defining 'how people view, interpret, and interact with their world' (Adams et al. 2016; see also Lynch 1960). If it is accepted that a landscape's sense of place does not stand still across time, individuals and groups, then exploration of a sense of place in the landscape can lend itself to new ways of understanding landscapes that move beyond the boundaries of representation and into the realms of sociology and psychology. One example of this is in furthering our understanding of nostalgia not as a potentially debilitating or fatal painful malady or homesickness, a backward-looking melancholic stance (Davis 1979; Batcho 1998; Pickering and Keightley 2006; Boym 2007), or a longing for an imagined and mythical past (Chase 1986; Chase and Shaw 1989; Lowenthal 1985, 1989), but as a part of collective, individual and cultural memory that can be used as a means to democratize the representation of the past and enrich society's understanding of it (Samuel and Thompson 1990; Pickering and Keightley 2006), as a means by which to understand how we legitimately create, alter and share memories within particular sociocultural environments (Samuel 1996; Boym 2007), and as 'an historical emotion' (Boym 2007: 8). I have argued in previous works that nostalgia is indeed an emotion, or cognitive process, in which people engage when reading historical narratives, visiting museums or interacting with material culture, to make sense of the world in which they live (Pickering and Keightley 2006; Hunt 2013, 2018). Nostalgia then links to the aspect of sense of place that describes the relationship people have with places and that they express through their emotions, autobiographies and biographies (Adams et al. 2016). It also directly fits with the foundations of modern historical thought – that the past provides us with a mechanism

by which to understand the present and to conceptualize the future (Carr 1961; Samuel 1985, 1996; Brisbane and Wood 1996; Jenkins 2003; Butler 2011; Hunt 2013, 2018). This concept is particularly apt here if the 'post-industrial era [is] understood as a depository of memory, elements of which can be potentially redeployed' (Tobe 2009b: 36). It also allows us not just to regurgitate existing archaeological and historical narratives, but also to think about how people perceive landscapes and create their individual, nuanced histories (Hunt 2013).

Arguably utilizing sense of place as a framework in the context of exploring urban history is of particular importance as 'urban landscapes, peri-urban landscapes, townscapes, and urban greenspace are less researched in relation to landscape perceptions' (Lock and Cole 2011: 19). Therefore, not only can it add to the current body of knowledge (in this case Lincoln), but it can also create new knowledge regarding them. There is, then, the potential to use sense of place to look at a landscape that has been thoroughly researched by historians from a different view point, thus offering new ideas to historical and contemporary debates.

Understanding the Brayford Pool and Its Environs Using a Sense of Place

The Brayford Pool is nine acres in size, sits to the south of the city centre in the current Parish of Boultham in Lincoln, is listed as a monument in the Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record (HER) and is recognized as having 'played an important part in [Lincoln's] fortunes' (University of Lincoln 2010: 11). The impact of the roles that the Brayford Pool has played over time in Lincoln's economy has created rich, multilayered, historical narratives about the area. In this way, the same place is presented in texts in different ways, with the importance of different activities emphasized in line with various authors' interests. Co-existing narratives with varying emphasis on the type and importance of the role the Brayford Pool at a particular point in time can be seen threaded throughout existing literature on which this chapter is based and are used here to show how the current landscape represents complex natural, preindustrial, industrial and deindustrial pasts that remain in fragmentary form alongside one another.

How and Why Individuals Perceive Places in Particular Ways

Perception is a core tenet of sense of place, which is reflected in the Council of Europe's definition of a landscape being 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (2000: 2). Arguably, perception of the urban landscape can then be considered a product of 'many builders who are constantly modifying the structure for reasons of their own' (Lynch 1960: 2). However, perception is not just a spatial phenomenon; it is also temporal as it is 'per-

ceived over long spans of time' and is subject to alteration often encompassing the old and integrating the new (Lynch 1960: 1). The Brayford Pool and its surrounding area is challenged in this respect because there is no real evidence of prehistoric, Roman or early medieval interaction with the landscape. Whilst there has been continuous industrial activity in the area since the medieval period, the Industrial Revolution and post-Second World War deindustrialization resulted in the erasure of most medieval activity from the landscape. There are traces of medieval plot boundaries to the north of the Brayford Pool, and medieval street patterns to the north, northwest and east of the Brayford Pool are preserved in modern boundaries and roadways (Wragg 1994; Lincoln City Council 2008). But there is little tangible left in the landscape from the medieval period and therefore the longevity of the landscape is not visually apparent. The same is true of the early industrial period (1750–1845), as its physical remains were obliterated from the landscape during the Industrial Revolution. Conversely, whilst there are only fragmentary remains from the Industrial Revolution, it is a major temporal anchor that dominates the historical narratives examined in this chapter.

