ASSESING THE PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC PLACES: TOWARDS A NEW MODEL

Georgiana Mihaela Varna, BA, BSc, MSc

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences
School of Social and Political Sciences
Department of Urban Studies
June 2011

*To Steve, for
always being there*

Abstract

The research undertaken in this thesis represents an inquiry into the nature of public space. Its scope is threefold, first, to propose a new way of conceptualising the publicness of public space, defined as the sum of characteristics that make a public space public; second, to create a new methodology for practically assessing public places and third, to test this on several new public place case studies.

The entire thesis is based on a new understanding of publicness as having a dual nature: it can be grasped simultaneously as a cultural reality and as a historical reality. Publicness as a cultural reality means that all public places, created at a certain point in time and in a particular socio-cultural setting, can be understood as reflection of a common held view of what the ideal public space is. In order to grasp this ideal and use it as a standard to measure the publicness of new public places, the researcher gathered and filtered the different conceptions and definitions in the field. It was found out that five key meta-themes determine, through their interaction, the publicness of a public place today, in the western world: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. These have been gathered into the theoretical Star Model of Publicness which was then translated into a practical tool for measuring public places. However, a public place can be grasped not only as a cultural artefact, it is also as the product of a historical process of placemaking. Its publicness results from the interactions, negotiations and decisions made during its development process. It is in other words, a historical reality. As a result, it was considered that assessing the publicness of a public place comprises two things: first, a measurement of the site as a snapshot against the existent standard of publicness and second, an explanation of that measurement though exploring its development process. This was applied in practice, on three new public places created on the regenerated waterfront of the Clyde, in Glasgow and conclusions were drawn regarding the robustness and usefulness of this approach.

This is a pilot project undertaken with limited resources and by a single researcher in one location/city and is thus not meant to be 'an ultimate truth', a unique formula for assessing publicness. Instead, it represents only the beginning step towards a more objective and inclusive way of analysing the publicness of public places.

Table of Contents

List of figures

Abbreviations

BDP – Building Design Partnership

CABE – Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment

CWWG – Clyde Waterfront Working Group

DCLG – Department of Communities and Local Government

DETR – Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions

ERDF – European Regional Development Fund

GCC – Glasgow City Council

GEF – Glasgow Economic Forum

IFSD – International Financial Services District

KPF – Kohn Pederson Fox

PQDL – Pacific Quay Developments

SDA – Scottish Development Agency

SEG – Scottish Enterprise Glasgow

SECC - Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre

WCP – Waterfront Communities Project

Author's declaration

"I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____*varna*_____

Printed name GEORGIANA MIHAELA VARNA. "

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Steve Tiesdell and Prof. David Adams for their continuous support, valuable insights and constructive criticism during my doctoral study. I am deeply grateful to Dr Tiesdell for being more than a supervisor, a sincere friend and a continuous source of inspiration.

I would like to thank the Adam Smith Foundation who have funded my study and gave me this great opportunity. Also, I would like to thank all the academics in the Department of Urban Studies for their support and insightful discussions and for providing me with a great work environment. I would like to extend my special thanks to Barbara Gear, Craig Moore, Kieran Durkin and to Mhairi McKenzie. I am addressing my sincere thanks to all those who willingly took part in this research, especially the planners in the Development and Regeneration Services who have been extremely helpful and who gave me confidence in the significance of my work.

I would also like to thanks my friends, who gave me the important moral support throughout the four years of my study and who were always there in time of need. My special thanks go to Jonathan Wood, Elodie Sellar, Sarah Daniel, Peter McLean, Aga Labonarska and Philip Larkin.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratefulness to my mother, Rodica Varna, who never stopped believing in me and who was always my most trusted friend. Without her love and many long conversations I would have never succeeded in finishing this project.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why study public space?

1.2 What is public space?

1.3 Research questions, aims and objectives

1.4 Contribution to knowledge

1.5 Thesis structure

1.1 Why study public space?

In an urban world greatly concerned with sustainable development (Human Development Report 2007/2008; UN Climate Change Conference Copenhagen 2009), building more socially cohesive, environmentally friendly and economic competitive cities appears as a key prerequisite. Through their multiple functions and various roles, public places[1] are central to achieving urban sustainability, in all its three dimensions (Figure 1.1):

- First, from a social perspective, public places such as streets, parks, plazas, squares, etc, are the stages where the city's public social life unfolds, where new social encounters happen and where people relax and enjoy themselves *together*. They connect the space of home and work/study thus providing the setting and the opportunity for the enrichment of a society's public life. Of a special concern today is a worldwide noticeable increase in the control of 'the public' and the existence of a new wave of anti-immigration attitudes and policies on the background of the recent economic crisis, especially in the recently conservative United Kingdom. The concept that Nancy Fraser coined of 'multiple publics' (1990) becomes therefore key to understanding the contemporary multi-ethnic city. When we think of the control on the public, we

---

[1] Although public places occur both in rural and urban settlements, the focus here will be on urban public space

have to ask 'Which public?' while when we discuss the creation of a public place for the public, we have to ask 'What kind of public?' and 'Who defines the public?'. In addition, the predominant phenomenon of the privatisation of public space (Sorkin, 1992; Davis, 1998; Zukin, 2000; Atkinson, 2003), coupled with this higher rate of control and surveillance measures (Lofland, 1998; Davis, 1998), especially after 9/11, has led to grave consequences, such as increased social exclusion and spatial injustice. It is held here that more inclusive and more democratic public places help a city's social cohesiveness, which in turn contributes towards its sustainability.

• Pedestrian routes and public transport connections over car-based developments. →More compact cities based on walking and an interconnected public transport network.
• Parks and the greening of cities, public places also contribute to a more environmentally-friendly urban setting.

• Activity and vitality (local businesses in the detriment of large suburban malls)
• Promoting the city image – attract flows of financial capital + social capital and skilled workers
• Tourism

ECONOMIC

sustainability

ENVIRONMENTAL   SOCIAL

• Urban stages fostering social interaction and leading to social cohesion;
• The places for freedom of expression and political manifestations, quintessential for a democratic society

Figure 1.1 Public space and sustainability

• Second, from an environmental perspective, quality public space favours pedestrian routes and public transport connections over car-based developments. Car dependency, one of the most polluting factors in our cities, coupled with the decline in fossil fuel resources, the increase in global warming and the fast growth of urban population - all point towards a radical change in our approach to city planning and design. This will be involving more compact

cities based on walking and an interconnected public transport network and greener cities based on sustainable buildings, green belts and clean, renewable energy. By promoting parks and the greening of cities, as well as walking, cycling and public transport, public places contribute to a more environmentally friendly urban landscape. It is also held here that a more compact and greener city is also a more sustainable city.

- Third, from an economic perspective, high quality public places are characterized by a high pedestrian footfall, supporting therefore local businesses, shops, restaurants and bars, in the detriment of large suburban malls. At the same time, they act as promoters for a city's image, develop social capital and help attract investment to an area, while also supporting tourism. A city with an attractive public image and with varied opportunities for tourists and residents alike to spend their leisure time, is a more economically viable and competitive city and therefore a more sustainable one.

The underlying belief in this thesis is that an inquiry into the nature of urban public space with the outcome of finding a way to assess the publicness of public places will lead ultimately to the creation of *more public, public places for more publics*. This would bring a valuable contribution to the practice of planning and urban design and would lead to the building of more sustainable urban areas. Cities, just like the societies that create them, are always undergoing a process of change; nevertheless, there are severe challenges that cities are faced with now, at the beginning of the 21st century. In Asia, the rate of urbanisation has reached unprecedented values while in the USA and Australia there are major challenges concerning the suburbia and its car-dependent urban population in a time when fossil fuels reserves are rapidly shrinking. In former Soviet countries, urban centres are going through major transformations from a socialist, centralised regime to an incipient capitalist system. Moreover, in the cities of the so called 'developed world', the urban centres that used to lead the industrial development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are also going through great changes. From centres of production to centres of consumption, from a blue-collar to a white-collar workforce, the re-structuring or *regeneration* of western cities has

been one of the key concerns of urban scholars for the past decades. In the United Kingdom, Punter (2010) argues that British urban centres need a coherent vision and a strong planning system in the contemporary context of restructuring from former industrial key players on the world stage to new financial and service centres.

In the belief that public space is a key component of the urban landscape, with a growing importance in the contemporary climate of profound urban change, it was decided to undertake this research, which is fundamentally intended as *an inquiry into the nature of public space*.

1.2 What is public space?

Public space is neither an uncontested nor an uncontroversial arena in the disciplines of urban design and planning (e.g. see Atkinson, 2003; Raco, 2003). Indeed debates on the "politics of space" (e.g. the tension between surveillance and access rights to public space) continue to capture academic and public attention (see Lefebvre, 1991; Flusty, 2001; Mitchell, 2003; Madanipour, 2003; Kohn, 2004), raising important questions of social justice, such as: "Who makes and controls public space?" and "Who benefits from the development of new public space in the context of restructuring the city?" There are even more pessimistic voices arguing for the breakdown of society and 'the fall of public man' (Sennett, 1977) due to a change of people's attitudes. From active participants in the life of the city, 'the people' have become passive spectators to the display of neoliberal and market-driven forces (Foucault, 1986); the 'public' has been 'pacified by cappuccino' and lost its ability to fight for 'social justice for all' (Zukin, 2000; Atkinson, 2003).

As a reflection of such concerns, a distinctive strand in recent urban design policy in the United Kingdom has been focused on urban design as making places for people (Urban Task Force, 1999 & 2005; DCLG, 2009; Carmona *et al.,* 2003). As

such, 'the public' has been the subject of increasing policy attention over such matters as the commodification of space; cappuccino urbanism and a focus on affluent consumerism; the privatisation of public space; the militarising and securitising of space through CCTV and other express security measures; exclusion from public space; the emergence of gated communities; the Disney-fication of public spaces etc.

In turn, public space is also the subject of a growing academic literature from the full range of social science and humanities disciplines (Carr, 1992; Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995; Zukin, 2000; Madanipour, 2003; Massey, 2005; Mensch, 2007). Each discipline sees public space through a different lens, and with particular interests and concerns to the fore. Political scientists, for example, focus on democratisation and on rights in public space; geographers on 'sense-of-place´ and 'placelessness´; legal scholars on the ownership of and access in public places; sociologists on human interactions and social exclusion etc. The result is a diverse array of multi-disciplinary approaches towards understanding 'public space' (Figure 1.2).
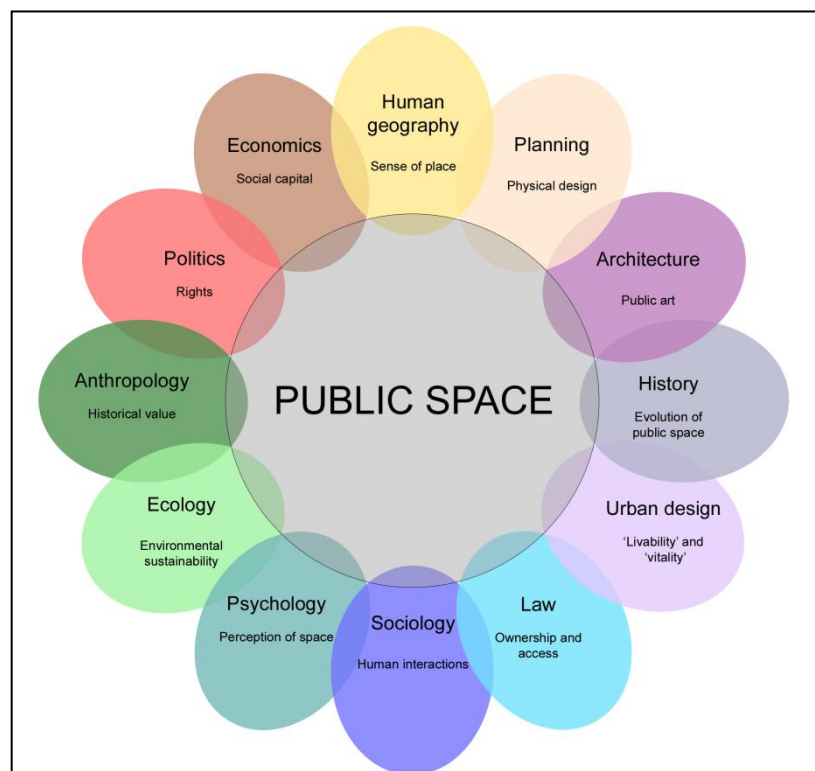
Figure 1.2 Public space – a multidisciplinary approach

What these various disciplinary accounts seem to have in common though is a sense that something has been lost. It seems that a commonly accepted standard of 'publicness' of public space has been tainted by the intrusion of economics and politics of fear and control (Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995; Davis, 1998; Zukin, 2000). The starting point of this research was to find out if there was a way to measure publicness and describe in a more rigorous way if and what has been lost.

The existence of these various understandings of public space from multi-disciplinary perspectives creates much confusion around the meaning of the terms 'public space' and 'publicness' of space. During the research, it became apparent that the notion of public space is such a 'slippery term' because first, on a theoretical level, there are so many conflicting and confusing multi-disciplinary views and definitions in the matter. Second, on a practical level, the 'real', built public places are complex socio-cultural, political and environmental products of a social group while on a third, individual level, public space is also a subjective, personal construct. A space can be public to me but not to you. The first aim of this inquiry was to try to shed some light into the meaning and the complicated nature of public space. Because of the existence of so many different disciplinary perspectives on public space and as it was felt that none of them clearly explained why public space is such a 'slippery term' and defined it in a comprehensive manner, the research sought to approach the matter in a fresh way. The next paragraphs will present the theoretical foundations that anchor this study.

How can the publicness of public space be assessed? A new theoretical perspective

As a distinctive part of the built environment, the main stage where the life of the community unfolds, public space is deeply intertwined with the beliefs, traditions, experiences, political views and so on, what is generally understood as the culture of a particular society.

> "The existence of some form of public life is a prerequisite for the development of public spaces. Although every society has some mixture of public and private, the emphasis given to each one and the values they

express help to explain the differences across settings, across cultures, and across times. The public spaces created by societies serve as a mirror of their public and private values as can be seen in the Greek agora, the Roman forum, the New England common, and the contemporary plaza, as well as Canaletto's scene of Venice" (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. 22).

In other words, on the background of larger political, economic and social structures, a certain society, at a certain point in time, holds a common understanding of what makes a public space, public, or otherwise said, what the ideal public space is and this is then translated in the various public places that are created. If one could grasp this general held view on the ideal public space and determine what key characteristics are considered as giving a certain place its 'quality of being public' or in a shorter phrase 'its publicness', then this could be used as a standard for measuring different public places. But how to grasp this ideal? The approach taken here was to investigate the literature in the field, from as many disciplines as possible (with a focus on urban design and planning), in a deductive manner (see Figure 1.3), for two reasons.
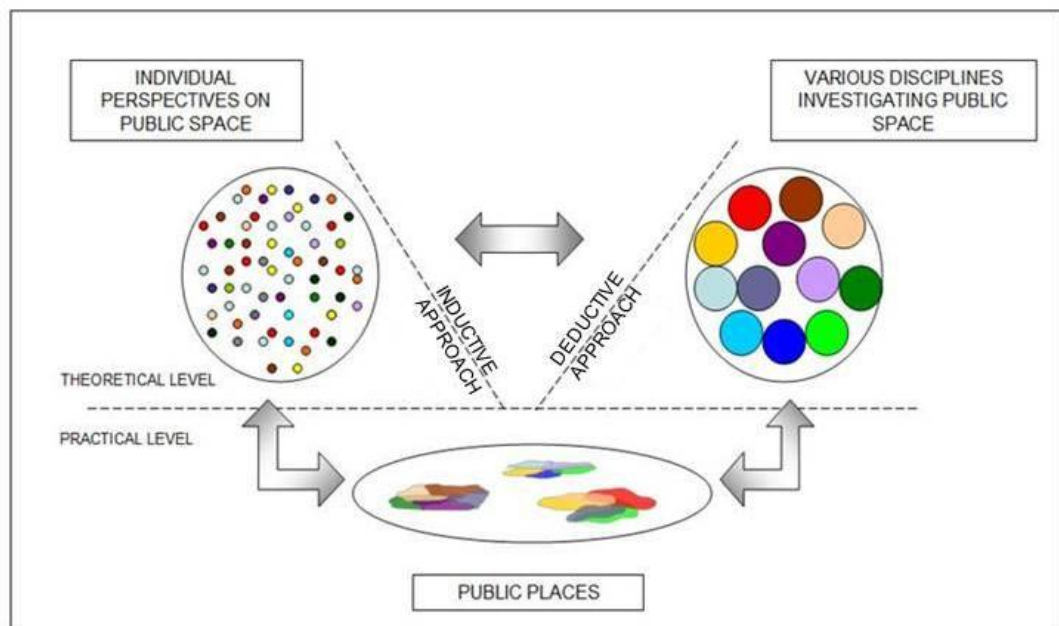
Figure 1.3 Different approaches to studying public space

First, this academic literature presents a large amount of information on a variety and multitude of public places and as a result, common themes could be found

that described many of them. Second, in the practical creation of public places a series of professionals (architects, planners, politicians, lawyers etc.) are involved, who are trained and educated in a common paradigm of place making that is described in the scientific community. The common hold view of what the ideal public space is, being part of this paradigm, will be translated in practice into similar characteristics shared by all public places.

