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Changing Places: The Armed Forces, Post-Military Space and Urban Change in Plymouth, UK

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Abstract

This article considers how militarism and post-militarism impact upon places and the people who live in them. The article focuses on Plymouth in Devon, south-west UK, examining how geopolitics and militarism have contributed to change in a 'garrison town'.

Key words: *Militarism, Post-militarism, Armed Forces, Urban change, Plymouth.*

Introduction

Militarism recognises that society is economically, socially or culturally geared to accept and support military power (Woodward, 2017). Consequently, military geographies can have a profound impact on places and the ways in which they change (Woodward, 2017). Sometimes these are obvious: such as when wars lead to the destruction and rebuilding of lives and places. Likewise, military facilities can influence local economies, shape social relations and impact on landscape (Bateman, *et al.* 1987; Gold and Revell, 2000; Woodward, 2004, 2005). More subtly, war memorials, air displays and heritage sites hint at the changing ways in which society views or values the military (Rech, 2015). As Rachel Woodward (2005, 719) has rightly asserted:

'Military geographies are everywhere. But often you have to know where to look. Military geographies may be everywhere, but they are often subtle, hidden, concealed, or unidentified'.

Yet, following the ending of the Cold War in 1989, Shaw (1991) has argued that a 'post-military' society is emerging in which 'global society is far from militarised, and the peoples of the world are preoccupied mostly with economic and social concerns rather than military ambitions' (p.105). This shift in focus is not to suggest that the armed forces and militarism have ceased to be important but, for many nations, there has been a step back from large-scale deployments of conventional forces towards smaller, flexible, more technological forces aimed at new forms of warfare. The contraction of the armed forces has important impacts on local places. In some instances, military bases have closed or declined, which has led to significant social change in some localities. Other bases have been re-developed for civilian use, often as part of local regeneration strategies aimed at diversifying the economy away from a reliance on the Armed Forces. Indeed, it is particularly important to create new forms of employment and to provide social and welfare support for veterans as the numbers of service personnel decline. In short, post-military society means that the Armed Forces have become less influential and less visible, but with important consequences for the society, economy and landscape of many places.

This article is divided into two main sections. This article is divided into two main sections. The first details how military expansion has affected Plymouth since the thirteenth century, with mention made of specific areas affected. The second main section considers whether Plymouth might now be thought of as a 'post-military' city in light of geopolitical change over the past 30 years. This section also looks at how veterans have been affected by demilitarisation of the city. Throughout both sections consideration is given to the ways that military and post-military geographies have contributed to changes in urban morphology, local economies and the social

geographies of the city. The concluding section draws attention to the future of research in military and post-military geographies.

Militarism and Plymouth

Military activities were one of the main drivers of urbanisation and growth in Sutton, Stonehouse and Devonport, the three original historic towns that were merged to become the Borough of Plymouth in 1914 (Figure 1).¹ In each place, significant military installations led to changes in the built form, the economy and society.

Sutton

Sutton Harbour was established in 1281 at the mouth of the River Plym. It was originally a fishing village, but trade links with France and, later, the British colonies meant that Sutton's status and significance grew, making it a strategic target in times of war. In response, a series of defences were built that included a chain that could be raised across the harbour, a ring of block-houses armed with cannon and, in the fifteenth century, Plymouth Castle (Pye and Woodward, 1996). The area is known today as The Barbican, thus reflecting the importance of fortifications in the way in which places are imagined.

Sutton's defences were strengthened through the building of Mount Batten Tower in 1652, intended to protect the Harbour from raids by the Dutch. The Tower (named after a Parliamentary naval commander) was superseded by the construction of Royal Citadel by Charles II in 1665 (Pye and Woodward, 1996). Ostensibly, the

Citadel was built to defend Sutton and Devonport from the French, but it was also positioned to suppress civil unrest as Plymouth had sided with the Parliamentarians in the English Civil Wars. It is notable that the names, siting and purpose of these two fortifications reflect Sutton's changing position in the wider political and geopolitical landscapes. While Mount Batten Tower was designed to protect the country from the Dutch, the Royal Citadel was designed by a Dutch engineer, Bernard de Gomme (1620–85), who utilised the latest military technologies in its design. To maximise its fields of fire, the Royal Citadel incorporated a glacis slope: an area of open land that deprived attacking troops of any cover. Consequently, very little urban development occurred in the immediate vicinity of the Citadel (or indeed other, later, forts in and around the city – see Figure 1) and Plymouth Hoe remained a parade ground that was closed to the public until 1818 (Gill, 1979).