On an aesthetic level, human perception of landscapes occurs on a scale known as the perceptible realm and is key because 'this is the scale at which humans intentionally change landscapes' (Gobster et al. 2007: 960). It is accepted that this interaction causes people to develop an emotional attachment to the landscape (Lynch 1960; Gobster et al. 2007; Lock and Cole 2011; Tribot et al. 2018). The emotional attachment felt to the landscape is created in the moment of interaction by drawing on past memories of previous interactions, and is used by people to interpret their surroundings and to influence their subsequent actions. Interactions themselves are multisensory and can therefore cause intense experiences and emotional responses (Lynch 1960). Aesthetics and perception are, of course, personal and subjective, and 'preferences for certain characteristics, indicates [there are] numerous and complex influences on perception', which might include cultural elements such as 'demographic, situations, and awareness factors' (Lynch 1960; Lock and Cole 2011). But emotion plays a significant role in how human's perceive aesthetics, which shapes the notion that 'for the citizen, the objective city does not exist' (Carter 1980: 339) to a greater extent than other factors. It is reasonable to suggest that nostalgia is a key emotion and a cognitive process that people draw on as they move around the urban environment. Arguably, the medieval landscape of the Brayford Pool and its surroundings is not perceived in the same way as later periods because there is not enough physical evidence for it to fall into the realm of perception. This aspect of the Brayford Pool's history is a clear part of the written historic and archaeological narrative, but only in terms of expert interest. In addition, the 'uphill' area of Lincoln has a medieval area that is well preserved and has an aesthetic

that is easier to interpret and promote to locals and visitors alike (Medieval-ists.net 2009; Visit Lincoln 2018a). The area has been labelled the Cathedral Quarter by tourism marketers and city planners, and exhibits obvious medieval features such as a cathedral, a castle and other medieval buildings. The same is true of the early industrial period , which was a time of important change in the Brayford Pool landscape as 'substantial wharves, warehouses, and coalyards [were] established on both north and east banks where gardens had earlier stood' (Wragg 1994: 4). However, very few of the buildings dating from this period still exist (Lincoln City Council 2008). Much like the medieval period, there is a lack of tangible evidence to be perceived and experienced. This phenomenon explains the reduced recognition of narratives about medieval and early industrial features, and the prominence of the narratives around the Brayford Pool of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where, although still fragmentary, there is more evidence in the landscape that falls into the perceivable realm. This is in line with the idea put forward by Shackel and Palus that the physical remains of the Industrial Revolution are a 'common sight' (2006: 49) and are often the focus of interpretation and the heritage identity of urban landscapes. This is certainly the case in the Brayford Pool area as significant landscape features left over from this period of urban economic growth and modernization were in situ within living memory and may have nostalgic meaning to individuals and groups, something that can be tested in the future. However, much of the evidence of the intense industrial activity that took place in the nineteenth century has been destroyed (City of Lincoln Council 2008), including most of the large warehouses and all of the mills, maltings and food processing factories (University of Lincoln 2010: 12; Wragg 1994; Hill 2001; City of Lincoln Council 2008; Tobe 2009b; Heritage Connect n.d.). As with remains from the early industrial period, there is little surviving evidence in today's landscape, except for plot boundaries and building footprints and alignments from that period that can still be traced in the landscape, particularly on Brayford Wharf North and to the south of the railway (City of Lincoln Council 2008). In addition, preindustrial field boundaries have influenced the development of the landscape, parcels of land and some streets; however, there are some features, linked to the still-operating railway, that dominate the landscape and continue to shape the character of the area. One important and imposing Victorian building still exists to the south of the Brayford Pool: the Great Central Goods and Grain Warehouse (now known as the Great Central Warehouse), built by the Great Central Railway in 1907 and now the University of Lincoln Library.