This is the understanding of a public place as a *cultural artefact* and its publicness as a *cultural reality.* It can be debated what 'culture' and 'cultural' means but here by cultural artefact it is understood that a public place is created as a reflection of a society's views, beliefs, norms and ideas and generally its cultural view about what a public space should be. There are noticeable differences between Trafalgar Square and Tiananmen Square, in the sense that if in the UK and generally throughout the western world, the publicness of public space is closely linked with the concept of democracy, in China, a communist society holds a different view of what public space is. Of course different societies share common traits and it would be very interesting to see how these are translated in the creation of public places around the world and if there is a universal model for 'publicness', but this is a task far too great for the present inquiry. The fact that the publicness is a cultural reality means that here, according to the literature investigated, an ideal of public space can be grasped only as a reflection of the British society in particular and western thought in general.

At the same time with being a cultural reality, the publicness of a public place is also a *historical reality.* As the western society changed in time, so did the conception and implicitly the physical representations of 'public space'; a reflection on the history of public space in the western world shows that in different time periods, different public places were created according to different ideas and ideals of publicness. The ideal of publicness of the ancient Greeks reflected in the agora where women, foreigners and slaves were not allowed to take part (Mitchell, 1995) seems inappropriate for the contemporary western society. For the present

inquiry, this means that an ideal public space and a standard for its publicness can only be defined for contemporary, newly built public places, in the UK and generally in the western world, in the last fifty years or so (Figure 1.4). Publicness as a historical reality is understood here not only on this macro-level level, but also on a micro-level. By this it is meant that at a certain point in time, each public place's publicness is a result of a certain historical process of production, which, for the newly built public places, is known as the land and real estate development process.

After setting these spatial and temporal delineations for this inquiry, another key aspect about public space was understood. Publicness is seen here from a critical realist point of view, as something 'out there', something measurable, independent of the human consciousness. The philosophical approach taken here asserts therefore that first, there is a real thing called 'publicness' and second, that this can be understood by investigating the structures and processes that generate this quality of public places. A critical realist approach is also adopted here in respect to the researcher never being able to be a 'perfect observer' of the reality; the cultural background and personal experiences influence the ways in which the researcher will approach the task of conceptualising publicness.

Although a critical realist approach is adopted here, it is accepted that publicness can also be grasped from a subjectivist point of view. Each individual has a slightly different way of perceiving what a public space is (from one's experience of different public places and the personal meanings they are associated with):

> "Different places mean different things to different people. We probably all perceive our urban environment in slightly different ways. What matters is to put together buildings and bits of towns in ways that are easy to understand" (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 63).

First, this indicates that no public place can be a perfect reflection of the commonly held ideal of publicness because public places are created by the interaction of various individuals with their own different understandings of what public space is. Each public place will reflect a different *degree of publicness* according on one hand to how the various actors involved in its development process understand

publicness and on another hand to the general historical context that governs the actions of these actors.

Second, this shows that apart from a deductive approach (Figure 1.3) adopted here, there could be an inductive study undertaken where a large number of individuals' conception on publicness would be investigated, commonalities found and an ideal of public space defined. Examples of research on the different perceptions and meanings that people have in relation to public space are Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960) and Jack Nasars' *The Evaluative Image of the City* (1998). Such an inquiry could be pursued in a subsequent research project but this would be a much larger and time consuming project than possible here. It was considered more important for now to find out if a standard of publicness could be defined and if it was possible to assess public places in a more rigorous manner.

Third, the subjective nature of publicness means that even though this ideal can be defined, it will not be shared by everyone. A public place, which was measured as having a high rating of publicness, may not be *perceived* as public by certain members of the society. This is a contradiction lying at the heart of public space creation; it can be aimed to *create more public places for more publics* but it can never be aimed at creating *a public place for all publics*.

From this discussion, it results that on a conceptual level, public space is ever an ideal, reflecting a general common view held at a certain point in time and in a certain socio-cultural setting; no reality can match it but by grasping this ideal and using it as a standard for publicness, public places can be measured, compared and as a result it can be known more clearly where they fail and how they can be improved.

1.3 Research questions, aims and objectives

In the previous sections, it was suggested that the meaning of public space changes according to historical and regional variations. This research aims to gather different multi-disciplinary conceptualisations of public space, existent in the available body of English language literature on the subject, under one inclusive and as objective as possible model that describes, measures and illustrates the 'publicness' of a public place. It is an ambitious project but the gap in the literature needed to be addressed and this study is considered as a step towards creating a more objective and structured approach to understanding public space. The research question that underlies this project is therefore: *what makes a public space, public?* In other words, *how can one conceptualise and measure the 'publicness' of public space so that different public places can be graded and compared?*

Broken down in smaller objectives, this investigation proposes:

1. To examine publicness as a cultural reality in the UK and generally the western world. In this respect, a literature review will be performed, from as many disciplines as possible, first to clarify the concept of public space and then to find out common themes that appear as defining for the publicness of public space. Then these will be gathered under one comprehensive definition of what a standard public space means today in the western society.
2. To understand publicness as a historical reality. Accordingly, two tasks are set: first, to pursue an inquiry into the historical creation of urban public space in the western world. Second, to understand the process of public place production – the development process. In this respect, a basic understanding needs to be acquired on the current planning policies and practices in the UK in particular and in the western world in general.
3. To translate the standard of public space defined in the literature review into a model to measure the publicness of public places. In this respect, methods

needed to be found to apply this in practice in parallel with deciding on methods to investigate the historical reality of each public place.

4. To test this model on several case study public places. Measuring publicness will be accompanied by an explanation of the ratings through examining the development process of each site. The case study public places will be understood as part of the larger cultural and historical background of the city where they are located.

5. To reflect critically upon the model and the investigation undertaken, make recommendations for further research and asses the value of this study.

1.4 Contribution to knowledge

Public space plays a key role in the building of the more sustainable city. This research is important for several reasons. First, the model brings a long sought theoretical contribution in the field by offering an objective and inclusive method, to compare and contrast public places so that knowledge exchange is made possible and lessons are learned from the success and/or failure of different projects. The future application of the model in different cities would help strengthen and improve the model and this is hoped to be pursued in a subsequent postdoctoral project.

Second, the model is believed as useful in the planning process and public place production as it provides a much needed decision support tool that can help overcome delays, which cause so many projects to fail or be compromised in terms of quality. The model describes public space, measures it and as a result, each public place is represented by a star diagram, a clear and comprehensive visual representation of the site's publicness. Its usefulness also lies in the fact that it is a tool that facilitates information exchange in the land development process while also imposing certain standards, which need to be aimed for when public places are generated. This research derives from the belief that urban planning and urban design should have a stronger position in the real estate

development process by imposing more standards and contributing more actively in assessing the quality of completed developments. In this respect it enhances the field by contributing broadly to the area identified by Punter (2010, p. 326) as "proactive development control", filling the gap made by the absence of a complex but universal criterion for determining the 'publicness' of public space.

Third, the star diagram of publicness is a new and straightforward way of illustrating this 'slippery' notion of a site's publicness, superior to the previously used cobweb diagrams. It shows exactly where publicness is compromised and points out in a straightforward manner to the consequences of the decisions made in the development process. As such it indicates precisely where action is needed so that the overall publicness of a public place is improved, functioning as an audit tool.

Fourth, the model can be used by anybody with particular interest in a public place who wants to understand the reasons for the site being or not being public and why it fails to deliver. As such, it bridges the gap between the 'providers' of public places and the 'users' as any person can go to a public place, observe it, and then measure it, obtaining a star diagram. As a result, users can feedback into the development of an area with enough information to make a valuable contribution and help improve their environment according to their own objectives and usage patterns.

The Star Model created here is built upon several original and valuable attempts of analysing and quantifying different aspects related to the 'publicness' of public places. Van Melik *et al.* (2007) looked at indicators related to one dimension of public space, management, and were concerned with comparing two opposed types of managed public places, "secured" and "themed" ones (Figure 1.4). Their intuitive attempt at quantifying one of the key issues related to public space has been pivotal at the start of this research*.*
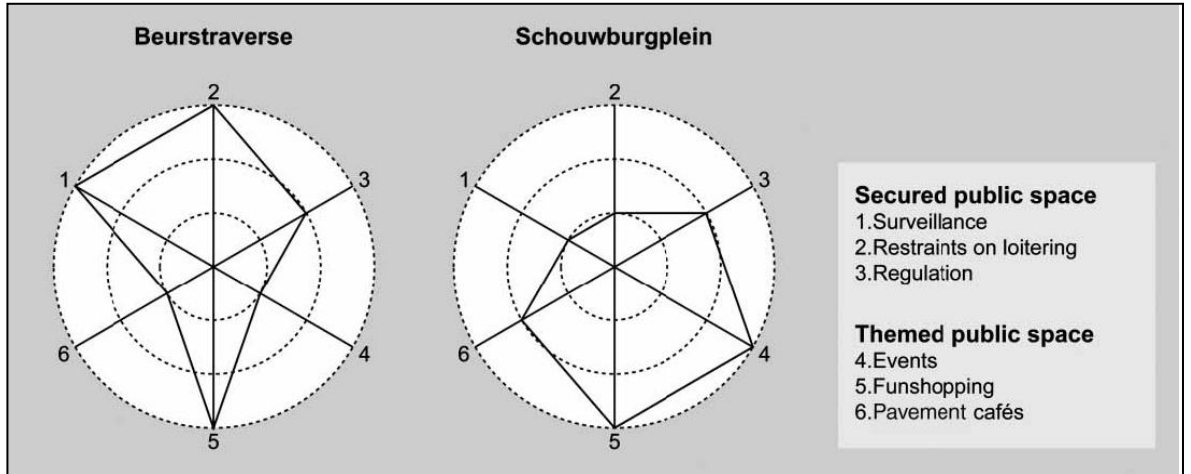
Figure 1.4 Van Melik et al.'s (2007) attempt of quantifying and visually representing key aspects of public places
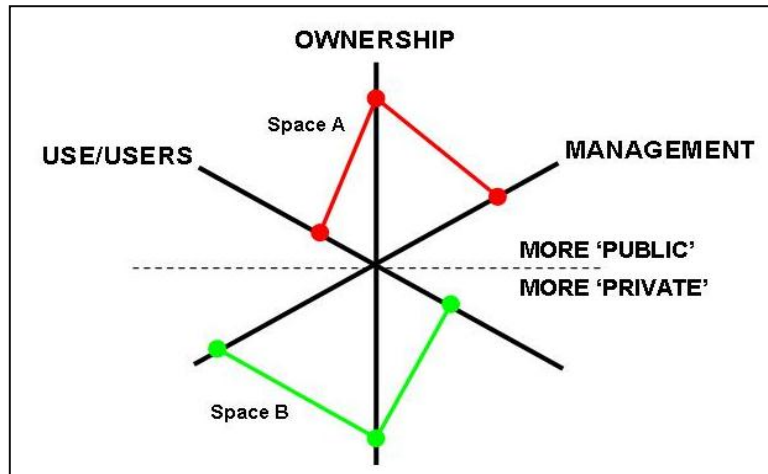
Figure 1.5Nemeth and Schmidt's (2007) model of describing and visually representing three key dimensions of publicness
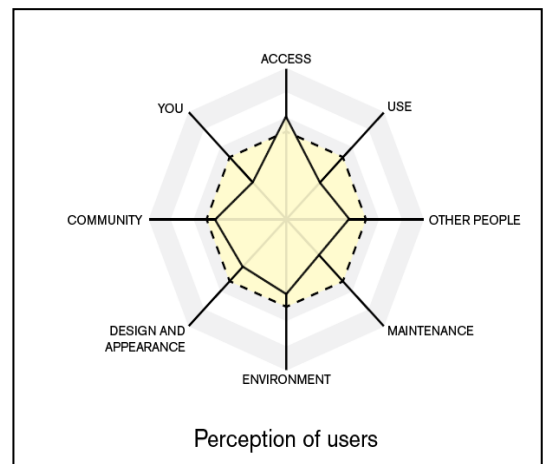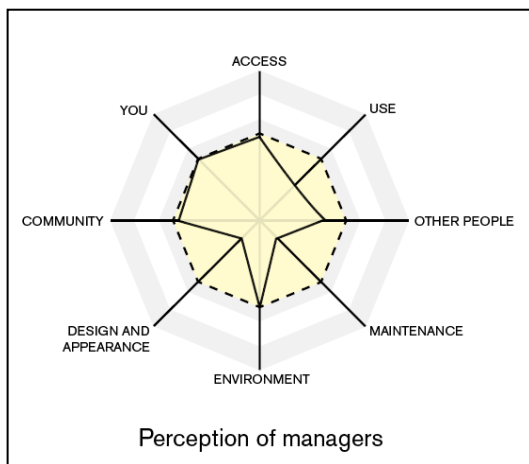
Figure 1.6 CABE'S Spaceshaper tool for assessing the 'quality' of public space

Nemeth and Schmidt (2007) have also looked at the management aspect of public space and attempted to create a "methodology for measuring the security of publicly accessible spaces" (Nemeth and Schmidt, 2007). Their work has advanced the Dutch authors' quoted above research because they include the dimensions of 'design' and 'use' in a more comprehensive model of assessing public places.

While an important part of their ideas and aims are shared in this research, their model was found as looking not specifically at the 'publicness' of public places but only at the theme of control in public space and consequently all their indicators subscribe to this explicit agenda (Figure 1.5).

At the same time, although their model was deemed as contributing significantly to a more pragmatic interpretation of public space, it was considered that it failed to capture the more multi-dimensional and complex nature of 'publicness'. In consequence, it could not have been used in this research. This was due largely to it being quite a general study, with indicators taking only 0, 1 or 2 values and looking at a large sample of over 100 of New York's public places. In addition, although they include the dimension Use/Users they do not offer a way of measuring this. All this considering, their research is an important standing stone for the present work, making a contribution in understanding and depicting public space as a multilateral concept while it also testifies for "the need of more pragmatic research" (Nemeth and Schmidt, 2007; p. 283) in the field of public space.

The importance of finding a practical way of assessing the success or failure of public places is also demonstrated by CABE's (2007) publication of the *Spaceshaper*. This has been described as "a practical toolkit for use of everyone – whether a local community activist or a professional - to measure the quality of a public space before investing time and money in improving it" (CABE, 2007, p. 4).

This project shows the growing interest of the government and the general research community in improving public places while it also underlines the need for practical tools of assessing their performance. Although its encounter has inspired confidence in the necessity and value of the present endeavour, the model proposed by CABE was considered too subjective concerning the present quest. *The Spaceshaper* tool measures the quality of public space based on the perceptions of a certain number of people interested in a particular site. Moreover, some of the categories against which these perceptions were measured are intrinsically subjective (i.e. "You", "Community" and "Other People" – Figure 1.6). Although the toolkit proposed by CABE can be useful in assessing the way in which public places are perceived, the quest here is related mainly to determining, in a manner as objective and as informed as possible, *the publicness of a public place.* In other words, it is intended to define an intangible yet necessary ideal of public space, based on the previous notable but fragmented work in the field, and to rate different public places against this ideal.. However, it is admitted here that no 'perfectly' objective model can be created and the one proposed here will have its certain degree of subjectivity. Nevertheless, it has the advantage of being a quick and informed way of measuring and representing a site's 'publicness' and it can be used by anyone with a minimum knowledge related of a certain site. By comparison, CABE's toolkit involves a trained specialist sent to the area and includes workshops with different participants with superior knowledge of the site.

These three attempts reviewed here, concerned with finding ways of measuring different aspects of the 'publicness' of public space, have been crucial in strengthening this research. They brought confidence that the present endeavour can contribute to an important and dynamic area of research in the contemporary fields of urban design and planning. At the same time, they have been pivotal in this current search for a more complex model than Van Melik *et al*'s (2007), more robust than Nemeth and Schmidt's (2007) and more objective than the one proposed by CABE, for analysing the 'publicness' of public space. The creation of this model, its application and testing as well as its potential for enhancing the

research and practice of urban design are the aims of this project and will be the concern of this thesis. Its structure is presented in the following section.