The Royal Citadel's defences were updated and strengthened at various times in response to different threats from Europe. While it is tactically obsolete, the Citadel has remained in military use as the base of the 29 Commando, Royal Artillery. Likewise, Mount Batten served as a Royal Air Force station between 1913 and 1992 and was used as a base for flying boats during the Second World War. Both examples demonstrate that land continues to be used by the Armed Forces beyond its initial, tactical purpose, highlighting the influence of military tradition and symbolism on a place.

Plymouth Dock/Devonport

The most significant military development in Plymouth was the establishment of Plymouth Dock by William III in 1690, now known as Her Majesty's Naval Base (HMNB) Devonport. Its purpose was to defend the Western Approaches against growing threats from France.² The Dock continued to expand in the eighteenth century in response to the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and, in the nineteenth-century, the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), resulting in the construction of five slipways, four dry docks and a wet basin in what is now known as the 'South Yard'. From 1719 onwards, the Morice Gunwharf was built immediately north of the South Yard to store the gunpowder needed on warships (Robinson, 2010).

The mid-nineteenth century saw a revolution in military technologies as steam and iron replaced sail and wood in the propulsion and construction of fighting vessels. To build and service these ships, a new dockyard (known as Keyham) was opened to the north of Morice Gunwharf in 1864. This comprised of two basins, one with three dry-docks and the other fronting a manufacturing complex with the foundries, forges, pattern shops, boilermakers and other specialist workshops necessary to build and maintain ironclad ships. In 1889, barracks were completed to accommodate 2500 sailors (with beds for a further 1000 added as recently as 1989). By 1907, two more basins were built in Keyham, which was renamed North Yard, to cater for the growing size and number of Dreadnoughts (battleships).

Stonehouse

The Borough of Stonehouse also expanded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a fashionable residential area for military officers who were associated

with the Royal Marine Barracks (established in 1783), the Royal William Victualling Yard (completed in 1835) and the Royal Naval Hospital (completed in 1758) (Brayshay et al., 1999). Close by, Admiralty House was constructed at Mount Wise (1789) as the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief in Plymouth. Out in the Sound, Plymouth Breakwater was constructed in 1812 by French and American prisoners of war.

Other military sites

There are over 200 other sites in Plymouth that are, or used to be, associated with a military purpose. As Figure 1 indicates, these include forts, gun emplacements (batteries), barracks, hospitals and housing (Pye and Woodward, 1996). These are sites that continue to have a presence on Plymouth's landscape and underline the significance of the military in the city's development.

Blitz and reconstruction

During the Second World War, the Docks were a strategic target and, consequently, Plymouth was heavily bombed during the Blitz. Between 1941 and 1944, 59 raids killed 1,172 civilians and reduced much of the city to rubble, destroying two shopping centres, every civic building, 26 schools, eight cinemas and 41 churches together with 3,754 houses.

Post-war reconstruction, led by architect Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie (1879–1957) and surveyor/city engineer James Paton-Watson (c.1898–1979), involved the

reconstruction of Plymouth's city centre according to modernist principles with grid-iron streets, a Beaux Arts design and city neighbourhoods (Essex and Brayshay, 2007). Their 1943 Plan for Plymouth remained influential into the 1980s, although it took a complacent attitude towards the diversification of the city's economy:

'Plymouth has an easier task in preparing for its future than some other places ... her destiny in the national economy is not and has never been uncertain ... so long as the British Navy exists, Plymouth's principal occupation remains' (Paton-Watson and Abercrombie, 1943, p. 2). The military 'mind-set' associated with city undoubtedly affected the ability of the locality to respond effectively to the rapidly changing circumstances of the next 50-60 years.