The Engine Shed, built by the Great Northern Railway in 1876, also remains and the Student Union is built around the original shell and is named after it. There is also a former railway office to the south of the pool that is

Figure 8.2. The former Great Central Warehouse, now the University of Lincoln Library, 2020. © University of Lincoln

still in use and, whilst defunct since 2008, the East Holmes Signal Box still stands and is well maintained (City of Lincoln Council 2008). The Holmes railway crossing that was built by the Great Northern Railway in 1848 is also still in use and is a busy transport crossing. It is the continued presence of the railway, the small buildings with a distinct character, the name used for the new building and the large warehouse that are at the centre of university life that mean the Industrial Revolution dominates the perceivable realm of the south of the Brayford Pool and therefore the historical narrative of the area in both physical and written forms (Gobster et al. 2007; Gieseking et al. 2014). There is another architectural phenomenon to the north of the Brayford Pool that also ensures that the narrative relating to the Industrial Revolution dominates. As few of the warehouses that had once lined the edges of the Brayford Pool still existed by the 1990s, new buildings to the north were designed to create 'the suggestion in silhouette of a warehouse' (Tobe 2009b: 33) and give a clear example of architects and planners build–

ing 'faux warehouse roofs [that] pay homage to this imaginary and mytho-
logical industrial past' (Tobe 2009b: 35). These buildings were aesthetically
designed to evoke a sense of nostalgia for the industrial period and to create
an emotional attachment to the area, although they are poorly designed and
a pastiche of the past. Emotional attachment is particularly important in rela-
tion to this part of the area because Brayford Wharf North is now a well-
established and successful urban leisure landscape characterized by a mixture
of modern hotels, pubs (historic and modern), restaurants and a cinema on its
northern side (Lincoln City Council 2008; Davidson 2012; Walker 2012a).
On the south side of the Brayford Pool, the most notable impact of the uni-
versity has been on the built environment (Tobe 2009a), which has involved
building a new campus with only a few historic buildings left in situ. The
new, purpose-built educational facilities are large in scale and dominate the
southern edge of the Brayford Pool as well as people's visual and physical
experience whilst in the area.

Perception can also be explained from a practical perspective, and
Lynch's concept of imageability that humans primarily perceive a city as a
built image in order to navigate their surroundings (Lynch 1960; Hospers
2010). Lynch (1960) proposed that humans perceive particular aspects of the
landscape, denoted as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks, in order
to navigate through the urban landscape. He further suggested that they then
take the features perceived to form cognitive maps that take the form of spa-
tial frameworks or images to aid in their navigation around the urban envi-
ronment (Lynch 1960; Carter 1980). This framework can be applied to look
at the Brayford Pool area as there are paths that people can move along in
the form of footpaths, roads, rivers, a canal and a railway cutting through the
area. There are clear edges, or linear elements in the form of water and the
railway. It might be considered a district that is identifiable by its distinct in-
dustrial and postindustrial character, and there are several nodes in the form
of road junctions, bridges or the railway crossing that mark journey stages
through the landscape. There are also landmarks to survive from the postwar,
including the avant-garde, postindustrial and iconic 1959 Hugh Segar Scorer
building on Brayford Wharf North and its hyperbolic roof, which was once
a car showroom but is now a restaurant (Lincoln City Council 2008; Tobe
2009b; Sleight 2012). There are also elements, such as the educational zone
created by the university to the south, east and west of the Brayford Pool and
the leisure zone to the north, that can be used as markers in the landscape
(Lynch 1960; Carter 1980). However, this model has limited application be-
cause it lends itself more to description rather than thinking about why this
landscape is perceived in a particular way and why some narratives endure
more than others. The answer to these questions can be found in the flawed
way in which humans create mental maps and is linked back to perception

and aesthetics. Appleyard (1973) argued in his operational perception theory that the human brain exaggerates particular features, especially when they are linked to a task that has to be performed in the movement through the landscape or if they are points in the landscape that are used for reference on a regular basis. Similarly, Downs' evaluation approach to perception discusses how human brains structure and evaluate the landscape in relation to the decisions and subsequent actions that need to be taken (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011). In addition to exaggerating features, this also means that, paradoxically, other features remain unseen, even invisible, and are not recalled in the journey through an area (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980). As Downs argued, humans can take a structural approach to their perception of the landscape, retaining information that is required to navigate through it and disregarding useless information, because it is impossible to recall all the data the urban landscape presents (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011). Arguably, distinctive landmarks, such as the Sam Scorer building, the Great Central Warehouse and the modern purpose-built university buildings, have the potential to elicit responsive perception, as they stand out in the landscape and therefore could have more significance of their place in the landscape attributed to them by individuals, although this requires testing to establish its veracity. In essence, a particular landscape feature might also be seen as significant or ignored because of inferential perception, which is when past experience and parallel experiences are drawn on to make sense of the landscape in order to move through it (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980). In fact, particular sets of markers may be preferred and given more importance in cognitive maps (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011).