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in two main parts, plus an introductory and a concluding chapter. The first part consists of three chapters and is concerned with conceptualising the publicness of public space and defining a standard against which this can be measured. The second part consists of five chapters and presents first, how this theoretical standard of publicness has been translated into a practical tool, a model for assessing public places. Second, it shows the application of this model on three case study new public places created in the last thirty years on the post-industrial waterfront of the River Clyde in Glasgow. There are thus ten chapters in total.

This chapter has been concerned with introducing the subject of the study, by posing the main research questions and depicting the aims of the research. Also, it has showed how this project contributes to the particular field of public space research, the professions of urban planning and urban design and the broader sustainability agenda. Following this introduction, the first part of the thesis is concerned with laying the theoretical foundations of the research.

Chapter Two presents the main issues related to the terminology and definitions used in the field of public space research, a field which is a fairly recent area of inquiry. It attempts to untangle the 'slippery' concept of public space and shows how it has evolved as a particular area of research in the post 2nd world war period. It suggests that throughout the literature, five main common themes appear as fundamental for defining the 'publicness' of public space.

Chapter Three explores the key writings on the topic of public space, with the aim of detailing the five common meta-themes that have been found as defining for the

publicness of public space: i.e. ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. Each of the first five parts of the chapter describes and defines one of these fundamental meta-themes and shows how they have different 'degrees of publicness'. Publicness is described as a multi-dimensional concept that results from the synergic interaction of the five meta-themes. This has been defined as the Star Model of Publicness and it reflects the ideal of public space held today, in the western world generally, and UK in particularly.

Chapter Four is concerned with explaining the second understanding of publicness as a dynamic historical reality, shaped by the people and events that have been part of the creation process of each particular public place. As this process is part of the larger phenomenon of urban change, in order to understand the publicness of a site, one needs to grasp the broader historical context of its creation. In the geographical area and time period public space is considered in this research, the land and real estate development process is the main vehicle of delivering urban development. After a short historical view on public space creation, the chapter presents the main characteristics of the development process in relation to public space production. It is shown how the publicness of a public place is a result of the various decisions and negotiations taking place in its development process by various actors that act in a certain broader historical context.

Part two of the thesis is concerned with assessing the publicness of public places, by applying of the conceptualisation of publicness in practice. It is comprised of five chapters.

Chapter Five describes the main stages of the research process, details the research question and objectives and presents the methods employed to answer these. Applying the dual nature of publicness conceptualisation involved a mixed method approach, in terms of both the type of methods, qualitative and quantitative, and their novelty, previously used methods were joined by a new one. This is a new way of measuring the publicness of public places and it was created

by translating the theoretical Star Model of Publicness into to a practical methodological tool. After this process is thoroughly described, the chapter moves on to present the selection of three case study new public places, located on the regenerated waterfront of the river Clyde, in Glasgow. At the beginning of this project, it was aimed to investigate new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in two different cities. As the literature review gradually showed that there was no actual method to determine the 'publicness' of a site, a large amount of time resources was dedicated to create and calibrate this method – The Star Model of Publicness. This resulted in the consideration of only one city, Glasgow, but three case studies were employed, each with different characteristics and built as part of different development projects. Because the publicness of public space has a dual nature, it is shown how assessing it means both measuring and representing the publicness rating and also explaining this measurement by investigating the site's historical background and its development process. The chapter ends with presenting the fieldwork undertaken to assess the publicness of the three chosen case study public places.

Chapter Six describes the general historical context in which the chosen case study public places have been developed. After reviewing the wide phenomenon of urban regeneration and its variant, waterfront regeneration, insight is given into Glasgow's experience of these recent urban trends. The main actors, policies, visions and results in relation to the creation of public places on the regenerated waterfront of the Clyde are identified and described. The chapter ends with highlighting several of the factors that were found as responsible for frustrating the regeneration of the river in general and the publicness of the resulting public places in particular.

Chapters Seven, Eight and **Nine** each present the assessment of the publicness of a case study public place. The first part of each chapter is concerned with reconstructing the historical development of the public place, while the second part describes under the five meta-themes of publicness, the calculated ratings and links these with the decisions made in the development process that influenced

them. The publicness of each site is graphically represented in a Star Diagram of Publicness and, at the end of each chapter, conclusions are drawn about the publicness of each public place.

The final chapter, **Chapter Ten**, summarises the key findings of the research, and draws conclusions across the whole research project. The chapter returns to the research questions and the main objectives set at the beginning of the research and presents the way in which these were answered. Following this, the chapter highlights the research's strengths while also critically reflecting on its limitations. The chapter ends with several recommendations for future research. It is argued that this is a pilot study, realised with limited time and material resources and created by a single researcher. As such, the model can be greatly improved by being tested on different locations, being tried out in the professions of planning and urban design and by being put under discussion in different forums of debate.

Public places are an important part of our everyday lives, where we interact with the 'other' and where we spend much of our leisure time. They provide the stage where the social life of a community unfolds by being the physical setting for the enactment of traditions and festivals and are important for creating the sustainable city. This project is intended to help in bringing more clarity and rigor in the field of public space research and it is hoped that will contribute in creating *more public, public places for more publics.*

PART 1: CONCEPTUALISING PUBLICNESS

CHAPTER 2

THE PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC SPACE AS A CULTURAL REALITY

Part 1 – Definitions and terminological considerations

2.1 Introduction

2.2 The recent evolution of public space research

2.3 Multidisciplinary definitions of public space. Five meta-themes of publicness.

2.4 Terminological considerations; 'public', 'place' and 'space'

2.5 Conclusions

2.1 Introduction

An inquiry into any field of research starts with defining the concepts at hand. The first objective of this thesis is to conceptualise the publicness of public space. As such, this chapter is aimed at understanding how public space has been defined in the main writings in the field, in the western world and during the time period of the last half a century. Based mainly on the Anglo-Saxon public space literature, this chapter reviews the main conceptions on the subject and analyses them in order to find out what elements are key in making a public space, public or, in other words, in giving it, its publicness.

The chapter is organised in five main parts. Following the introduction, the first part presents an inquiry into the recent evolution of public space research. The second part gathers different definitions on public space and analyses them in order to determine common cross disciplinary characteristics that are fundamental for the 'publicness' of public space. The fourth part is concerned with defining the

meanings of the slippery terms 'public', 'place' and 'space' and describes the arguments for the terminological choices employed here. The last part concludes on the complexities of defining public space.

2.2 The recent evolution of public space research

The scope of the next paragraphs is to look more closely at the main writings in the field of public space research, since the development of this area of debate in the 1960s.

It can be stated that much of confusion in this field of research is due to it being quite a recent area of investigation. The American sociologist Lyn Lofland (1998) asserts at the beginning of her book, *The Public Realm*:

> "However I need to emphasize from the outset that what we know about the public realm is greatly overshadowed by what we do not know."(p. xv)

The study of public space was pioneered in the late1950s and early 1960s in the USA by Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and by William H Whyte's *Securing Open Space for Urban America: Conservation Easements* (1959) (La Farge ed., 2000). The 1970s were marked by the publishing of three key philosophical writings, two on the nature of space and place, the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's *The Social Production of Space* in 1974 and the Canadian geographer Edward Relph's *Place and Placelesness* in 1976, along with a meditation on the nature of public life and society, Richard Sennett's famous *The Fall of the Public Man*, published in New York in1977*)*. The 1970s are often quoted as a turning point in reconsidering the importance of public space in the urban landscape:

> "…the tide began to turn around the year 1970. Modernism began to be challenged and public debate took up the issue of urban quality and the conditions for life in the city, pollution and the car's rapid encroachment of urban streets and squares. Public space and public life were reintroduced as significant objects of architectural debate and treatment, among others. Public space architecture has been under constant development ever since and a very great number of new or renovated public spaces were created in the last quarter of the 20th century." (Gehl & Gemzøe 2000, p. 7)

Later on, in the 1980s, two key writings from the USA enriched the field of public space research, Lyn Lofland's *The Public Realm* (1998) and William H Whyte's

The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces (1980), where he presented the results of his previous work, from the 1960s on the "Street Life Project". In the same decade, other disciplines brought important contributions to the field; the collection *The Public Face of Architecture*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla and published in 1987 in New York was followed by the 1989 English translation of the breakthrough analysis of the public sphere concept by the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (appeared first in German in 1962).

Figure 2.1 shows the great increase in the field of public space research in the last two decades. The 1990s and the 2000s have witnessed a rapid development in the public space literature from different fields of research and focusing on different aspects. One of the chief reasons for this increase interest in public space was the decline of industry in many important cities. These deteriorated urban centres have sought to reinvent themselves and placed at the centre of their regeneration, a concentrated effort to create new public places:

> "By the late 20th century, long overdue attention was turned to the public spaces at the core of European cities, many of which had been transformed to car parks during the 1960s and 1970s." (Van Melik et al., 2007, p. 25)

These have been criticised though for being created as 'consumable goods' and as 'spaces of spectacle' that were meant to attract investors and visitors alike and help economically regenerate the former industrial cities:

> "Since the 1970s, the public's attention has shifted from factory workers, school teachers, and engineers to media stars and profiteers in real estate, finance, and culture industries. These are the true imagineers of the symbolic economy. In cities from New York to North Adams, from Orlando to Los Angeles, economic growth has been thematized and envisioned as an image of collective leisure and consumption. As part of the process, collective space – public space – has been represented as a consumable good. Even when it is not bought and paid for, as at Disney World, public space has been joined with retail space, promoting privatized, corporate values." (Zukin, 1995, p. 260)

> "Producing new spaces of spectacle to which investors and visitors will be attracted has been at the forefront of urban regeneration policies and programmes during the 1980s and 1990s. With the onset of severe deindustrialisation and the loss of manufacturing employment in many urban areas, new consumption-based, property-led forms of economic regeneration have become a panacea for urban problems." (Raco, 2003; p. 1869)

The phenomenon of regenerating industrial cities focusing on new spaces of leisure and consumption has also been taking place on the Australian continent, documented by Dovey and Sandercock (2002) in relation to Melbourne, as following:

> "The Yarra River has indeed been transformed from the butt of local humour to a complex post-industrial landscape where development mates with desire and profit with pleasure. Derelict industrial land has metamorphosed into a mix of shopping and dining, housing and gambling, commerce and conviviality. The south bank has become a vibrant urban public realm with its waterfront promenade, and the pedestrian bridge successfully and playfully integrates city and river." (p. 161)

In parallel with an increase in the production of new or 'regenerated' public places, the quotes above suggest that one other key reason for the recent increase in public space research is related to a growing concern with the quality of these new 'public spaces'. The first clue towards understanding the nature of public space was finding the common theme that something was changing in the nature of urban public places around the world. This change was mostly described as a negative phenomenon. For example, in the preface of his 1992 *Making People Friendly Towns*, Francis Tibbalds takes a categorical stand and states:

> "This book is about the design, maintenance and management of our towns and cities – particularly their central areas. It has been written in the context, not only of a current resurgence of interest in and dismay about buildings and development but also a serious decline in the quality of the public realm."(p vii)

In the *Introduction* to *The Public Face of Architecture* (Glazer and Lilla, 1987), mentioned above, the North American editors write on the confusion concerning the relation between architecture and 'publicness' and its consequences visible in the decline of American public spaces:

> "The public face of architecture today is often painted and garish, tucked and crimped, and painfully lacking in the classical architectural elements of "firmness, commodity, and delight." It also, on closer inspection, demonstrates a false flaunting of public attractions. Today we encounter whole building complexes raised on pedestals, with inaccessible entries designed to ward off the casual public, and interior delights (such as they are) reserved for those who can penetrate blank walls and find their way through garages." (p. x)

Later on, in 2001, the North American urban theorist Tridib Banerjee asserts:

Chapter 2 The publicness of public space as a cultural reality. Part 1 – Definitions and terminological considerations

26
26

1950s	1960's	1970's	1980's	1990s	2000s
Arendt *The Human Condition*	**Jacobs** *The Death and Life of Great American* Cities	**Lefebvre** *The Social Production of Space*	**Lofland** *The Public Realm*	**Punter** The Privatisation of the Public Realm	**Low** On the Plaza
Whyte *Securing Open Space for Urban America: Conservation Easements*	**Lynch** *The Image of the City*	**Relph** *Place and Placelesness*	**Whyte** *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*	**Carr, S et al.** Public Space	**Banerjee** The Future of Public space
		Sennett *The Fall of The Public Man*	**Glazer,and Lilla ed.** *The Public Face of Architecture* (**Jackson, Scruton**)	**Gehl** Life Between Buildings	**Brown** Contested space
			Habermas *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*	**Loukaitou – Sideris and Banarjee** *Urban Design Downtown*	**Carmona et al.** Public Spaces – Urban Spaces: The dimension of urban design
				Oldenburg *The Great Good Place*	**Carmona et al. Public Spaces** – The Management Dimension
				Mitchell *The End of Public Space*	**Flusty** The Banality of Interdiction: Surveillance, Control and the Displacement of Diversity
				Sorkin Variations on a Theme Park	**Goodsell** The Concept of Public Space and its Democratic Manifestations
				Tibbalds Making People Friendly Towns	**Atkinson** Domestication by Cappuccino or a Revenge on Urban Space?
				Zukin The Culture of Cities	**Kohn** Brave New Neighbourhoods
				Nasar The Evaluative Image of the City	**Koskela** The Gaze Without Eyes
					Raco Remaking Place and Securitising Space
					Allen Ambient Power: Berlin's Potsdamer Platz and the Seductive Logic of Public Spaces

Figure 2.1 Evolution of key writings on public space from the 1950s onwards

"In recent years the concern for public space has extended beyond the question of adequacy and distributive equity of parks and open spaces. They are now subsumed under a broader narrative of loss that emphasizes an overall decline of the public realm and public space." (p. 12)

When rhetorically asking "What is the future of public space?", Banerjee (2001) identifies three principal trends that together "…represent fundamental shifts in the way public life and public space are conceptualized and in the values associated with them" (p. 10). The first trend is related to the privatization and 'commodification' of public goods on the background of the governments' diminishing role in providing public amenities. The second one is related to the fast increasing phenomenon of globalization. Thirdly, he argues that the radical, rapid change in information and communication technology is also a major cause for the change in the conceptualisation and perception of public space (Banerjee, 2001).

These issues will be approached again in the next chapter, under different meta - themes of publicness. For now, it suffices to acknowledge that this theme of a loss in the quality of the public realm or a decline in the publicness of public space, echoing Sennett's (1977) lament on *The Fall of the Public Man*, has slowly become an overarching paradigm in the recent public space research. This marked a crucial point in the present investigation because if something has been lost that implies that new public places are *less public* than they should be. It therefore results that there must be a commonly held ideal of public space that can act as a standard towards which public places can be measured against.

This research has originated from first asking, if indeed this view of a decline in public space is a real phenomenon and second, if this was the case, from searching for a way to describe, as objectively as possible, the 'publicness' of a public place. In other words, can one quantify the publicness of a site so that it can actually be shown that a decrease in publicness has actually happened? This gave rise to three main questions:

1. Are there certain key characteristics that describe *any* public space/place and if so, what are these?

2. In case these universal traits of the concept of 'publicness' exist, are there different 'shades of publicness', in other words can they be measured and ranked on a certain scale?

3. If these characteristics show different degrees of intensity and they can be placed on a scale, what is the standard value for the publicness of an 'ideal public place/space'? In other words, is there a way to define an ideal or standard public space that would describe a normative value of 'publicness' one can use as a benchmark for measuring existent public sites?

These questions are answered systematically in the present and the following chapter. To answer the first question, it was decided to first analyse the existent literature and find the main ways in which public space is defined, focusing on what the different writers find as key elements for the 'publicness' of public space. The different definitions and conceptualisations on public space and their grouping in five thematic clusters are presented in the following section.

2.3 Multidisciplinary definitions of public space. Five meta-themes of publicness.

When asking the quite deceptively straightforward question: "What is public space?" a web of closely related but loosely defined terms complicates the answer to this question greatly. As Orum (2010, p. 13) asserted "…the mystery and drama of public spaces begin with their very definition". Three distinct causes have been identified, that are responsible for much of the confusion in the field in defining 'public space':

1. The use of a multitude of terms, sometimes as synonyms, sometimes in relation to each other such as: public space, public place, public realm, public sphere, public domain, to name the most common.

2. The 'umbrella term' quality of these concepts 'public', 'space', 'realm' etc. While a certain type of public place, such as a street or a park will trigger similar images in the minds of different people, terms such as 'public space' or 'public realm' have more broad meanings and as such, more varied

conceptualisations. This is due greatly to the vast array of meanings that the word 'space' carries and the overlapping meanings of the word 'public'.