Yet, as Britain entered the Cold War, the Admiralty felt justified in expanding Plymouth's Naval Base in 1952. They did so by requisitioning and occupying 20 hectares of what had been Devonport town centre, with its thriving shops, houses, banks and dance halls. Inside the Base, these premises were used for storage while, outside, the High Street ended abruptly in a 1km-long, 3m-high wall topped with barbed wire (Figure 2). With the construction of this wall, the experience of living in Devonport was transformed: the displaced population were rehoused in new high-rise flats and the wall acted as a barrier to the connectivity and cohesion of the community. While Devonport town had grown up to support the Base, the area's symbiotic existence made it vulnerable to military expansion and (as we will see later) decline. These changes emphasise the significant and sometimes authoritarian nature of military activities on society: local, civilian needs come a very poor second to what are perceived as national, strategic military requirements.

During the Cold War, the Docks continued to expand and provide work for the civilian population of Devonport, although men continued to dominate the workforce (Bartram and Shobrook, 1998). In 1970, a Fleet Maintenance Base and Submarine Refit Complex were constructed. In the 1980s, the former coal yard was converted into a basin for frigates (warships) and amphibious assault vessels (used to land and support land forces). In 2002, a further dock was built to allow the refitting of Vanguard-class (nuclear-powered ballistic-missile carrying) submarines, which were Britain's nuclear deterrent (Figure 3). As Figure 4 demonstrates, Plymouth remains an important centre of military activity.

Militarisation and Social geographies

Military barracks were originally designed to be set apart from the public, partly for surveillance (as in the case of the Royal Citadel) and partly to maintain military discipline and ways of working (Ogborn and Philo, 1994). However, over time, the distinction between military and civilian space in Plymouth has become blurred. The vast majority of serving personnel (92%) live in city neighbourhoods rather than in military barracks (2011 Census). Figure 5, written by an army welfare officer, presents the hypothetical life of a soldier in an artillery regiment. It demonstrates that, far from being isolated, the lives and stories of troops are woven into the social geographies and landscapes of the city of Plymouth, as Figure 6 also shows.

Similarly, during a walk along Plymouth's seafront, James Sidaway noted how military activities and events are woven into Plymouth's sense of place and identity: 'Two warships are offshore. In further view, there are forts and artillery towers, now mostly converted to other uses (one is a gym/leisure club), but also twin huge military radio antenna towers with flashing red lights. I look forward: out to sea. For a moment the depth, ecology, and geological history of the seas and Plymouth's role in charting these cross my mind ... There is a chronological layering of defensive and strategic landscapes here. Below are wharves that were vital parts of the Allied invasion marshalled in 1944, en route to the world war's western front in France. The whole landscape is overwritten by this military past and presence' (2009, p. 1102).

Plymouth's military connections with other parts of the world are perhaps most evident on Plymouth Hoe, where memorials have been erected to remember the dead of conflicts that range from the Boer War (1899–1902) to the more recent Afghanistan conflict (from 2001) (Yarwood, 2014). These statues serve as fitting memorials to members of the Armed Forces who lost their lives but, at the same time, they reflect the ideals of the military and military service (Bernazzoli and Flint, 2010). By way of contrast, a memorial to civilians lost in Plymouth's Blitz is sited in a less prominent corner, away from the sea.

The post-military city

Militarisation reached its zenith in the UK during the Second World War. Conscription meant that 5 million people served as regulars in the Armed Forces in 1945 and the whole of society was geared towards 'total war'. With the cessation of hostilities,

demobilisation led to a rapid decline of people under arms to approximately 2 million by 1946. When National Service ended in 1960, it was replaced by a smaller, more professional standing army that was geared towards large conventional battles with Warsaw Pact forces during the Cold War. The end of the Cold War in the 1991 was used to justify far-reaching strategic defence reviews. These led to the contraction of Armed Forces personnel (the total number of fulltime troops in the UK in 2016 was 139,350) and released considerable tracts of former military land for regeneration.