What People Value in a Place

In 2011, the Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs (Lock and Cole 2011) made the assumption that 'all landscapes (and ecosystems) are valued: "local places" (usually greenspaces) are highly valued'. However, other authors indicate that much like perception, value is a complex, individualized and contested concept 'of much discussion in contemporary society … [and] the search for values and meaning has become a pressing concern' (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000: 1). Urban landscapes are made up of a number of distinct parts along with a community of people and so '"place" is therefore a socio-physical construct' (Carmona 2019: 1), and within this construct, buildings have aesthetic, social, historic and economic values (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000). Arguably, the University of Lincoln, on the west, east, and south sides of the Brayford Pool, embodies these values; aesthetically, the 'university has undertaken a remarkable journey of development and self-discovery' (University of Lincoln 2010: 7) and has 'dramatically changed the face and life of the city

[with its] exciting new and renovated buildings' (Borsi 2009: 43). One of the underpinning values of the university from its creation has been to be a high-quality academic institution and this goal has resulted physically in large-scale building programmes 'whose scale and architectural language juxtapose themselves to the medieval fabric of the inner city and foremost to the cathedral' (Borsi 2009: 43) and represents 'one of the most notable developments in the city over the last forty years and restates the importance of this natural feature to Lincoln' (Davidson 2012: 3). Social development has fostered the university's development and in the last two years alone, the university has made a £140 million investment in new buildings and infrastructure (Marsh 2019). This recent development is driven by quality in terms of good design and the belief that the built environment can be utilized 'as a way of attracting and retaining the best students and staff' (University of Lincoln 2010: 18). This development has been moulded by egalitarian ideas about the nature of education and knowledge that have shaped the post-1992 higher education sector as '[t]he university built along the railways line and old rail yards, brings back what was previously the common space, this is Holmes Commons, and gives something back to the city' (Tobe 2009b: 34–35). In terms of historic value, there have been different approaches to buildings, including the alteration of the Great Central Warehouse, which was converted into the university's library (Tobe 2009a; Clarke 2012). This site was redeveloped sensitively, but has, to some extent, been reimagined to make it fit for purpose. The work not only required restoration of the existing fabric, but required new additions that were purposely designed to juxtapose to the original fabric of the building (University of Lincoln 2010). The university has also acquired other modern buildings that are excellent examples of the more recent architecture linked to the area's industrial past (Tobe 2009b) – for example, the former *Lincolnshire Echo* Building on Brayford Road East (Clarke 2012), transforming what had been home to offices and the printing press into the Business and Law Centre (now the Lincoln International Business School) (Clarke 2012). There are still remnants of the building's former use left in situ, including parts of the fabric of the building, the footprint of the printing press and even a crane on the top floor. In other areas, 'the replacement of older, even potentially, and perhaps outrageously, the replacement of listed buildings' (Tobe 2009a: 6) has taken place when no other option was available. However, what the university has not attempted to do is to re-create the former industrial landscape or historic 'fabric in contemporary times, but rather an expression of the social and economic underpinnings currently felt' (Tobe 2009b: 36). In this way, the development is quite different from the leisure development on the Brayford Wharf North, it is less nostalgic and more forward-looking, as one might expect from a new university. Finally, economically Tobe argued that the 'Brayford Pool represents a fascinating

study in postindustrial growth with the enlightenment of education replacing the working of an inland port' (2009b: 32). When the representation of these values is examined, it is possible to understand how the past, present and future can exist simultaneously in the urban landscape.

How Individuals Describe and Interact with a Place

Sense of place can also describe a 'relationship with places, expressed in different dimensions of human life: emotions, biographies, imagination, stories, and personal experiences' (Adams et al. 2016). In this way, the city 'plays a social role as well, it can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication' (Lynch 1960: 8); for example, it can be used to create myths and stories. In the case of the Brayford Pool, there is a strong collective cultural memory of the area that focuses on the dereliction of the area in the 1970s and 1980s rather than the destruction of the historic fabric that took place following the Second World War and dominates narratives about lived experiences around the Brayford Pool during the period (Middleton 2018; Visit Lincoln 2018b). The 1970s was the decade when many of the warehouses and industrial buildings and the long narrow plots in which these were situated were destroyed (Lincoln City Council 2008). This destruction was reported in the national news at the time because much of it was done with a flagrant disregard for the law, with listed buildings being demolished without appropriate permission, for example, and replaced with high-rise office blocks that were taller than local planning allowed (Walker 2012b). By the 1990s, the Wharves featured 'a mix of disused industrial relics, new office blocks and contaminated railway sidings' (University of Lincoln 2010: 12). The postindustrial era has an important part in the history of the area that was emphasized during the bidding for money to regenerate this part of the city, which could influence collective memories about the area. As Lincolnshire County Council wrote, it was 'an area that was once characterised by rundown derelict warehouses, wasteland and disused railway sidings around a small marina' (n.d.: 2), as if this was the most important part of its history. There is a sense from this statement that the landscape was simply industrial and then deindustrial, although the mention of the marina does acknowledge the emerging leisure economy that the Council was trying to develop at the time and perhaps hints at more complex economies and landscape narratives.