3. The lack of a clear definition of these terms; many writers do not give a definition or their interpretation of the term at all, in a surprising number of writings on the subject.

Due to a lack of clarity from the part of many authors but also to the recent emergence of the field of public space research, a clear and cross-disciplinary definition could not be found. What was found instead was a wide variety of definitions and terms (Figure 2.2.). Staeheli and Mitchell (2008), reflecting on the problematic understanding of public space despite its apparent straightforward meaning, state that their research in the field has "…demonstrated that "public space" is a slippery, complicated and shifting kind of space" (p. 117).

When closely analysing the different ways of defining and conceptualising public space, it can be noticed that the literature can be grouped in five thematic clusters.

First, a key characteristic of public space appears to be related to the **ownership** status of a place. Writers from North America such as Lofland (1980), Kohn (2004) or Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) identify as a crucial element for a place's publicness, its maintaining in public ownership. In addition to the above writers, there have been many voices arguing that a growing phenomenon of privatisation of urban space is responsible for much of the damage produced to the cities' public realm. These have come also from North American authors such as Sorkin (1992), Zukin (1995) or Banerjee (2001). Kohn's (2004) extensive study *Brave New Neighbourhoods: The Privatization of Public Space* is dedicated entirely to this phenomenon. At the same time, in the UK, at the beginning of the 1990s, John Punter's far-sighted paper stated, from the very beginning:

> "The privatisation of the public realm is an appropriate and all-encompassing aphorism for the changes that have occurred in British cities in the 1980s." (p. 9)

Chapter 2 The publicness of public space as a cultural reality. Part 1 – Definitions and terminological considerations

31   **31**

Figure 2.2 **Public space: a multitude of terms and a variety of definitions**

Nr.	Author(s)	Title of work and year of publciation	Term	Definition of public space
1.	Brown, A	*Contested space: street trading, public space, and livelihoods in developing cities (2006)*	Urban public space	"This book coins the phrase *urban public space*, which is used to mean all the physical space and social relations that determine the use of that space within the non-private realm of cities. 'Urban public space' includes formal squares, roads and streets, but also vacant land, verges and other 'edge-space'. It includes all space that has accepted communal access or use rights, whether in public, private, communal or unknown ownership; a common property resource, but one whose boundaries may change over time (p. 10)."
2.	Lofland, L	*The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory (1980)*	Public realm	"The public realm is constituted of *those areas of urban settlements in which individuals in copresence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another.* Put differently, the public realm is made up of those spaces in a city which tend to be inhabited by persons who are strangers to one another or who "know" one another only in terms of occupational or other nonpersonal identity categories (p. 9)."
			Public space	"The term "public space" covers a diversity of legal connections between the public and the space. (p. 8)"
3.	Carr, S *et. al.*	*Public Space (1992)*	Public space	"We see public space as the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities (p. xi)" "There are three primary values that guide the development of our perspective: We believe that public places should be *responsive, democratic* and *meaningful* (p. 19)."
4.	Kohn, M	*Brave New Neighborhoods, The privatization of Public Space (2004)*	Public space	"My proposed definition of public space has three core components ownership, accessibility, and intersubjectivity. In everyday speech a public space usually refers to a place that is owned by the government, accessible to everyone without restriction and /or fosters communication and interaction (p. 11)."
5.	Zukin, S	*The Cultures of Cities*		

		(1995)	Public space	"Public spaces are important because they are places where strangers mingle freely. But they are also important because they continually negotiate the boundaries and markers of human society. As both site and sight, meeting place and social staging ground, public spaces enable us to conceptualize and represent the city – to make an ideology of its receptivity to strangers, tolerance of difference, and opportunities to enter a fully socialized life, both civic and commercial (p.8)."
			Public space/public place	"Many social critics have begun to write about new public spaces formed by the "transactional space" of telecommunications and computer technology, but my interest in this book is in public spaces as places that are physically *there*, as geographical and symbolic centres, as points of assembly where strangers mingle (p.45)."
			Public space/public culture	"Public spaces are the primary site of public culture; they are a window into the city's soul. As a sight, moreover, public spaces are an important means of framing a vision of social life in the city, a vision both for those who live there, and interact in urban public spaces every day, and for the tourists, commuters, and wealthy folks who are free to flee the city's needy embrace (p. 259)."
			Urban public space	"…urban public spaces are closely watched for they are crucibles of national identity. The defining characteristics of urban public space – proximity, diversity, and accessibility – send the appropriate signals for a national identity that will be more multicultural, and more socially diverse, in the years to come (p.262)."
6.1.	Mitchell, D	*The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space* *(2003)*	Public space	"Public space engenders fears, fears that derive from the sense of public space as uncontrolled space, as a space in which civilization is exceptionally fragile (p.13)." "In a world defined by private property, then, *public space* (as the space for representation) takes on exceptional importance. (….) The very act of representing one's group (or to some extent one's self) to a larger public creates a space for representation. Representation both demands and creates space (p. 34)."
6.2.	Staeheli, L & Mitchell, D	*The People's Property? Power, Politics, and the Public* *(2008)*	Public space/public property	"Public space (…) is not the same as public property. Indeed, the quality of publicness – the publicness of space – seems to consist of the relationships established between property (as both a thing and a set of relationships and rules) and the people who inhabit, use, and create property. (p. 116). "…"public space" is a slippery, complicated and shifting kind of space (p. 117)."
7.1.	Low, S	*On the Plaza: the Politics of Public Space and Culture* *(2000)*	Urban public place / Public space	"Urban public places are expressions of human endeavours; artifacts of the social world are accommodated, communicated, and interpreted in the confines of this designed environment (p. 47)." "What is significant, however, is that public spaces are important arenas for public discourse and expressions of discontent (p. 204)."

8.1.	Gehl, J	*Life Between Buildings. Using Public Space (1996)*	Public space	"…precisely the presence of other people, activities, events, inspiration, and stimulation comprise one of the most important qualities of public spaces altogether (p. 15)."
8.2.	Gehl, J. & Gemzøe, L.	*New City Spaces (1999)*	Public space	"Although the pattern of usage has varied in the course of history, despite differences, subtle and otherwise, public space has always served as meeting place, marketplace and traffic space (p. 10)."
9.	Tibbalds, F	*Making People Friendly Towns (1992)*	Public realm Public place	"The public realm is, in my view, the most important part of our towns and cities. It is where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place. It is all the parts of the urban fabric to which the public have physical and visual access. Thus, it extends from the streets, parks and squares of a town or city into the buildings which enclose and line them (p.1)." "Public places within a town belong to the people of that town – they do not belong to developers or investors, the police or traffic wardens. Their nature will be influenced by their scale, shape and size; the ways in which they are related one to another; the uses and activities which they contain, and the way in which traffic of all kinds is handled (p.14)"
11.	Madanipour, A	*Public and Private Spaces of the City (2003)*	Public space/public place and public sphere/public realm	"I have used the term public *space* (and public *place*) to refer to that part of the physical environment which is associated with public meanings and functions. The term public sphere (and public *realm*), however, has been used to refer to a much broader concept: the entire range of places, people and activities that constitute the public dimension of human social life." "…public space is a component part of the public sphere (p. 4)." "Using the criteria of access, agency and interest, a space can be considered public if it is controlled by the public authorities, concerns the people as a whole, is open or available to them, and is used or shared by all the members of a community (p. 112)"
12.	Orum, A & Neal, Z	*Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space (2010)*	Public space	"While there are many different ways to define public space, most agree that public space includes *all areas that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society, in principle through not necessarily in practice* (p.1)."
13.	Scruton, R	*The Public Interest (1984)*	Public space	"A space is made public by the nature of its boundary. It is a space into which anyone may enter, and from which anyone may depart, without the consent of strangers, and without any declaration – however tacit – of a justifying purpose. The boundary which creates a public space is both permeable and open to our public uses (p. 15)"
14.	Jackson, J.B.	*The American Public Space*	Public space	"A public place is commonly defined as a place (or space) created and maintained by public authority, accessible to all

				citizens for their use and enjoyment. This tells us nothing about the different ways in which we use and enjoy them, nor about the different types of public involved (…) When we include among the newer public spaces the parking lot, the trash disposal area, and the highway, it is evident that the public is being well provided for, not only as far as places for enjoyment are concerned, but for their use as well (p. 277)."
15.	Mensch, J	*Public Space* *(2007)*	Public space	""Public space" is the space where individuals see and are seen by others as they engage in public affairs. It is, thus, the space of the town hall meeting, the legislative assembly or any of the other venues where public business is done (p. 31)"
16.	Goodsell, C.T.	*The Concept Of Public space and its Democratic Manifestations (2003)*	Public space	"I propose a generic albeit specific definition of public space that draws on these disparate orientations but goes beyond each. My definition is *a space – time continuum for political discourse.* By this phrase I mean the capacity for a connected and interactive human process of communicative experience. (…) The discourse is political in that it concerns the nature and future of the community and the public good (p. 370)"
17.	Carmona et al.	*Public space: the Management Dimension (2008)*	Public space	"Public space (broadly defined) relates to all those parts of the built and natural environment, public and private, internal and external, urban and rural, where the public have free, although not necessarily unrestricted access. It encompasses: all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic uses; the open spaces and parks; the open countryside, the 'public/private' spaces both internal and external where public access is welcomed – if controlled – such as private shopping centres or rail and bus stations; and the interiors of key public and civic buildings such as libraries, churches, or town halls (p.4)" "Public space (narrowly defined) relates to all those parts of the built and natural environment where the public has free access. It encompasses: all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community /civic uses; the open spaces and parks, and the 'public/private' spaces where public access is unrestricted (at least during daylight hours). It includes the interfaces with key internal and external and private spaces to which the public normally has free access (p. 4)"

A second clearly defined cluster in public space research is concerned with the **physical configuration** of a public place. In several of the definitions and conceptualisations investigated, public space is associated with real physical urban places. For example Brown (2003) identifies urban public space as including "…formal squares, roads and streets, but also vacant land, verges and other 'edge-space' (p. 10) while Tibbalds (1992) describes the extension of the public realm from "… all the streets, parks and squares of a town or city into the buildings which enclose and line them" (p. 1). The bulk of this literature on the physical appearance of public places comes from the disciplines of urban design and architecture. A notable example is the collection of writings edited by the North American writers Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (1987) where the relation between public places and the surrounding buildings delineating them appears as a key focus.

A different strand of research comes mainly from the sociological and anthropological public space literature and refers to the use of public space, or in other words, to their **animation**. Being the places of free assembly and interaction among the members of a community, public places are the physical stage where "…the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities" (Carr et al., 1992, p. xi) take place. Whether the case studies are the Latin American plazas (Low, 2000), the New York's redeveloped parks (Zukin, 1995) or "the third places" of the Western culture (Oldenburg, 1989) these writings share a common preoccupation with people's behaviours and actions in public space and how these change over time. The use of public space has also been documented in relation to different historical periods. Examples include the Canadian historian James Leith's (1991) study on the use of public space during the French revolution or Jackson's (1984) writing on the evolution in the use of the American public space. Two key studies that document the use of public space in relation to the above mention dimension of physical configuration are in the USA, Whyte's (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* and in Europe, Jan Gehl's (1996) *Life Between Buildings.*

A fourth strand of research is related to public space as the arena where the fragile relation between freedom and **control** unfolds. Many authors, among which

Carr et al. (1992) and the North American academics Mitchell (2003), Goodsell (2003) or Mensch (2000) consider the quality of a public place of being a democratic arena for public life as fundamental for its publicness. They note that public places are historically the places that have served as the stage for the expression of the people's dissatisfaction with a certain state of affairs. As a result, they are the places where fundamental rights guaranteed by a democratic society, such as the right to speak freely and assemble, are manifested. What appears to have happened recently is an increase in the surveillance and control measures in public space, noted by scholars such as Atkinson (2003), Raco (2003) or the Finnish geographer Hille Koskela (2000),

A fifth and last common theme is concerned with the maintenance of public places according to certain standards, so that they are clean, friendly and inviting areas. Although this meta – theme of **civility** is not as explicit as the others, many of the reviewed writings identify the presence of refuse and decay in urban public places as a cause and a mark of the broader decline of the urban public realm. One of the writings where the issue of public space maintenance is thoroughly addressed is Francis Tibbalds' *Making People Friendly Towns* (1992) where he states with concern:

> "… we are now witnessing a serious decline of this rich domain. Many of the world's towns and cities – especially their centres – have become threatening places – littered, piled with rotting rubbish, covered in graffiti, polluted, congested and chocked by traffic, full of mediocre and ugly poorly maintained buildings, unsafe, populated at night by homeless people living in cardboard boxes, doorways and subways and during the day by many of the same people begging on the streets." (p. 1)

Apart from these writers that focus on individual aspects of publicness, several scholars define it as a multi-dimensional concept. Kohn's (2004, p. 11) definition of public space, for example, has three core dimensions – 'ownership'; 'accessibility'; and 'intersubjectivity' (i.e. the kinds of encounters and interactions that a place facilitates). Carmona (2010b, p. 276) expands this to include 'function' and 'perception'.[1] Defining her ideal of the 'unoppressive city', Iris Marion Young (1990; 2000) highlights 'accessibility', 'inclusion' and 'tolerance of difference' (i.e. openness to 'unassimilated otherness') as core dimensions. Based on earlier work

---

[1] Carmona (2010b) then offers a continuum from 'clearly public to clearly private space', featuring twenty space types in four groups, but does not explain the necessary trade-offs between the various dimensions.

by Benn & Gaus (1983), Madanipour (1999; 2003) highlights three dimensions - 'access' (access to place as well as the activities in it); 'agency' (the locus of control and decision-making present); and 'interest' (the targeted beneficiaries of actions or decisions impacting on a place). The USA scholars Németh & Schmidt (2007; 2010) highlight three dimensions: 'ownership', 'management' and 'use/users'.

Identifying the five strands of research or thematic clusters presented above was the first step towards deciding which characteristics are fundamental for understanding and then defining the publicness of public space. Before going into a more in depth analysis of these different aspects of publicness, a decision had to be made on the choice of terminology employed in this thesis.

As it can be seen from the table presented above, different authors use different concepts when describing the public part of the human environment, such as: 'urban public space' (Brown, 2006), 'public space' (Carr, 1992; Mitchell, 2005; Gehl and Gemzøe, 1996; Harvey, 2006; Madanipour, 2003; Forty, 2008), 'third place' (Oldenburg, 1999), 'public realm' (Lofland, 1998; Madanipour, 2003), 'public place' (Relph, 1976), 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1998). More than often, writers make use of multiple terms when discussing the subject such as Zukin (1995), Tibbalds (1992) or Madanipour (2003). Although sometimes these concepts are clearly explained, in other cases, such as in the excerpt below from Atkinson (2003), these terms are used in relation to each other, in a vague manner:

> "The loss of a public realm is not a new story. In Britain, a loss of public place started with the acts of rural enclosure, form the 13th to the 18th centuries, which put what was previously common land under private ownership (Hoskins, 1955), taking away spaces used by small- holders and subsistence lifestyles. Similarly, it is all too easy to imagine a halcyon era in which street crime was low and the working class was respectable and deferential." (p. 1832 – emphasis added)

Another example of a multiple and unclear use of the terms public space, place and realm is found in the third chapter of Lyn Loflands' book from 1980, *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory*, presented in Figure 2.3. Carmona *et al.* (2008) note the lack of clarity that characterizes the public space literature, and in their opinion, this is due, on one hand, to the ambivalent

nature of the concepts – subjective and objective - but also to the different policy making traditions that have described these terms differently.