In 1947, there were approximately 23,000 dockyard employees in Plymouth, a number that had fallen to 6000 by 1989. Today, the number of dockyard employees is approximately 5000 (Figure 7) and civilian defence employment accounts for around 3% of total employment in Plymouth. The numbers of Armed Forces personnel has similarly declined (Figure 8) and accounts for less than 1% of Plymouth's population.

In 1987, HMNB Devonport was privatised and it has been run by Babcock International Group since 2007. While the Dockyard retains an important military function, its scale of operations has contracted. The long-term future of the base remains in doubt and there are fears that further closures will impact heavily on the local economy (Hunter, 2009). For example, 300 jobs were lost when the Trafalgar Class submarines, based in Devonport, started to be taken out of service in 2009. The result is that Devonport is now among the most deprived neighbourhoods in England (Plymouth Fairness Commission, 2014): 11% of residents claim Job Seeker's Allowance and average life expectancy is 72.2 years – 12 years less than

the wealthiest areas of Plymouth. These data demonstrate the importance of military bases in shaping and reproducing local social relations.

Re-imagining military space

The contraction of military operations released considerable tracts of military land in Plymouth. Subsequently, these became prime regeneration sites, particularly in waterfront locations. Although decommissioning was often bureaucratic and protracted (Shiple, 1991), many former military buildings have now been converted for civilian use. The most significant examples in Plymouth are the Royal William Yard, Mount Wise and Mount Batten Tower where historic architecture, open spaces and sea views made them attractive prospects for developers (Essex and Ford, 2015). Between 1993 and 1998, this work was undertaken by the Plymouth Urban Development Corporation (PUDC), one of several UDCs set up nationally by the Conservative Government to develop urban sites independently of local authorities (Hall, 1998). Plymouth UDC had a total budget of £45 million to spend on improving these three sites to a point where the private sector would be willing to invest in them (Essex and Ford, 2015).

The Royal William Yard

A clear example of this was provided by the Royal William Yard, a former naval victualling yard built in the 1820s. In the mid-1990s the PUDC spent £22 million undertaking essential repairs to buildings in the Royal William Yard, installing modern services, refurbishing derelict and run-down structures, improving access and providing car parking. The site was to be transformed into a factory outlet

shopping centre, together with public houses, restaurants and cafés, a hotel, housing, a visitor centre, craft workshops and offices. However, the private investments never materialised and, in 1999, the site was taken on by the South West Regional Development Agency who worked with Urban Splash (a company specialising in the innovative redevelopment of historic buildings) to develop residential apartments, restaurants, office space and art galleries (Figure 9).

Mount Wise and Mount Batten

The Mount Wise former naval site received £5 million of investment from the PUDC to stimulate a further £6.9 million from other sources. Derelict buildings were removed, new access roads constructed and buildings, such as Admiralty House, have been repaired and/or refurbished (Figure 10). At Mount Batten, formerly a Royal Air Force flying-boat station, the PUDC invested £11 million to create a mixed-use site of housing, light industry, leisure and open public space.

At all three sites developers have employed military heritage as a way of marketing them and stimulating growth. For example, Admiralty Row in Devonport, marketed as 'a place with history', is endorsed by a retired Vice Admiral. Questions arise as to whether these kind of flagship developments support local populations or go any way towards off-setting the social and economic decline experienced by what are former military neighbourhoods. It is difficult to see how service sector jobs – such as working as bar staff or waiters – offset the loss of the skilled trades associated with the Docks. In addition, the highend housing in these developments is beyond the reach of many residents. At the time of writing (summer 2017), one of the

apartments for sale in Admiralty Row was advertised at £349,950, while the average yearly wage for Plymouth is £24,000 and 43% of families in Devonport depend on benefits. Although these developments are required to include some 'affordable' housing, their marketing emphasises exclusivity (Telford, 2015). While less tangible than military walls and fences, private security guards, gated communities and closed-circuit television now exclude unwanted people and their activities in an effort to secure exclusive space (Paasche et al., 2014).