The Sustainability of Places

Urban landscapes often require reshaping and redeveloping to remain sustainable and to maintain their contributions to local, regional and national economies, whether those be industrial, services or knowledge-based. In

fact, 'sustainable landscape is widely understood as a key contributor to urban sustainability' (Salem 2016: 419). Crucially, sustainability requires the reimagining of buildings as well as space; as Tobe argued, 'buildings should not remain as symbols, but as inhabitable usable spaces' (2009b: 38). This has occurred in the Brayford Pool area, first and to a small extent through the development of a marina on the southwestern part of the Pool for yachts, pleasures boats and canoes in the 1970s (University of Lincoln 2010; Hughes 2012). However, Lincoln did not follow the pattern of urban waterfront regeneration so common in Britain in the 1980s and epitomized by the regeneration of Liverpool's docks. It was not until the 1990s and the innovation of a 'waterside campus of the university makes Lincoln unique and paved the way for the wholesale regeneration of this once neglected part of the city centre' (University of Lincoln 2010: 40; Hughes 2012). The now-derelict and polluted parcel of land to the south of the Brayford Pool was purchased from British Rail and in 1996 '[a] single building on a derelict railway siding established a university campus' opened (Chiddick 2009: 3; Clarke 2012) on the south side of the Brayford Pool, with just 500 students, as the Lincoln campus for the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside (University of Lincoln 2010). The campus was 'the first to be built in a UK city centre for 25 years in 1996', but it was not until 2001 'when the focus shifted from Hull, that the University of Lincoln was born' (University of Lincoln 2010: 8) and a period 'of rapid transition' began (Tobe 2009b: 36). The first building on the site marked the start of an evolution and adaptation 'to industrial decline and respond to new economic imperatives' (Davidson 2012: 3), although there is an enduring anecdote within the university's community that this building was designed much like a shopping centre, so that it could be converted to a retail space if the university failed. The early development of the campus had an impact on former industrial land adjacent to the Brayford Pool area – for example, the St Marks Shopping area including a large Debenhams department store was built in the 1990s on the former St Marks train station and industrial area (Tobe 2009b). In effect, the area characterized primarily by its industrial past was transformed into a multi–use area, featuring both old and new buildings, focused on the retail and knowledge economies, and representing a shift from former planning practices that created a 'clear delineation of the city in time and space of functional processes' (Vorontsova et al. 2016: 1997). This reimagining of the area is a bold example of sustainable development in practice and has resulted in the area appearing and being used differently from what was the case in the past. The incorporation of historic buildings and the development of new ones allows narratives about former and current economic and social use to continue, and the place to exist in the past, present and future.

Conclusions

This chapter has applied the concept of more-than-representational theory to look at the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln in a new way. It has taken the well-established linear histories and has disrupted them by looking at how meaning has been made through interactions, experiences and memories. It has sought to demonstrate that whilst economic shifts can result in the transformation of industrial landscapes, a deindustrialized landscape does not equate to a nonindustrialized landscape. Whilst the Brayford Pool and the surrounding landscape can be considered deindustrialized, it is not a non-industrialized landscape, primarily because of the few buildings from the industrial period that have survived and been repurposed, but also because of the infrastructure that remains in the form of rail and road networks, the leisure buildings to the north that were designed to reflect the Brayford Pool's industrial past and represent the modern leisure industry, and the university buildings to the south that represent the education industry.