Audience Role Prominence. As Goffman made clear in his initial statement, civil intention is not disattention. The principle of civil inattention may require that one not be obviously interested in the affairs of the other, but it does not require that one might not be interested at all. As such, it is fully compatible with the third principle: inhabitants of the public realm act primarily as audience to the activities that surround them

Given this pattern, it is not surprising that descriptions of public space are often clothed in the language of the theatre, as in this passage from Suzanne Lennard and Henry Lennard's, *Public Life in Urban Spaces*:

[I]t has long been assumed that public life, just like a theatrical production, requires actors and audience, a stage and a theater….Public life may take place on center stage where the actors are clearly visible to most of the audience, or in more secluded areas visible only to a few. A public space, however, is at once both stage and theater, for in public the spectators may at any moment choose to become actors themselves….Successful public places accentuate the dramatic qualities of personal and family life. They make visible certain tragic, comic and tender aspects of relationships among friends, neighbors, relatives or lovers. They also provide settings for a gamut of human activities (Lennard and Lennard 1984:21-22)

Figure 2.3 Terminological confusions in public space literature (emphasis added)

To avoid similar confusion from the researcher's part, several early clarifications will be made. In the first place, the focus of this work will lie on *urban* public space. As such, the researcher subscribes to the USA scholars Low and Smith's (1996) statement that:

"Stretching back to the Greek antiquity onward, public space is almost by definition urban space, and in many current treatments of public space the urban remains the privileged scale of analysis and cities the privileged site." (p. 3)

Several other North American writers, such as Altman and Zube (1989), have a similar intention to clarify the subject at the beginning of their edited collection *Public places and spaces*, but they include a wide variety of landscapes in their conceptualization of public space:

> "The title of this volume is composed of three somewhat slippery words –
> "public", "place" and "space". Collectively, these terms suggest an image of
> accessible urban, suburban, rural, and wilderness landscapes." (p. 1)

Second, although there is a growing significant literature on the new forms of
public space generated by the rapid development and use of the internet, the
interest here is related to physical public places, in a similar way described by the
American sociologist Sharon Zukin (1995):

> "Many social critics have begun to write about new public spaces formed
> by the "transactional space" of telecommunications and computer
> technology, but my interest in this book is in public spaces as places that
> are physically *there*, as geographical and symbolic centers, as points of
> assembly where strangers mingle." (p. 45)

In the third place, the focus will lie mainly on public sites, labelled in the literature
either as public spaces or public places and not on the broader concepts of 'public
realm' or 'public sphere'. In this respect, the researcher subscribes to
Madanipour's (2003) distinction between public place/space and public realm/
sphere:

> "I have used the term public *space* (and public *place*) to refer to that part of
> the physical environment which is associated with public meanings and
> functions. The term public sphere (and public *realm*), however, has been
> used to refer to a much broader concept: the entire range of places, people
> and activities that constitute the public dimension of human social life." (p.4)

Taking Madanipour's distinction further, it is important to consider whether the
terms public place and public space can be used as synonyms or whether they
have different meanings. The next paragraphs are concerned with answering this
question and with presenting the choice of terminology used in this thesis.

2.4 Terminological clarification: 'public', 'place' and 'space'.

The difficulty in defining terms which are commonly used in everyday conversation
and with a great variety of meanings such as 'place' or 'space' lies in their lacking a
rigorous and scientific clarification, due to the erosion of their initial meaning by
centuries of different usages and borrowings from other semantic fields. 'Place' and
'space' are often described as "slippery" words (Altman and Zube, 1989;
Friedmann, 2007).

More than often, space has been conceptualized in a rather more scientific and philosophic way than place. Space has been defined by physicists starting with Isaac Newton as a distinct entity from Time, characterised by three dimensions and holding all the things and actions that happen in the world. It has been associated many times with 'outer-space', being the matter that the Universe is made of and the only way for the human mind to name and conceptualise the infinity of the sky above. Opposed to this empiricist view that situates the world outside consciousness, Immanuel Kant marked a turning point in the history of thought by asserting that the mind has its own system of structuring the world, in which time and space are *a priori* categories. This is one of the foundations for our modern way of thinking about space as a subjective entity. The understanding of space changed again with Einstein's theory where space and time are combined into a four-dimensional continuum called space-time. Relativism changed the common way of understanding the world by asserting the paradigm that nothing is fixed, definite and absolute. The fairly recent growing concern with space is illustrated in Foucault's famous statement:

> "The great obsession of the 19th century was, as we know, history […] The present epoch will be above all the epoch of space." (Foucault, 1986; p. 22)

And then he continues:

> "In any case I believe that the anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space, no doubt a great deal more than with time. Time probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread in space." (Foucault, 1986; p. 23)

After the 1970s, another change in paradigm happened when space has been re-discovered by the discipline of geography, as something no more static, but dynamic, made up of interconnections between various networks and flows (Tuan, 1977; Buttimer and Seamon, 1980):

> "If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. […] space […] is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far." (Massey, 2005 p. 9)

If 'space' resonates more in philosophical and scientific debates, 'place' has more 'personal' and 'political' reverberations:

> "Places are shaped by being lived in, they are spaces of encounter where the little histories of the cities are played out. […] Places are also sites of

> resistance, contestation and actions that are often thought to be illegal by the (local) state." (Friedmann, 2007, p. 257)

Place has been the major concern of geography from the beginnings of the discipline, founded as the science of describing the Earth (from the Greek language *gê* meaning 'earth' and '*graphein'* to write). Initially, geographers were concerned with discovering and describing the 'space out there', mapping the world through human eyes. In this approach, the word 'place' meant in a 'common sense' language, an area of the world perceived through the human reasoning – it was *a place on the map*, a place where someone was coming from or going to. In a slightly opposite view to space as an abstract concept, place was given a more practical meaning – of location. Therefore if space has become commonly accepted as something open and uncertain, place grew to have a more subjective understanding of 'my place', an enclosed, known and therefore controllable part of the world.

> "Space is a more abstract concept than place. When we speak of space, we tend to think of outer space or the spaces of geometry. Spaces have areas and volumes. Places have space between them." (Creswell, 2004, p. 8)

The two concepts of 'place' and 'space' can be seen not only from an ontological point of view - as out there or around here, but also from an epistemological perspective, as a way of knowing the world. As such, the world appears to us like a web of interconnections of 'routes instead of roots' (Creswell, 2004) and therefore one thinks not of boundaries and characteristics of different areas of the world, but of interrelations and flows of energy, matter and information.

After conceptualising the difference between 'place' and 'space', it was decided to choose the term 'public space' to refer to an abstract level of conceptualisation and the term 'public place' to refer to real representations of this concept in the built environment. This is argued on the basis of the following reasons:

- space involves a more global view, while place refers to more particular locations;
- space resonates more with abstract conceptualizations while place often implies an interaction of the human world and the physical setting;
- space involves dynamism and movement, place seems more static and fixed;

- place has a relation to boundaries and implies geographical coordinates triggering the question 'where?' while space is more related to meanings and 'essence' implying the question 'what?'.

The choice made here supports Creswell's (2004) view that a place is "a space made meaningful" and Relph's (1976) understanding:

> "In general it seems that space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places." (p. 8)

The distinction between place and space is only an instrumental way of 'putting order into things'; the meanings of 'place' and 'space' are open and infinite, varying from person to person, from context to context and situation to situation. Doreen Massey's (2005) question:

> "And what if we refuse that distinction, all too appealing it seems, between place (as meaningful, lived and everyday) and space (as what? the outside? the abstract? the meaning*less*?)?" (p. 6)

can be taken as a provocation that no meanings are completely deciphered and that they perpetually change.

Regarding the term 'public', intuitively this means pertaining to (the) people. Madanipour (2003) reviews the main dictionary definitions and usages of the term and concludes:

> "These meanings of the word 'public', all refer to a large number of people, who are either conceptualized as society or as state, and what is associated with them. As the society, the term may refer to various demographic or territorial scales, including a group, a local community, a nation, or in a capacity that is now rarely used, the entire human race. As the state, it may refer to the various institutional scales of nation state, local government, and even individuals who are part of the state apparatus." (p. 109)

Problems in understanding the concept of 'public' arise because of the complex nature of these two entities the 'society' and the 'state', whose structure and meanings have changed dramatically in recent times. In Madanipour's (2003) opinion, the ambiguity in defining the term 'public' is caused on one hand by the ambivalent understanding of society as both the realm of the public and of the private while on another hand, he identifies the blurring of the boundary between state and society as another important source for uncertainty in the matter.

The American geographer J.B. Jackson (1984) shares Madanipour's view of the dual meaning of the word public as both referring to the people and to the authorities:

> "Perhaps it can be said that, as a noun, "public" implied the population, or the people, while as an adjective it referred to the authorities. Thus a public building in the eighteenth century was not a place accessible to all, for their use and enjoyment, but was the working or meeting place of the authorities." (p. 278)

His belief is that the major cause for ambiguity in understanding the concept 'public space' is the complexity of the word 'people' that is implied in its meaning:

> "Public is a word without mystery: It derives from the Latin populus, and means belonging to or characteristic of the people. A public space is a people's place. But "people" as a word is less obvious. With us it simply means humanity, or a random sample of humanity, but until well into the nineteenth century it meant a specific group: sometimes the population of a nation or a town, sometimes the lowest element in that population, but always an identifiable category." (p. 279)

One of the recent issues related to the emergence of postmodernism and feminism is that the rigid understanding of *a public* as a unified structure has been replaced with the existence of what Nancy Fraser (1990) named *multiple publics*. Different social movements have shown the grave inequalities have existed and still exist in society and gradually, women, ethnic and sexual minorities, and other groups have claimed their right to be part of 'the public'.

> "There are many publics and their legitimacy may as much be defined by the context of the place as by the social character of these individuals." (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1830)

In conceptualising public space, the term 'public' is understood here, at a first glance, as referring to all real places which can be freely used by anyone who wishes so. The universal use of a public space is described by the Americans Altman and Zube (1989) as following:

> "The term "public" connotes the idea that these settings are accessible to everyone – people of a community, state, nation, regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, physical handicap, or other characteristics." (p. 1)

A matter that appears in the literature as fundamental to the meaning of public space is that the 'public', no matter how we choose to define it, should be characterised by a sense of cohesion emerging from the sharing of the same "common ground" (Carr et al., 1992; Orum and Neal, 2010). 'Being in public'

implies both placing oneself in relation to the others – the world of strangers *and* getting involved in a communal action – the world of neighbours. This duality has been theorised by Roger Scruton (1984) as:

> "The public is a sphere of broad and largely unplanned encounter. No individual is sovereign in this sphere, but each, on entering it, renounces the right to dictate the terms upon which he communes and conflicts with others.(…) If a person is to advance in the public sphere it is either in opposition to others, or in agreement with them. The purpose of civil government is to ensure that agreement is the norm." (p. 14)

From a more philosophical perspective, the German American political theorist Hannah Arend (1958) finds the term 'public' as crucial for the relationship between the individual self and reality; by experiencing the world 'in public', together with others, one can be certain of the world of appearances:

> "The term "public" signifies two closely interrelated but not altogether identical phenomena: It means, first, that everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity. For us, appearance – something that is being seen and heard by others as well as by ourselves – constitutes reality." (p. 5)

The researcher's own detailed conceptualisation and definition of the term 'public space', which can be used as a standard against which all real public places can be measured against, will be presented in the next chapter.

2.5 Conclusions

Through its key function, as an arena for the public expression of the individual self and for the people's free interaction with each other, public space has been a key concern in a variety of fields of research. Although its meaning is not always clearly defined and often, the use of a variety of terms complicates the concept of 'publicness', when inquiring the literature available, five thematic clusters could be identified. These were based on the existent conceptualisations and definitions of public space in the western world in the last fifty years or so. Following this categorisation and the final remarks in this chapter related to the terminological complexities of the phrases 'public space' and 'public place', the next chapter proposes to investigate the current common understanding of the concept of 'publicness' of public space under five meta-themes: ownership, physical

configuration, animation, control and civility, with the aim of defining a standard for the analysis of contemporary public places.

CHAPTER 3

THE PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC SPACE AS A CULTURAL REALITY

Part 2 – Key dimensions of publicness

3.1 Introduction

3.2 The first meta-theme of publicness: <u>Ownership</u>. Public space - a legal issue.

    3.2.1 The meaning of ownership

    3.2.2 Democracy and public space

    3.2.3 Degrees of 'publicness' according to ownership

3.3 The second meta-theme of publicness: <u>Physical configuration</u>. Public space – a design object.

    3.3.1 Understanding physical configuration

    3.3.2 Degrees of publicness according to physical configuration

3.4 The third meta-theme of publicness: <u>Animation</u>. Public space - a social and anthropological construct.

    3.4.1 Understanding animation

    3.4.2 Degrees of publicness according to animation

3.5 The fourth meta-theme of publicness: <u>Control</u>. Public space –a political reality.

    3.5.1 Understanding control

    3.5.2 Modes of control in public space

        3.5.2.1 Hard methods of control in public places management

        3.5.2.2 Soft methods of control in public places management

        3.5.2.3 Overt measures of controlling public places by design

        3.5.2.4 Covert measures of controlling public places by design

    3.5.3 Degrees of publicness according to control

3.1 Introduction

Following the previous chapter where five meta-themes of publicness have been identified, this chapter is concerned with detailing these under the headings:

- The first meta-theme: Ownership. Public space - a legal issue.
- The second meta-theme: Physical Configuration. Public space – a design object.
- The third meta-theme: Animation. Public space - a social and anthropological construct.
- The fourth meta-theme: Control. Public space – a political reality.
- The fifth meta-theme: Civility. Caring for public space.

After having made this formal distinction and having discussed each meta-theme as a discrete entity, part seven answers the question 'What is public space?' and the researcher's own definition of an ideal public space is given and illustrated in the theoretical Star Model of Publicness. The 'ideal' public space is only a mental construct and by defining it, a standard against which to measure the publicness of a public place is given. Even though the meta-themes are treated separately, in reality, there are fuzzy boundaries between them and the distinction has chiefly a theoretical purpose of understanding how the publicness of public space is constructed. The interaction between the meta-themes is discussed in part eight, under the headings access and power. The ninth and last part of the chapter concludes that despite the existence of a wide range of disciplines which are concerned with studying public space from different perspectives, common themes can be identified and used to define the 'publicness' of public space.

3.2 The first meta-theme of publicness: <u>Ownership</u>. Public space - a legal issue.

3.2.1 The meaning of ownership

Taking forward the previous discussion about the complex meaning of the term 'public' further, this section is concerned with describing one of the most frequently identified elements that is decisive for influencing the 'publicness' of public space – the legal status of a site. The North American authors Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) assert the importance of ownership for the publicness of public space entitling their book on the relation between space, property and power, '*The People's Property'*. Here they argue that "…property ownership is a powerful tool in the regulation of space and, thereby, of the public" (p. xxiv). Another North American author, Margaret Kohn (2004) and the British urban scholar Alison Brown (2006) use the word 'ownership' explicitly when defining public space and publicness (as presented in Figure 2.2), while Madanipour (2003) argues that the distinction between public and private is essential in understanding the built environment at large:

> "If we monitor the spaces of villages, towns and cities, we see how they are broadly structured around a separation of public and private spaces. It appears to be a defining feature of these settlements: how a society divides its space into public and private spheres, and how this division controls movement from one place to another and access to places and activities." (Madanipour, 2003; p.1)

When referring to the urban landscape, he finds that this public/private distinction is crucial for the way in which society is organised:

> "Ever since the rise of the city, with its division of labour and complex, stratified social and spatial structures, public-private distinction has been a key organising principle, shaping the physical space of the cities and the social life of their citizens." (Madanipour, 2003; p. 1)

In their *Introduction* to the edited volume *The Politics of Public Space*, the American academics Setha Low and Neil Smith (2006) also assert that in contemporary capitalist societies, public space can be understood primarily in relation to private space:

> ""Public space" has very different meanings in different societies, places, and times, and as all of this suggests, its meaning today is very much

bound up with the contrast between public and private space. It is impossible to conceive of public space today outside the social generalization of private space and its full development as a product of modern capitalist society." (Low and Smith, 2006; p. 4)

The division of the human environment into public and private places is based on the concept of ownership, which appears to be a first fundamental characteristic of public space. The American sociologist Lyn Lofland (1998) finds that:

"The term "public space" covers a diversity of legal connections between the public and the space. Space that actually belongs to the "public" does so by dint of being the property of some government entity– though, of course, not all such public property allows of public access." (Lofland, 1998; p. 210)

Ownership is defined by Madanipour (2003, p. 50) as … the legal entitlement to controlling a property". On a superficial level it seems that in terms of ownership, urban space can be divided in two general categories, public and private space:

"…space is routinely divided into public and private and there appears to be a rough consensus – at least theoretically – about which is which." (Lofland, 1998; p.8)

In order to clarify the boundaries between public and private, Madanipour (2003, p. 10) cites Weintraub's classification of "…four broad fields in which the discussions of public and private take place", presented below in Figure 3.1:

State versus market	A liberal – economist model which focuses on the distinction between the state administration and the market economy
Community versus state or market	A civic perspective which sees the public as the arena of political community and citizenship, as distinct from both the state and the market;
Society versus personal space	A public life perspective which focuses on the fluid and polymorphous sphere of sociability, as distinct from the household
Society versus family	A feminist perspective which focuses on the distinction between family and the larger economic and political order, especially as reflected in the market economy.

Figure 3.1 Weintraub's (1997) classification of the areas in which the public/private dichotomy can take place (source: adapted from Madanipour, 2003)

In this thesis, the distinction between public and private space will be considered only according to the first distinction state vs. market. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that often 'private space' is understood as both a space in private ownership but also as the personal space of the individual.