These kinds of post-military developments look set to continue in Plymouth. In 2015, the release of land in Devonport's South Yard led to the instigation of a marine industries production campus called 'Ocean's Gate'. This aims to provide a platform to build international trade via an expo in 2020, which is planned to coincide with the 400th anniversary of the Mayflower sailing in July 1620 (Plymouth City Council, 2014). In 2016, the Ministry of Defence announced that it would sell off a further 56 military sites nationally as part of an 'Estate Optimisation Strategy' to allow the Defence Estate to better meet the needs of the Armed Forces. In Plymouth this programme includes the loss of Royal Citadel (the headquarters of 29 Commando Royal Artillery) and the Stonehouse Barracks (the headquarters of 3 Commando Brigade). Troops will be relocated to a new 'superbase' in the city and the buildings will be released and converted for housing and recreation by 2020.

Veterans

It is estimated that approximately 20,000 veterans live in Plymouth (Devon County Council, 2014), making up nearly 10% of the adult population. The majority make a

successful transition from service to civilian life, but it has been recognised that veterans are more likely to suffer from mental and physical illness that can contribute to social exclusion (Herman and Yarwood, 2014). A plethora of charities have been established to provide social support or simply comradeship for veterans (Herman and Yarwood, 2015). In Plymouth, the Royal British Legion (RBL) and Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen and Families Association (SSAFA) provide help both to veterans and serving personnel on welfare issues. The RBL runs a drop-in centre to provide advice to veterans as well as to inform the public about their needs. In 2014, the £23-million Naval Service Recovery Centre (NSRC), operated by the charity Help for Heroes and the Ministry of Defence, opened in the Naval Base to support service personnel with life-changing injuries, wounds or illnesses (Help for Heroes, 2014). The NSRC provides support for service personnel wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan, which highlights that, despite scaling back the size of the Armed Forces, their operational commitments have increased with social and medical consequences. In this sense, talk of 'post-militarism' sounds premature, but it should be stressed that the term does not mean an end to militarism or military activity but rather a change in the military's relationship with wider society.

Indeed, nationally, there has been a political drive to encourage closer links between Services personnel and civilians. In 2011, the Armed Forces Covenant (AFC) was established by the Government to set out the nation's 'moral obligation to those who serve, have served, their families and the bereaved' (Ministry of Defence, 2016). A National Covenant Fund has been established to foster social, cultural and economic links between civilians and the military as well as the signing of 'Community Covenants': agreements between local authorities, the military and other partners.

Plymouth's AFC has been particularly active and has won more than £300,000 of funding from the National Covenant Fund to support veterans and the families of serving personnel through sports, the arts, community groups, health and welfare. This reflects the significance of the military in the city's imagination. The Annual Armed Forces Day (held in late June each year) also receives widespread public support. Instead of being set apart in barracks or represented as heroes on war memorials, veteran soldiers are increasingly being viewed as individuals, victims perhaps, who need support from wider society. This change represents a re-figuring of a locality's relationship with the military and is another facet of Plymouth's 'post-military' society.

Conclusion

This article has illustrated how the Armed Forces, through the development of bases, fortresses and facilities, have played a fundamental role in the evolution of the urban morphology and social geographies of urban places. The chronological layering of defence and strategic landscapes is clearly evident within these places, yet has often been neglected in geographical interpretation and analysis.

We suggest that it is possible to trace how trajectories linked to militarism and post-militarism affect places such as Plymouth (Figure 11). It is important to emphasise that post-militarism does not signal the end of military-related influences on urban morphology and social geography. While the original military function of buildings may change over time, the structures continue to contribute to the character of the town or city, as well as influence, facilitate and constrain the possibilities and form of

new activities. Post-militarism then is a process that is likely to have variable trajectories and outcomes in different locations. While these are relatively easy to see in a 'garrison city' such as Plymouth – where the army, navy and air force have had a substantial presence in the city – we also posit that they play a part in determining change in a wider range of places.

Other post-defence naval towns, such as Portsmouth and Chatham, have different opportunities to capitalise on, due to the economic and social circumstances of their geographical locations. Equally, inland rural areas, which have been affected by the growth and subsequent closure of military bases and airfields, require very different regeneration strategies to those implemented in coastal locations. It is these variable geographical effects of post-militarism that are likely to form the basis of future geographical research agendas.