Perhaps more importantly, this chapter has sought to better understand this particular urban landscape by exploring why a stronger emphasis may be placed on the importance of the industrial or deindustrial history of the Brayford Pool and its surrounding area, why multiple narratives can exist simultaneously, and why past, present and future narratives can exist in the same temporal space (Tewdwr-Jones 2011; Adams et al. 2016). This was achieved by using sense of place as a framework to understand the following four points: how place is perceived, how elements of a place are valued, how people describe and interact with a place, and the sustainability of places (Adams et al. 2016). This framework, which is usually applied to the urban landscape by cultural geographers rather than historians, has highlighted that perception is not only spatial but also temporal (Lynch 1960). To be able to perceive spans of time, perceivable evidence is needed to still exist in the current landscape. In the case of the Brayford Pool, the only easily perceivable evidence is from the time of the Industrial Revolution onwards, which means that the longevity of the landscape is not apparent. In addition to a lack of apparent longevity, emphasis may be placed on the Industrial Revolution in common narratives because many of the built features of the period are part of a collective, nostalgic memory about the area, which can be seen in texts relating to the Brayford Pool area, but could be further ascertained by future research (Lynch 1960). It was also established that in aesthetic terms, the human perception of landscapes occurs at a scale known as the perceptible realm (Lynch 1960; Gobster et al. 2007; Lock and Cole 2011; Tribot et al. 2018). This results in the development of an emotional attachment to the landscape that is not only created in the moment, but draws on the past, and informs what happens in the immediate future (Lynch 1960; Lock and

Cole 2011; Adams et al. 2016). It is reasonable to suggest that nostalgia (as understood here) is a key emotion people draw upon as they navigate the urban landscape. The perceptible realm can be utilized to explain why the medieval and early industrial landscapes around the Brayford Pool might not be perceptible; there is quite simply not enough physical evidence left in the landscape for people to be able to 'see', experience and form a relationship with it (Gobster et al. 2007; Tobe 2009b; Gieseking et al. 2014). There is just enough large-scale evidence of the Industrial Revolution, in the form of historic buildings and railway infrastructure, left in the landscape for it to fall into the perceivable realm (Gobster et al. 2007; Gieseking et al. 2014). Nostalgia also plays an important part in the dominance of the Industrial Revolution as to the north of the Brayford Pool, modern leisure buildings were built to reflect a perhaps idealized and aesthetically pleasing version of the industrial buildings that once stood in their place (Tobe 2009b). Finally, the practical aspect of perception in terms of imageability shapes how humans perceive urban landscapes and has impacted on how the Brayford Pool area is perceived and understood (Lynch 1960). The ways in which humans create mental maps of a landscape is inherently flawed, as the brain exaggerates the significance of particular features, causing others to be rendered invisible (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980), and disregards information it decides is useless for navigation because it cannot retain all the data in the landscape (Downs and Stea 2011). In the case of the area to the south of the Brayford Pool, there are distinct buildings such as the Great Central Warehouse and the modern university buildings, as well as the Sam Scorer building to the north that may cause this phenomenon and alter the perception of the area's history, although this idea requires further primary research to validate it.

The chapter also ascertained that place is a sociophysical construct in relation to urban landscapes, and urban buildings have aesthetic, social, historic and economic values, and that the University of Lincoln, which is to the south of the Brayford Pool, embodies each of these values (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000). Whilst it embodies values that are important in order to be able to make meaning of and build a relationship with the landscape, the development of the university is very different from the leisure development to the north of the Brayford Pool, in that it is less nostalgic and more futuristic, despite incorporating historic buildings (Tobe 2009b). In this way, the university campus provides a framework for how the past, present and future can exist simultaneously in the urban landscape. It might be argued that sociophysical constructs and relationships with landscapes through them have the potential to be expressed in a range of narratives, including biographies, stories and personal experiences (Adams et al. 2016). This appears to occur in relation to the Brayford Pool's period of dereliction in the 1970s and 1980s, when many of the remaining industrial buildings

were destroyed (Lincoln City Council 2008) as society moved from the industrial to the postindustrial era. The narrative is more dominant than one might expect because the remains of the Industrial Revolution, their destruction and the period of dereliction were emphasized during bidding for funding for regeneration in the 1990s and 2000s (University of Lincoln 2010). This focus might also have led to a sense that the area was simply industrial as defined by the Industrial Revolution and then nonindustrial as defined by the postindustrial era.

Finally, the sustainability of places was considered in order to better understand why change had to take place and how this led to a reimagining of the area in terms of use. Reimagining the Brayford Pool and repurposing buildings for new uses, or erecting new buildings, has resulted not only in the area looking different, but also in it being perceived and experienced differently (Tobe 2009b). Sustainability allows narratives about former and current economic and social use to continue, and the place to exist in the past, present and future.

By drawing on cultural geography theory and historical knowledge, this chapter has sought to better understand why the landscape in the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln is the way it is at the time of writing, why certain aspects of its history are more prominent than others, why it has different meanings to different people, why it has multiple narratives about it and why it exists across time.

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