One of the recent major concerns in the literature has been a rapidly growing phenomenon, commonly called 'the privatisation of public space' (Punter, 1990). This includes the replacement of the old town centres by supermarkets and malls (Kohn, 2004; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Van Melik *et al.*, 2007) as well as the regeneration of old derelict industrial waterfronts into spaces of consumption and scripted spectacle (Dovey, 2005). This phenomenon is seen as stemming from the carefully organised and designed space of consumption and imagery of Disneyland and was broadly labelled the 'disneyfication of space' (Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995; Zukin, 2000; Davis, 1998). The resulting urban landscape abounds in so called "pseudo-public space" (Mitchell, 1995; Banerjee, 2001), "quasi-public space" (Dovey, 1999) or 'themed public space' (Van Melik *et al*, 2007).

> "One of the key phenomena of the late twentieth century, however, has been the production of pseudo-diversity within privatised quasi-public space. The shopping mall has been the incubator for such internally permeable developments with high pedestrian densities and a formulised diversity of functions. These are inversions of urban life that purify and kill genuine urban places under the illusion of creating them." (Dovey, 1999; p.16)

In this respect the keen observer of New York's public life, the sociologist Sharon Zukin (1995) points out, privately owned shopping centres have become the common public places of the American suburbia:

> "Many Americans, born and raised in the suburbs, accept shopping centres as the preeminent public spaces of our time. Yet, while shopping centres are undoubtedly gathering places, their private ownership has always raised questions about whether all the public has access to them and under what conditions." (Zukin, 1995; p. 45)

The blurring of the boundaries between the public and private ownership of public places is illustrated in the appearance of a new type of public – private partnership - the BID (Business Improvement District). Originating in the 1970s in Canada, it rapidly spread for the past decade in the USA, and all over the developed world, in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and in the United Kingdom (Hoyt, 2004).

Although taking many forms, according to local legislations, the appearance of BIDs is generally seen as an answer from the business community, merchants and property owners to the lack of services provided by the local authority for the neighbourhood where they conduct their business:

> "…because the city government has steadily reduced street cleaning and trash pickups in commercial streets since the fiscal crisis of 1975, there is a real incentive for business and property owners to take up the slack" (Zukin, 2000; p.14)

Commentators agree that there is no unique definition of a BID (Hoyt, 2004; Hoyt and Goppal-Age, 2007; Briffault, 1999) but the common understanding is that it refers to a territorial subdivision of a city where property owners and businesses pay additional taxes in order to provide a diverse range of services such as sanitation, policing, infrastructure improvements or event organising (Briffault, 1999). The American urban scholar Lorlene Hoyt (2005) offers the following definition for a BID:

> "…a publicly sanctioned yet privately directed organisation that supplements public and private services to improve shared, geographically defined, outdoor public spaces. They are self-help organisations which govern a majority-voted self-taxing mechanism that generates multi-year revenue." (Hoyt, 2005; p.25)

Although there are voices supporting BIDs as "contributing to the well-being of the public sphere" (Briffault, 1999; p. 473) and "contributing new energy, new resources and new leadership" to America's downtowns (Levi, 2001; p.130), there is a growing concern in the literature related to their lack of democratic accountability and their pursuing commercial interests over the 'public interest' (Hochleutner, 2003; Cook, 2008; Zukin, 1995). Cook (2008) for example, in his study on the transfer of BIDs from North America to the UK found out that:

> "Perhaps the most telling absence from the policy transfer and rolling-out of BIDs was the lack of involvement by employees, residents and the wider public. These groups were rarely involved in constructing national and local BIDs policies and practices on both sides of the Atlantic. From New York City to Bristol, they continue to be unable to vote in local BID elections and are largely absent from local partnership boards. Furthermore, the desire to meet the perceived and actual direct needs and desires of employees, residents and citizens was absent and silenced. Instead, the direct needs and desires of employers, businesses and, to a lesser extent, consumers prevailed." (Cook, 2008; p. 789)

Similarly, Hoyt (2005), in her study of over 400 BIDs in Canada, New Zealand, USA and South Africa has also found out that:

> "The property and business owners who initiate and oversee BID organisations are motivated by selfinterest, not principally by civic commitment. They work to revitalise urban commercial areas for the purpose of protecting or increasing the returns on their investments." (Hoyt, 2005; p. 25)

The redeveloped public places under BIDs regimes are therefore above all 'spaces of consumption', where the power to regulate public space is placed in the hands of the few, which makes Zukin (1995) ask:

> "What kind of public culture is created under these conditions? Do urban BIDs create a Disney World in the streets, take the law into their own hands, and reward their entrepreneurial managers as richly as property values will allow? If elected public officials continue to urge the destruction of corrupt and bankrupt public institutions, I imagine a scenario of drastic privatisation, with BIDs replacing the city government." (Zukin, 1995; p. 34)

Apart from seeing this growing phenomenon of public space privatisation as a result of the diminishing involvement from local public authorities in the provision and management of new urban places, it can also be understood as a result, in the United Kingdom particularly, as a deliberate political action:

> "New Labour has spread the gospel of market fundamentalism – markets and market criteria as the true measure of value- far and wide. […] It has promoted the image of 'the businessman' and 'the entrepreneur' as *the* principal social role model, spreading the gospel of 'entrepreneurial values' ('efficiency', 'choice', 'selectivity') through the land." (Hall, 2003; p. 11)

Striving for more public, public places is synonym in this debate with striving for more inclusion, tolerance and diversity in cities as ultimately public space can be seen as being the 'space for equality' in opposition to the main trait of private space as being a 'space of inequality'. Privatisation has led to the creation of new public places where 'publicness' is controlled by 'seducing' the public through embedding ambient power in the built design as in the new Sony Centre in Berlin (Allen, 2006) or by the enclosure of former open places such as Hancock Park or the local television studio in Los Angeles (Flusty, 2001). Adding to this debate, Kohn (2004) writes about supermarkets that create the illusion of openness to all categories of people but where the basic right of freedom of expression among other political rights is infringed upon. Zukin (1995), in her analyses the new regenerated parks in New York, including the famous example of Bryant Park, suggests that publicness has been deteriorated because a mode of privatization

she labels "domestication by cappuccino". It can be seen that there is a close connection between ownership and control, the latter being detailed at a later stage in this chapter. For now, it is to be noted that the increasing phenomenon of privatisation of public space has resulted in the fact that 'a degree' of the publicness of new public places has been lost. Before presenting the different degrees of publicness according to ownership, a short discussion will be undertaken on the relationship between democracy and public space.

3.2.2 Democracy and public space

The meta-theme of ownership is closely inter-related with the understanding of public space as a political reality. A public place is considered *the most public*, from the point of view of ownership, when it is owned by a public body, *democratically elected*. The most common example given in the academia of an 'ideal public place' is the Greek *agora*. The importance of an 'ideal public space' and its implications for the present research will be discussed in more detail in the last part of this chapter. For now, it is important to note that the agora is often considered a legendary ideal of public space because of the Athenian democracy that created it. Today, in most societies, the population is far too great for the Athenian representative democracy to take place and therefore it is asserted here that if a public place is owned by a publicly accountable body, democratically elected, then it is as close as possible to the Athenian ideal.

The relation between public space and democracy does not refer only to the issue of ownership. Public places are considered in different disciplinary fields (i.e. human geography, history, urban design, architecture) as the places where people can manifest their rights as citizens and actively participate in the life of the city (Mitchell, 1995; 2003). One of the important outcomes of this intricate relationship between public space and democracy is reflected in what can be called *transient public places*. These sites have been often quoted as the places where historical movements happened and status-quos have been overturned. The French Revolution can hardly be imagined without the taken over of the Bastille or the fall of the Soviet Union without the demolition of the Berlin Wall. It can be argued therefore that any part of the human environment can become a public place if

people appropriate it for a certain time for political reasons. A more recent example is The Crown Casino complex, in Melbourne, Australia. Although a heavily guarded private space, for a short while, it became the site for protest in September 2000 against the World Economic Forum held there (Stevens and Dovey, 2004). This is also an example of how different meanings can be attached by different categories of people to a certain place; if for one side, it was a place of meeting for decision makers and key political actors to discuss world problems, for the protesters it was as the authors quoted above described it:

> "…a symbol of the wealth and intransigence of a globalized privatized economy under siege." (Stevens and Dovey, 2004; p. 363)

The particular characteristics of these transient public places will have to be the subject of a further inquiry, not undertaken here owing to time and resources limitations. For the American geographer Don Mitchell (2003), they are quintessential sites for the socio-political life of a city:

> "…what makes a space *public* – a space in which the cry and demand for the right to the city can be seen and heard – is often not its preordained "publicness." Rather, it is when, to fulfil a pressing need, some group or another takes space and through its actions makes it public." (Mitchell, 2003; p. 35)

In opposition to people taking temporary control of a public place, there is also a view that the members of the public have given up on being active participants in public space; they stopped becoming 'a witness' and started becoming 'an audience' (Sennett, 1977). Another well known American geographer J.B. Jackson (1984) reinforces this view and identifies as a key cause for the change in the 'publicness' (although he does not use the term as such) of American public places, the social shift in perceptions of the American people who slowly stopped to perceive themselves as active citizens in the life of their cities. The issue of political manifestation as a basic human right in public space will be tackled later, under the meta-theme of control. For now, it will be concluded that the distinction between public and private is fundamental to understanding public space. It appears that an increasing blurring between the two has taken place recently, resulting in the existence of different degrees of ownership. These will be presented in the next section.

3.2.3 Degrees of publicness according to ownership

Following the previous statements on the relationship between public space and democracy and the importance of the legal status of a site in determining its 'publicness, the next paragraphs will argue for and describe the existence of different degrees of publicness regarding the ownership of public places.

Ownership is a key component in Lofland's (1998) description of public space. The author defines public space as covering all the legal connections between people and a site. She continues this explanation by stating that:

> "Space that actually belongs to the "public" does so by dint of being the property of some government entity – though, of course, not all such public property allows of public access. On the other hand, much space that is legally in the hands of private owners is "open to the public" in the sense of access – saloons, restaurants, malls, theme parks are examples. Government – owned territory that is open to public access is the most public of public space. Privately-owned territory that is open to public access is "less" public – though how much less is always a matter of empirical determination" (Lofland, 1998; p. 210).

If one imagines an axis with ideal public space on one end and ideal private space at the other, most real places occupy an intermediary position between the two. As Kohn (2004) states:

> "Most of the places that we share with strangers are neither public nor private but exist in a grey area between the two." (Kohn, 2004; p. 9)

The publicness of public space from the point of view of ownership seems to be a grey shade and not just a black and white concept (Figure 3.2).

'very' private, private space

'very' public, public space

Figure 3.2. Degrees of publicness according to Ownership
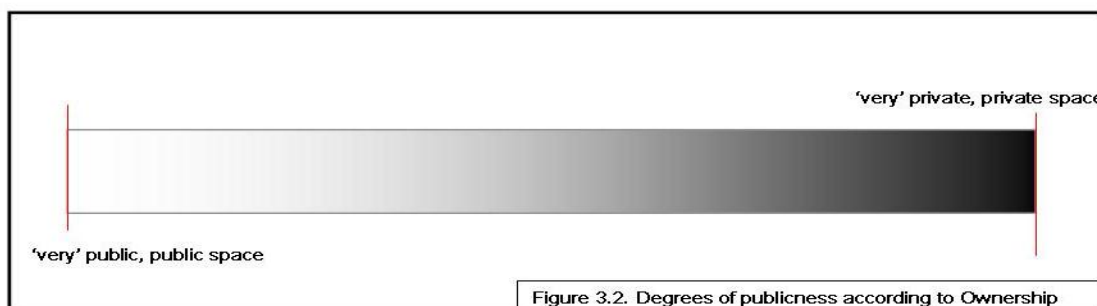
In this respect, the American urban planner Peter Marcuse (2005; p. 778) offers a scale of six levels of legal ownership on a spectrum that ranges from public to private ownership, and, for further differentiation, considers the function and the place's use:

- Public ownership/public function/public use (street, square)

- Public ownership/public function/administrative use

- Public ownership/public function/private use (e.g. space leased to commercial establishments, café terrace)

- Private ownership/public function/public use (e.g. airports, bus stations)

- Private ownership/private function/public use (e.g. shops, cafes, bars, restaurants)

- Private ownership/private use (e.g. home)

It is considered in this research that the 'more public' situation is when a site is owned by a public body mandated to act in the public/collective interest and accountable to elected representatives of the community. It is acknowledged that this position adopted by the researcher has been influenced by the educational background and personal beliefs that have shaped her formation as an academic. It is believed here that as a public good and as the quintessential space for the democratic life of the city a 'very public public place' is owned by the people for the people. The situation is complicated when the role of the state as both public landlord and regulator is taken into consideration. An example is offered by Staeheli and Mitchell (2008; p. xxiv) who argue that the public ownership of land is made problematic because of the Supreme Court decision that when owning land, the government "…has an obligation to "act like a landlord" (an owner) and not only as a "sovereign" (a representative of the people). The 'less public' situation is where a site, although opened to the public is owned by a private actor or body. Intermediate positions exist where ownership is vested in a government arms' length organisation, a public-private partnership or when it is owned through a BID type of organisation. he next part is concerned with a description of the second meta-theme of publicness – physical configuration. Ownership, as the first meta-theme of publicness, is defined here as:

> **Ownership** refers to the legal status of a parcel of land, as the result of a purchase. It ranges from absolute public ownership to absolute private ownership, going through variations of grey shades between these two extremes.

3.3 The second meta-theme of publicness: <u>Physical configuration</u>. Public space – a design object.

3.3.1 Understanding physical configuration

A second distinctive strand of research in the field of public space is concerned with the physical configuration of public places, comprising the particular geographical setting of public places and their particular design features. As such, a distinction can be made between a place's *macro-design* – its relationship with its hinterland, including the routes into it and its connections with its surroundings (i.e. beyond-the-place) - and its *micro-design* - the specific design features of the place itself (i.e. within-the-place).

Regarding <u>macro-design</u>, every public place is part of a greater physical environment and therefore its location, boundaries and connections are fundamental for influencing its publicness:

> "Places are not local things. They are moments in large-scale things, the large-scale things we call cities. It is cities that make places. Places do not make cities. The distinction is vital. We cannot make places without understanding cities." (Hillier, 1996, p. 42)

Macro-design can be considered in terms of three key qualities:

Centrality and connectivity. Places that are strategically well-located (i.e. those with centrality and connectivity) within a city's movement pattern have greater potential movement and thus greater potential for different social groups coming together in space and time (see Hillier, 1996; Porta and Latora, 2008). How the place itself is designed makes a difference to the density of use but only as a multiplier of the basic movement pattern. The design of a place matters little in terms of density of use if it is poorly located within the local movement pattern, as it is unlikely to ever be well-used unless there are changes in the wider area – either greater density of uses or changes to the movement network that increase connectivity and/or reduce severance.

Visual access. Visual permeability or access is the ability to see into a place. Various commentators have identified deliberate design strategies obstructing visual access into a place. Evaluating 'public' plazas in central Los Angeles, for example, Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998) found 'introversion' and a 'deliberate fragmentation' of the public realm, with plazas designed to inhibit visual access and, thus, to be exclusive. Techniques included places being hidden with exteriors giving few clues to the place; being isolated from the street; having street-level access de-emphasised; having major entrances taken through parking structures; etc. The American scholar Steven Flusty (1997; pp. 48 – 49) describes this as 'stealthy space' – places that cannot be found, are camouflaged or obscured by intervening objects or level changes - and as 'slippery space' - places that cannot be reached due to contorted, protracted or missing paths of approach.

Thresholds and gateways. Potential access into a place can be obstructed by thresholds and gateways. These may be largely symbolic and passive (e.g. changes of flooring materials or the transition from an open to a roofed place), or physical and active (e.g. gates or manned checkpoints). The latter is Flusty's (1997; pp. 48-49) 'crusty space' – places that cannot be accessed, due to obstructions such as walls, gates, and checkpoints. Thresholds are important because they become decision points (i.e. whether to proceed further, turn back, find another route, or, alternatively, whether that individual is denied further access). The more evident the threshold, the greater its potential significance as a decision point. Thresholds also relate to physical access – that is, whether the place is physically available to the public, with physical exclusion being the inability to access or use the environment, regardless of whether or not it can be seen into. Physical barriers that exclude – steps, for example, wheelchair users – make the place less public. The explicit presence of gates and fences can be also seen as a control measure as it will be pointed out when this meta-theme is discussed later on in this chapter.