Notes

1. City status was awarded to Plymouth in 1928.
2. Around the same time Brest Naval Harbour was established in Brittany, France, to counter the British threat. The military histories and geographies of Brest and Plymouth are mirrored and entwined with each other (see Marcadon and Pinder, 1997).

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Figure 1: Plymouth: significant military locations, including features mentioned in the text.



Figure 2: The Devonport Wall, built in 1952 to enclose the naval storage enclave on the former town centre. Here, some of the high-rise flats built to accommodate the displaced population are clearly visible (Photo: Stephen Essex).



Figure 3: Devonport Naval Base in 2017. HMS Montrose (a Type 23 frigate), the frigate maintenance hangars, and a crane used for servicing nuclear-powered, armed submarines are visible, as are the historic buildings in the North Yard. Photo: Richard Yarwood.

Location	Military use/activities
Devonport	<p>Devonport Flotilla, comprising:</p> <p>Naval Base 3 amphibious assault vessels 7 Type 23 frigates</p> <p>4 Trafalgar Class (nuclear-powered) submarines 4 survey ships</p> <p>1 Arctic patrol ship</p> <p>Dock built in 2002 to allow refits for Vanguard Class submarines</p> <p>1st Assault Group, Royal Marines were relocated here from Poole (Dorset) and Turnchapel (Plymouth) in 2013</p> <p>Acts as base for Southern Diving Group</p> <p>The Flag Officer Sea Training unit enables training and assessment for a ship's readiness for combat (this kind of activity is also under taken for other navies)</p>
HMS Raleigh	Established in 1940 in Torpoint as a site for Basic Naval Training in the Royal Navy, with approximately 2000 people on site
Royal Citadel	Established as a base for the 29 Commando, Royal Artillery unit, but is likely to move by 2020
Stonehouse	Established as the headquarters Barracks for 3 Commando Brigade, but is likely to move by 2020
Army Reserve Centre, Derriford	Includes 10 Territorial Army Reserve Army units

Figure 4: The location of military units and activities carried out in Plymouth, 2016.

Year/ Hypothetical soldier's activities

1990 Tommy Atkins joins the Army as a boy soldier aged 17 to escape a life on the dole and trouble with the Police

1991 Starts adult service and passes his commando course in time to deploy to Gulf War 1 for four months

1994 Promoted to Lance Bombardier; six months later is 'bust' back to Gunner for fighting. Posted to 7 Battery in Arbroath, Scotland

1995 Deploys to Bosnia on a six month tour and is promoted again to Lance Bombardier and is deployed back to Plymouth, meeting Sally - a local women

1996 Sally gives birth to twin girls (Tommy is in Norway at the time); he returns briefly before deploying aboard a ship for four months leaving Sally struggling with postnatal depression

1997 Tommy and Sally get married and move into Service Family Accommodation in the city

1998 Tommy spends 6 months in Northern Ireland

2000 Tommy and Sally divorce and he moves back into the barracks and voluntarily makes Child Support Agency (CSA) payments (Sally moves in with her Mum)

2001 Promoted to Bombardier (increasing his CSA payments)

2002 Deploys to Afghanistan for Op JACANA

2003 Deploys to Iraq Op TELIC 1, on his return he buys a flat in the Barbican in an effort to have a space to spend time with his daughters, although he is now all but estranged from them

2005 Deploys to Afghanistan, where his best mate is killed in action. He returns and rekindles an old romance with Nicola (an ex-girlfriend) who lives locally and who helps him to start dealing with his grief

2007 Deploys to Afghanistan again but, on return, he has to sell his flat

2009 Promoted to Sergeant. He is now very active in fund-raising for his best mate's memorial charity

2010 Sgt Atkins marries Nicola and they move into Service Family Accommodation (they cannot afford to buy their own home because of the debt he still carries)

2011 Nicola gives birth to a son and gives up her work at Tesco; Tommy moves into an administrative and training job as the Regiment prepares for another tour in Helmand

2012 Juggles resettlement training with Army work but is slightly overwhelmed by the support on offer for his transition to 'Civvy Street'

2013 Retires from the Regular Army, moving his family into cheap rented accommodation but has still not found a job, although he conducts some casual work whenever the opportunity arises

Figure 5: A fictionalised account of Tommy Atkins (a soldier's) military career, 1990–2013. Source: Dawes, 2013.



Figure 6: Military geographies and actions are woven into and performed within Plymouth's landscape. Here families welcome home a ship's crew with a banner flown from a former coastal defence battery. Photo: Richard Yarwood.

Military and related personnel	Number employed
Naval Base military personnel in Dockyard	1,300
Operational ships' crews	4,900
Naval Base civilians	1,100
Dockyard employees	5,000
Total Naval Base and Dockyard	12,300
Other Plymouth military personnel	1,150
Torpoint (Cornwall) military personnel	1,300
Total Plymouth local economic area	14,800

Figure 7: Military and civilian defence employment in the Plymouth local economic area, 2009. Source: Hunter, 2009.

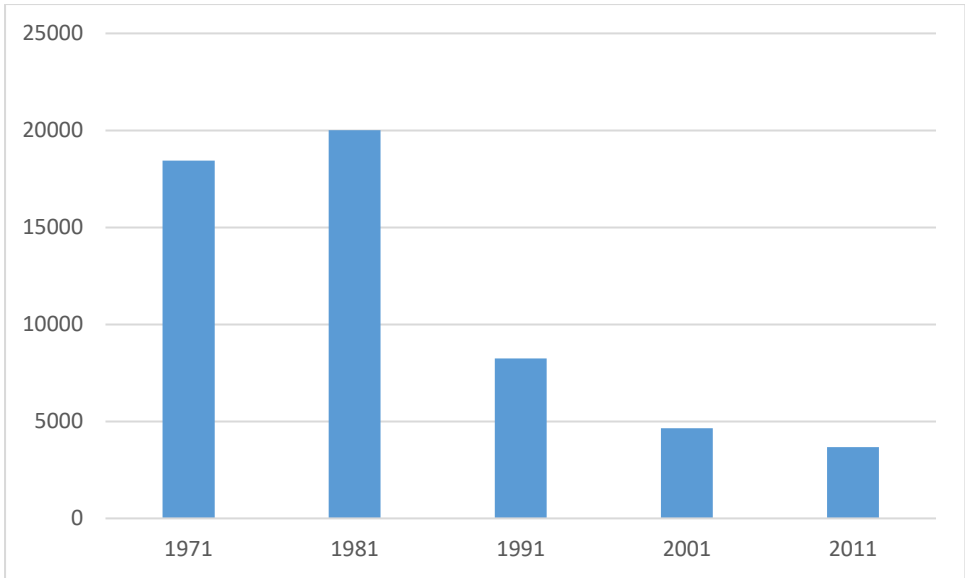


Figure 8: Numbers of fulltime Armed Forces resident in Plymouth, 1971–2011. Source: Census Data.



Figure 9: The Royal William Yard’s combination of heritage building and waterfront setting made it a prime site for high-end redevelopment. Photo: Stephen Essex.



Figure 10: Here at Mount Wise the former Admiralty House has now been converted into apartments. Photo: Stephen Essex.

The Military City	The Post Military City
Significant infrastructural developments linked to geopolitical conflicts and new technologies	The closure or contraction of military bases in response to geopolitical change
Military installations take precedent and impact on urban morphology	Military installations are sold and re-developed for civilian use
The Armed Forces account for a high proportion of jobs and economic activities	Other economic activities, usually linked to the service sector, are more prominent
The growth of civilian communities to support military activities and bases	The decline of communities linked to military bases
Social geographies of the city are influenced by service personnel and their families	Veterans issues become more prominent in the social fabric of the city
The Armed Forces are woven into the imagination of the city as a 'garrison town'	Military heritage is used in the marketing of refurbished buildings and regeneration projects

Figure 11: Aspects of change in influences in the military and post-military city.