In terms of micro-design, places should be designed in order to support the different needs of people in public space. These have been identified by Carr *et al.* (1992) as 'passive engagement', 'active engagement', 'discovery', 'comfort' and 'relaxation'. In the authors' words, these "must be given concrete expression by

the designer in a particular social and physical context" (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. 255). These will be discussed in depth in the following section, when the animation meta-theme will be presented.

Although the social and physical context varies from location to location, resulting in each public place having its own identity and character, there is a consensus that for a variety of 'optional' and 'social' activities (Gehl, 1996) to happen, two key prerequisites should be met in the design of a public place: *good opportunities for sitting* and *good opportunities for walking:*

> "Public spaces offering many qualities and few disadvantages inspire a broad spectrum of urban activities. Attractive walking routes and places to stop along the way encourage foot traffic which in turn promotes social and recreational activities, because people walking along become inspired to linger and enjoy the urban scene." (Gehl and Gemzøe, 2000; p. 14).

Two main studies that document the relation between the design of a public place and its use are the American urbanist William H Whyte's *City: Rediscovering the Centre* (1988) and the Danish architect and urban designer Jan Gehl's *Life Between Buildings. Using Public Space* (1996). Both authors point out to the importance of sitting opportunities for the success of a public place:

> "Only when opportunities for sitting exist, there can be stays of any duration. If these opportunities are few or bad, people just walk on by. This means not only that stays in public space are brief but also that many attractive and outdoor worthwhile activities are precluded. The existence of good opportunities for sitting paves the way for the numerous activities that are prime attractions in public spaces: eating, reading, sleeping, knitting, playing chess, sunbathing, watching people, talking, and so on." (Gehl, 1996; p. 157)

> "Whatever the attractions of a space, it cannot induce people to come and sit if there is no place to sit." (Whyte, 1988; p. 112)

Sitting opportunities can be divided in two categories: 'primary' or formal seating referring to the benches and chairs and 'secondary' or informal sitting opportunities such as stairways, pedestals, ledges, steps, plinths etc. (Gehl, 1996; p. 163). Related to the ubiquitous benches, although their positioning should be carefully matched to the layout of each site, two characteristics are common for their successful use: being well positioned and comfortable. In terms of position, the best situation is when they are placed towards the main viewing landscape (e.g. the river, the public place) or towards the main pedestrian flow, to allow for

the common activity of people watching (Whyte, 1988). In terms of comfort, benches should be designed as to be easy to sit or and stand up from, especially regarding the more sensitive categories of users: children and older people. Generally benches with backs - placed ideally at a 95-105 degree angle to the seat (www.pps.org) – are preferred to the backless variant. Regarding all sitting types, Whyte (1980) found out that:

> "A dimension that is truly important is the human backside. It is a dimension many architects ignore. Not often will you find a ledge or bench that is deep enough to be sittable on both sides. Some aren't sittable on one." (Whyte, 1988; p.114)

Generally, a public place should provide the users with a variety of sitting types "in order to give all user groups inspiration and opportunity to stay" (Gehl, 1996; p. 161).

Regarding *walking opportunities*, although it is a subjective choice where and why one chooses to walk, Gehl's (1996) studies makes several recommendations:

- Pedestrian traffic is sensitive to the types of pavement; uneven surfaces, represented by cobblestones, sand or loose gravel have a negative impact on it;

- Pedestrians tend to choose the shortest distance between the destinations within an area and when crossing large open spaces, they tend to keep to the edge;

- The provision of long and straight pedestrian routes should be avoided, as they can be experienced as a tiresome endeavour; these should be interrupted by winding areas or small squares.

Apart from offering these two basic types of opportunities, the micro-design of a public place should also include elements such as sculptures, statues or other forms of public art, fountains or elements for play which can encourage users to actively engage with the environment or entice them to discover different public places. An unusual or interesting physical object within a public place (but also a stimulating view or a street entertainer) can lead to what William H Whyte called 'triangulation' defined as "…the process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as if they were not" (Whyte, 1988; p. 154).

In addition to these elements of micro-design, the urban design literature advocates the presence of active frontages that include different shops, theatres, pubs, restaurants and so on bordering public places:

> "Building facades should be designed so that buildings reach out to the street and offer an 'active frontage' onto public space, adding interest and vitality to the public realm. As windows and doorways suggest a human presence, the more doors and windows onto public space, the better." (Carmona *et al.*, 2003; p. 173)

These allow for a more enjoyable pedestrian experience, create informal surveillance and add to the vibrancy of a public place through a 'spill over' effect. In Tibbalds' words (1992):

> "…a town or city centre draws its vitality from the activities and uses in the buildings lining its streets. In this respect the facades and activities provided at street - level – closest to eye-level - are particularly important. Too often new buildings have bleak and unfriendly frontages at street level. These deaden the adjacent area." (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 41)

Apart from these elements, both the macro-design and the micro-design of a public place, need to take into account the weather conditions. This is a very important consideration, especially in the cities in northern and Western Europe. An illustrative comparison is between Stockholm and Copenhagen city centres. Stockholm has been rebuilt in the 1950s and 1960s with tall buildings and wide streets which lead to stronger winds, channelled by the main streets, less shade and a cooler climate. By contrast, Copenhagen city centre retained its low sky line and "small spaces and crooked streets" that lead to less wind and better sun angles" (Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999; p. 30).

3.3.2. Degrees of publicness according to physical configuration

The 'more public' situation regarding macro-design relates to several qualities - being central and well-connected (on the beaten track) with potential for plenty of comings-and-goings by different groups; being visually permeable and connected to the public realm beyond the place itself and not having explicit thresholds, such as gates and fences. In terms of micro-design, it refers how the design of a public place supports and encourages animation, when there are different opportunities for people to sit, walk or actively engage with the environment.

The 'less public' situation relates in terms of macro-design to not having the advantage of centrality within the movement network (off-the-beaten track) resulting in few comings-and-goings by different groups, limited visual connection between the place and the external public realm, and explicit thresholds (e.g. gates and manned checkpoints) acting as access controls, resulting in a filtered admission. The consequence is that the place is a *de facto* 'fortress' – a place that, in different and various ways, is difficult to find, difficult to see into and difficult to enter. In terms of micro-design, it refers to places that are barren and dull, offering few and low quality opportunities for people to sit, walk or engage with the environment in a variety of ways. In Allen's (2006) words, these are:

> "... street-level plazas or squares, which, whilst open and accessible, are merely places to move through, to cut across, rather than dwell in or engage with in any meaningful way. Draughty, sterile, primed with seating designed to move you on, little, according to Sennett, punctuates these vast empty, 'public' caverns other than the sight of other people on their way to somewhere else." (Allen, 2006; p. 451)

To conclude, physical configuration, as the second meta-theme of publicness, is defined as:

> **Physical configuration** refers to the physical characteristics of a public place as a part of the built environment. It consists of two levels: macro-design (the choice of locality, connectivity, visibility) and micro-design (sitting opportunities, walking opportunities, active frontages etc.)

3.4 The third meta-theme of publicness: Animation. Public space – a social and anthropological construct.

3.4.1 Understanding animation

A distinct and constant strand in the literature on public space, for the past decades, focuses on the use of public space and its necessary presence for fulfilling basic human needs. Renowned writings documenting the different behaviours and various activities that occur in public settings are in the USA Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and William H Whyte's *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (1980), in Europe, noteworthy is Jan Gehl's

study *Life Between Buildings* (1996) while in Latin America, Setha Low has researched the use of Costa Rican plazas in her work *On the Plaza. The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (2000).

The concept that a human being can only live among and in relation to others creating as such 'social life' has always been a general accepted truth, ever since Aristotle's concept of the 'social animal'. Social life leads to the creation of public places, the street, the plaza, the museum, the park, the square etc. which become "artefacts of the social world" (Low, 1997). As such, next to being a legal entity, and a design object, public space is also a social and anthropological construct, it is the space where we are in co-presence with the other members of society and where shared experiences create a link with past and future generations:

> "Public space is the institutional and material common world, the in-between space that facilitates co-presence and regulates interpersonal relationships. By being present in the same place with others, shared experience of the world becomes possible and a link is made with previous generations who experienced (or future generations who might experience) the same physical reality." (Madanipour, 2003, p. 235)

Public places create the stage where public life unfolds; Zukin (1995) sees them as the "primary sites of public culture" while Carr *et al.* (1992) define them as:

> "…the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities." (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. xi)

Urban social life is based on what the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1996) describes as 'social needs', which, he argues, have been neglected for a long time in favour of individual needs. For Lefebvre (1996), social needs have "an anthropological foundation" and must be given priority so that people can enjoy living in cities:

> "Opposed and complimentary, they include the need for security and opening, the need for certainty and adventure, that of organization of work and of play, the needs for the predictable and the unpredictable, of similarity and difference, of isolation and encounter, exchange and investments, of independence (even solitude) and communication, of immediate and long term prospects." (Lefebvre, 1996; p.147)

In more concrete terms, the human needs in particular relation to public space have been identified by Carr *et al.* (1992) as 'comfort', 'relaxation', 'passive engagement', 'active engagement', and 'discovery'. Carmona *et al.* (2010) add a

sixth – display, relating to both visibility and self-presentation in public space (see also Strong and Hénaff, 2001).

Passive engagement. This involves "… the need for an encounter with the setting, albeit without becoming actively involved" (Carr *et al* 1992; p. 103). The primary form of passive engagement is people-watching. Places that respond to this need are highly animated places, where different people are engaged in various activities, providing the prospect for passive users to have something 'to look at'.

Active engagement. This represents a more direct experience with both the place and the people in it. Carr *et al* (1992; p. 119) note that, while some find sufficient satisfaction in people-watching, others desire more direct contact, whether with friends, family or strangers. The simple proximity of people in space and time does not *ip so facto* mean they will spontaneously interact. Whyte (1980, p.19) found out that New York's plazas were 'not ideal places' for 'striking up acquaintances', and that, even in the most sociable, there was 'not much mingling'. The coincidence of people in time and space does, nevertheless, provide opportunities (affordances) for contact and social interaction. Gehl (1996, p.19) refers to 'varied transitional forms' between being alone and being together and suggests a scale of 'intensity of contact' ranging from 'close friendships' to 'friends', 'acquaintances', 'chance contacts' and 'passive contacts'. If activity in the spaces between buildings is missing, then the lower end of this contact scale also disappears. Well-animated places provide opportunities for varying degrees of engagement, and also the potential to disengage or withdraw from contact.

Discovery and display. Representing the desire for new experiences, 'discovery' depends on both variety and change. Discovery may require some sense of unpredictability and even danger, whether real or imagined, with various commentators (Sennett, 1990; Shields, 1991; Zukin, 1995; Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995; Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001) highlighting the value of 'liminality' - places formed in the interstices of everyday life and outside 'normal' rules, where different cultures meet and interact - which, in different ways, bring together disparate activities and users, creating valuable exchanges and connections.

Comfort and relaxation. Even though these are more subjective needs of people in public places, making people feel comfortable in a certain urban setting is a key feature of building successful public places and on the whole, more liveable cities (Carr *et al.*, 1992; Tibbalds, 1992). In their *Public Places, Urban* Spaces (2003), Carmona *et al.* state:

> "Comfort is a prerequisite of successful public spaces. The length of time people stay in a public space is a function and an indicator of its comfort." (Carmona *et al.*, 2003; p. 165)

They find that the feeling of comfort is based on three elements: environmental factors, physical comfort and social and psychological comfort. Carr *et al.* (1992) suggest that relaxation is a more complex state, implying both psychological and physical comfort. Although it is recognized that the feeling of psychological and social comfort is relative to the different categories of users, a key prerequisite for a comfortable experience of a place is the feeling of safety. A diverse and lively public place, where different activities take place and different people are engaged in various ways with the environment and 'the others', creates the safety that Jane Jacobs (1961) referred to as 'eyes on the street'. As Tibbalds (1992) describes it:

> "We all experience discomfort or unease in certain urban situations. Whilst many people seek solitude in a rural environment, in an urban one the absence of people can, at best, make for a miserable or dull environment and, at worst, create threat, alarm or panic in the solitary wanderer. (…) Particularly for women, the young, the old, the frail and the timid, the prospect – real or imagined – of aggression, mugging, rape and other crimes against the person, lurks at every deserted street corner and on every near empty bus or train." (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 27)

It is a fine balance between a comfortable and safe public place and an active, interesting and vibrant one. The more diverse the users, the more some might feel threatened by certain groups (teenagers, young men of a different ethnicity, homeless etc.) but the more organised, surveyed and staged a place is, the more it loses that key quality of being a place where strangers come together and interact. Therefore it is supported here that a public place is more public when there is a diversity of people engaged in a variety of activities - when different needs of various users are met.

Regarding the activities performed in public places, Jan Gehl's (1996) extensive research on the use of public space has proved an invaluable source for the present study. He divides the people's activities in public space, which reflect the

needs presented above, in three broad categories: *necessary activities* – going to work or to school; *optional activities* – that imply activities facilitated by a favourable coexistence of time and space conditions; they are activities such as walking, cycling, watching the street etc. The third type of activities consists of *resultant* or *social activities* which imply the interaction of 'one' with 'the others' in public space. Irrespective of the quality of the built environment, necessary activities take place while, by contrast, only when the design quality of the public space is high, optional and social activities increase in number and duration. There is a close connection therefore between the physical configuration and animation dimensions. It was presented in the previous section how a centrally located and well-connected public place will attract more users while micro–design elements such as sitting or walking opportunities are a prerequisite for the performance of a wide variety of activities in public places.

Through detailed anthropological studies of public places, e.g. Setha Low's (2000) work on the South American plazas, one can gain an in-depth understanding of the social life of a certain group of people, in a specific social environment and for a particular time period. It is proposed here that on a smaller scale in order to analyse the publicness of a public place in terms of animation, one must understand and measure how and by whom a public place is used, in other words to grasp if it is a vibrant arena for public life or is a deserted, empty place.

3.4.2 Degrees of publicness according to animation

The 'more public' situation in terms of animation refers to the copresence of a high diversity of users, engaged in a wide variety of activities. The view adopted here by the researcher is that the larger the number of people and the more diverse the public, in terms of both characteristics (age, ethnicity, sex etc.) and activities performed, then there is a higher potential for a vibrant and rich public life. This theoretical position is based on the researcher embracing the ideas that a vibrant and rich public life is intrinsically a 'good' thing - a measure and a reflection of a healthy society. This view is similar to the one proposed by the American scholars Franck and Paxson (1989):

> "Public spaces vary in the degree of publicness they poses and exhibit: the greater the diversity of people and activities allowed and manifested in a

space, the greater its publicness. Diversity of people includes variation in age, race, ethnicity, gender, and 'otherness', that is, other variations in appearance or behaviour.(…) The concept of publicness is based on the assumption that face-to-face interaction between diverse types of people is valuable and that many different public spaces should provide for such interaction or, at least, for the copresence of such diversity." (Franck and Paxson, 1989; p.131)

Likewise, Mean and Tims (2005), in their study of public places in three cities, Cardiff, Preston and Swindon argue that:

"What made the spaces public was not their ownership status, physical design or aesthetic appearance. Instead, we found that a much better guide to whether a particular space is valued as a public space is whether it was actively used and shared by different individuals and groups." (Mean and Tims, 2005; p. 44)

It has to be kept in mind though, that although certain public places are created for specific categories of uses and users (e.g. children's playgrounds, skate parks, tennis courts etc.), here the focus lies on public places designed with the general public in mind and not for a specific group. Also, the attention here is placed on 'convivial' public places, "places where people can be sociable and festive" (Shaftoe, 2008) as opposed to restorative public places, which are designed mostly for relaxation. The <u>less public</u> situation is when there is a low number of people (or a homogenous public) engaged in few activities, often 'necessary activities' (Gehl, 1996), and they can be equated to what Richard Sennett (1974) called 'dead public space'.

To conclude, animation is understood in this research as referring to the use of a public place. Although each public place has its own particular rhythms and patterns of use, there is a common view that a highly public, public place, is characterised by a wide range of activities and by a diverse public, while deserted or underused public places are less public. The definition of animation as the third meta-theme of publicness is:

Animation refers to the practical expression of human needs in public places – to the actual use of a place. The 'more public' public places, in terms of animation, are those characterised by a vibrant public life expressed in a wide range of activities performed by a large number and a high diversity of users.

3.5 The fourth meta-theme of publicness: <u>Control</u>. Public space – a political reality.

3.5.1 Understanding control

A fourth strand of research is focused on the key function of public space - to be the arena where people can be part of the life of the city and can express and manifest their basic human rights – freedom of access, of speech, of assembly etc. A large part of the literature on public space is concerned with the increase in regulations and control measures in many public places across the USA, Europe and other locations around the world. This fourth dimension of publicness is called control.

A step has already been made towards acknowledging that there is a strong connection between politics and public space in examining the relationship between democracy and public space. Issues of 'individual freedom' vs. 'public freedom' (Arendt, 1958) and of human rights that should be allowed free expression in public space (Mitchell, 2003) complicate the relationship between the realm of politics and public space. Often, when it is stated that the quality of a public space has diminished, what is actually meant is that certain rights of 'the people', guaranteed by the 'public' status quo of the place they occupy, are infringed. An example is offered by Mitchell (1995), who presents the debate concerning People's Park in Berkley, where the politics of public space were represented by the two opposite visions of what the park meant as a public space. On one hand, "activists and the homeless people who used the Park promoted a vision of a space marked by free interaction and the absence of coercion by powerful institutions" (Mitchell, 1995; p. 128) while the representatives of the University of California, which owned the park thought of it as an "open space for recreation and entertainment, subject to usage by an appropriate public that is *allowed* in" (Mitchell, 1995; p.128).

Margaret Kohn, in *Brave New Neighbourhoods* (2004), describes the frequent breach of the First Amendment in different legal decisions taken in the USA to limit the rights of people in public places. One of the most striking examples is the 1990

case *United States v. Kokinda.* In this law suit*,* the Supreme Court found that the sidewalk outside the post-office was not a 'traditional public forum' because the post office was run 'like a business" and "…it was forbidden to political activists to set up an information table along its sidewalks" (Kohn, 2004; p. 52). This was a very important matter because to get an initiative on the ballot groups had to gather signatures, including a certain percentage from the voting population. In a country where supermarkets forbid petitioners access, and many automobile-oriented suburbs have no other public gathering places, the space in front the post office was one of the few places of political expression. In the words of Arthur Spitzer, Legal Director of the ACLU, in this legal case:

> "Sidewalks and similar outdoor areas open to the public, where people meet and greet each other, are also areas where people have the constitutional right to exchange political information and to seek signatures on petitions." (Kohn, 2004; p. 53)

In the quest undertaken here to understand, define and describe the publicness of public space, the complex relation between public space and politics means two things. On one hand, in order to analyse a specific public place, the chain of political decisions that lead to its creation must be traced. This is related to the fact that each public place is a result of a development process and its publicness is a historical reality, as described in more detail in the next chapter. On the other hand, regarding the publicness of a public place as a cultural reality, the researcher should observe and investigate the control measures and policies that are put in place and that affect the overall publicness of a site. The following paragraphs demonstrate how, on a world-wide scale, the theme of control is gaining more and more importance and describe the main modes of control in public space.

3.5.2 Modes of control in public space

The contemporary practices of securitizing public space (Atkinson, 2003; Raco, 2003; Flusty, 2001; Zukin, 1995) seem to fall into two broad categories: the management and the design of public space (Figure 3.3).
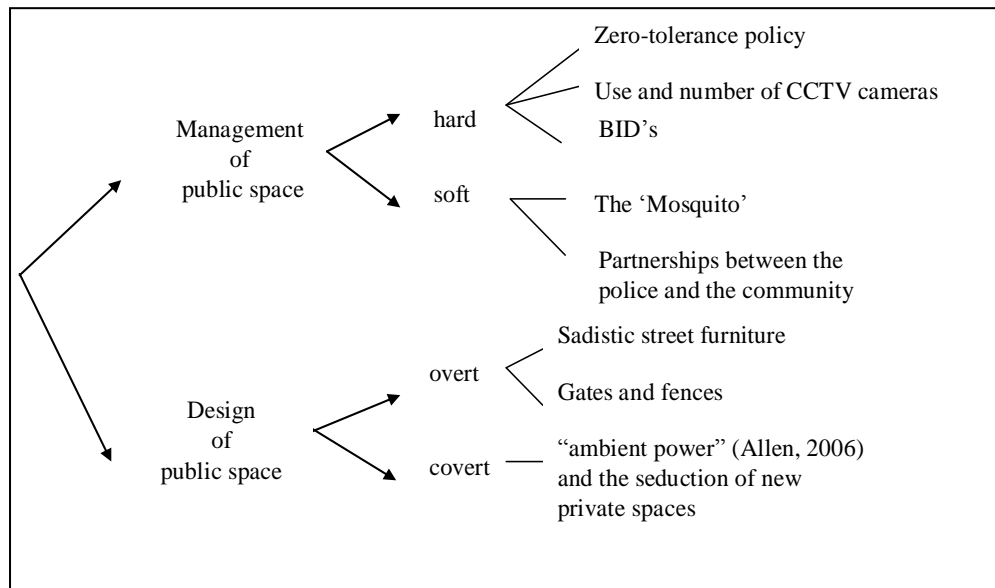
Figure 3.3 Modes of control in public space

Regarding the management of public space, different policies and measures have been adopted in order to minimise the possible dangerous outcomes that derive from public space as a space that hosts difference, unexpected encounters and freedom of expression. They range on a broad scale from 'hard' to 'soft' methods. This will now be discussed.

3.5.2.1 Hard methods of control in public places management

The "zero – tolerance policy"

This policy was adopted by New York's former mayor Rudy Giuliani who called for the police aid in punishing minor criminal behaviours and pursuing all the 'unwanted' and the 'undesirables', considered a danger to society, from public places:

> "Giuliani identified certain groups – homeless people, panhandlers, prostitutes, squeegee cleaners, and graffiti artists – as 'enemies within' and as instrumental in fostering an ecology of fear among those he considered decent, honest New Yorkers. In response, he ordered New York Police Department officers to pursue with "zero tolerance" those groups perceived to be a genuine threat to the "quality of urban life" for the moral majority." Macleod, 2002; p. 29)

The policy was influenced by the theory of "broken windows" (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) which states that minor crimes can start a cascading effect and eventually

lead to much more serious felonies. Even though the crime rates have dropped remarkably in New York, it is questionable if this was due solely to the "zero-tolerance policy" and was not a broader phenomenon in American cities related to economic changes and rates of drug use (Atkinson, 2003). This approach to policing public space stems from an understanding of power as the force used by few to control the many which leads to exclusion and discrimination.

Similar policies have been attempted in Britain as well, in order to diminish negative behaviours in public places. Operation Spotlight was introduced in Glasgow in 1996 in order to deal with violence, drinking on the streets and begging:

> "Through Operation Spotlight, introduced in 1996, the force aims to tackle the following areas: carrying of weapons, vandalism, truancy, underage drinking, sporting events, litter and licensed premises, street robberies, parks and public places and drinking in public." (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1837)

Other examples of 'hard' methods of controlling behaviour in public space in the UK are the smoking ban or the drinking ban in cities like Glasgow.

The use of CCTV cameras

It has become a common practice in cities across the world, to use CCTV (Close Circuit Television) to control public places, especially in the United Kingdom, which accounts for one in five cameras in the world - with one camera for every fifteen inhabitants of London (Van Melik *et al.*, 2007). Many of the writers evaluating the success of CCTV cameras in reducing the level of street crime (Fyfe and Bannister, 1996; Koskela, 2000; Raco, 2003) have argued that the technology does not erase but merely displaces crime to the more remote areas of the city where there is no electronic surveillance. The problem that this generates is the need for growing surveillance until potentially all areas of the city are 'covered' by the electronic eye of the camera, which leads to predictions of a dystopian, sombre future:

> "The displacement effect itself has perversely provided a reason to set up more and more surveillance units suggesting a logical end-point in which universal observation is made possible." (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1833)

Another problem with the use of this method of managing public space is pointed out by Koskela (2000). She argues that the increase in electronic surveillance has undergone a shift in its usage. From a device used for the protection of private property or of top secret institutions, it has become a 'policing' method of public space:

> "….surveillance has emerged as a means of reducing crime and the fear of crime. It not only aims to protect property but also tries to reduce violence and to achieve better safety and inviolability for people. Indeed, in European countries surveillance has become more common in publicly accessible spaces." (Koskela, 2000; p. 245)

Therefore, CCTV has shifted from being used as a tool to protect goods to a method of observing pedestrians' behaviour; it has become 'an eye on the street', but of a different kind than what Jane Jacobs (1961) envisaged. This brings to attention a serious problem that the extensive use of close circuit television creates. If, for centuries, safety in public spaces in the city was based on the very existence of 'the public', on people watching other people, now the use of surveillance cameras poses questions like: Who is watching? Why are they watching? Am I being watched? The role assigned to CCTV cameras is not only to observe criminal behaviours but also to diminish them by making people aware that someone is constantly watching; the city comes closer to Jeremy Bentham's idea of the 'panopticon':

> "…as the prisoner is visible, so are the signs of control since the prisoners will always be able to see the tower from which they are watched. Accordingly, citizens in urban space will see surveillance cameras positioned in visible places, and this will constantly remind them of their own visibility." (Koskela, 2000; pp. 252 - 253)

BIDs (Business Improvement Districts)

BIDs were presented in the first part of this chapter, under the meta-theme of ownership. But apart from providing maintenance services, these forms of public-private partnerships often hire private guards to patrol the commercial areas (Nemeth and Schmidt, 2007). The French scholar Franck Vindevoegel (2005) reports that in New York City between 350 and 400 private guards work for BIDs. Due to their power of regulating begging and petty crime, BIDs take therefore the role of local courts of justice. The major impact of these new forms of public-private partnerships is that they 'erode' the publicness of the public places they

administrate. In this case, power is in the hands of a few who follow commercial interests and can legally use it to create 'safer' streets by eliminating the 'unwanted'.

Even though the importance of having accessible and 'safe' public places is not denied here, the idea of placing legal power entirely in the hands of private actors seems to dissolute the meaning of 'publicness'. The justification for BIDs is that they aim at improving public places by maintaining them clean and safe; the danger lies in asking what 'safe' means: safe for whom? Safe from whom? The scenario might easily turn into the following:

> "In Urry's (1995) terms, creating safe, aesthetically pleasing spaces requires the removal of 'social pollutants' – those individuals and groups whose (co)presence may threaten the perceived and aesthetic quality of an urban space." (Raco, 2003; p. 1870)

3.5.2.2 Soft methods of control in public places management

'The mosquito'

One of the methods of preventing young people gathering in public places is a device that emits "…ultrasonic noise, said to be audible only to people under age 25" (Van Melik *et al.*, 2007; p. 28). It has been called 'the mosquito' and can be considered a 'soft' method of making public space safer by preventing young people gathering and creating disturbance. It shows though that more and more public places are built to a certain idea of 'sanitised', safe and controlled space where only certain social groups, in this case, defined by age can gather. This contradicts the idea that public space should be a democratic space that allows for the presence of and free use by all those who wish to enter it.

Police partnerships

Another example of 'soft' measures of controlling public space is the new policy requirement that police forces work in partnership with communities and other organisations to tackle crime. This has been enforced in the UK by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 "…which imposes a statutory requirement on local authorities,

local police forces, health authorities and other agencies to formulate strategies for their areas through partnership" (Raco, 2003; p. 1872). Later on, in 2003, the UK Home Office launched the National Reassurance Policing Programme which was meant to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour (Millie and Herrington, 2005). As part of this project, both close cooperation between the police and local communities and the police working in partnership with other agencies were considered key in contributing to the creation of a better social and physical environment (Millie and Herrington, 2005). This way of seeing the policing of public space as co-operation among different parties is in opposition with the "zero-tolerance policy" and reflects an understanding of power as a co-operative force that brings people from different domains of action together in making decisions about the social environment:

> "The governance of public spaces in general and of begging in particular has proliferated into a partnership of agencies who are tackling different dimensions of the problem such as tourism offices, economic development agencies, police, environmental health and town centre management." (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1838)

The subject of the policing of public space begs a much more in depth study. What should be kept in mind from the above discussion is that there is a wide array of different methods of controlling public places, ranging from hard to soft ones.

Apart from these methods of controlling public places related to management techniques, there is also an increasing prevalence of measures of control imbedded in the design of public places. These can be argued as being manifestations of what has been called the "architecture of fear" (Kohn, 2004). Varying from overt ones to more manipulative design modes, these methods lie at the boundary between the meta-themes of control and physical configuration and will be briefly touched upon in the following paragraphs.

3.5.2.3 Overt measures of controlling public places by design

Gates and fences

Gates and fences are not a new presence in the built environment and they have been discussed as measures to diminish visibility and accessibility in public places

when the macro-design of public places was tackled. They can also be understood as a measure of control, when they are used in order to conceal access to some areas that "are known only to – and hence are only supposed to be found by – exceptional privileged people" (Koskela, 2002; p. 249). Flusty (2001) discusses the growing tendency to use fences to enclose parks and public places in the USA, by using the examples of Hancock Park and the local television studio, both located in Los Angeles. The park was an open public place when the author was a child and has gradually been enclosed throughout the 1990s. The television station was built in 1999 as a highly walled building, dominated by a new "dramatic arched entranceway to their facility, fitted with massive swinging steel gates" (Flusty, 2001; p. 659).

The use of 'sadistic street furniture' (Davis, 1992)

Recently, a whole array of new ways to prevent the 'unwanted' lingering in public places has been changing the appearance of benches, bus stops, and flat surfaces with the overall effect of making people uncomfortable. The Dutch authors Van Melik *et al.* (2007) give the example of spiked metal bars that prevent people from sitting on ledges, benches with multiple armrests so that people cannot sleep on them and sprinkler systems that are used to scare people away from certain places. Atkinson (2003; p. 1834) argues that some changes are "logical and useful developments" like climb-proof paint and vandal-proof lights but he disagrees with the "bum-proof" benches that prevent being slept on or with the tilted seats in bus stops that have been designed to stay dry but to allow only a brief use. The author argues that these 'improvements' are actually "…'designing out' the already socially excluded" (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1834).

3.5.2.4 Covert measures of controlling public places by design

In parallel with these straightforward and obvious ways of designing control in public places, John Allen (2006) points out that there are also more subtle ways through which power can be embedded in the design of urban space. He puts forward the concept of 'ambient power', referring to the ways in which some places, through a certain atmosphere that has been intentionally created, 'seduce'

the public into entering and using them. The case study he employs is the Sony Centre on Potsdamer Platz in Berlin which, through its inner plaza, creates "the feel of a public space" (Allen, 2006; p. 447). The space is privately owned but leaves the impression of an open, non-exclusionary space, where multiple choices, all linked with Sony technology, are offered to the public. It is a more subtle way of controlling behaviours in spaces of consumerism, such as malls and shopping centres. In these privately owned public places, control can be expressed in more obvious ways, with guards banning the access of people who are considered 'inappropriate', for example young people wearing 'hoodies' in the Bluewater retail centre in Kent, UK (Millie, 2009) or where certain behaviours like wearing a T-shirt with the logo "Give peace a chance" in the Crossgate Mall in New York, USA, was considered a criminal offence (Kohn, 2004). Opposite to this, in the Sony Centre, power works in more subtle ways, through seduction: people have the choice of entering or not and once inside they can choose to consume – visually or financially – the world of Sony products or they can simply leave. Dovey (1999) argues that power is the more effective, the more subtly it is embedded in the built environment and the more people are ignorant of its presence:

> "Most people, most of the time, take the built environment for granted. (…) The more that the structures and representations of power can be embedded in the framework of everyday life, the less questionable they become and the more effectively they can work." (Dovey, 1999; p. 2)

To conclude, there is a close relationship between public space and control. Public space, as the archetypal space for freedom of expression, has the quality of fostering arbitrary interaction among people, the spontaneous and the unexpected social encounter, which, in itself, makes it a much more 'uncontrolled space" than other urban spaces:

> "Public space engenders fears, fears that derive from the sense of public space as uncontrolled space, as a space in which civilization is exceptionally fragile."(Mitchell, 2003; p. 13)

Today, there is an increasing tendency of controlling new public places with the result of creating environments where the potential for unpredictable social encounters, the basis for a healthy public life, is more and more diminished. This has translated in a large array of modes of control related both to the management and the design of public places. As pointed out in this section and in the first part

of this chapter, there is a close connection between the privatisation of public space and the increase in the modes and measures of control.

3.5.3 Degrees of publicness according to control

As there are various modes of controlling public space, ranging from hard or overt ones to more subtle and covert types, it can also be seen how this meta-theme varies from a 'more public' to a 'less public' situation.

In relation to control, the 'more public' situation relates to freedom through the absence of an explicit control presence. In an early essay, Kevin Lynch (1965) argued that 'open' spaces (note *open* rather than *public*) were open to the "… freely chosen and spontaneous actions of people" (Lynch, 1965, p. 396). He later argued that free use of open space may "… offend us, endanger us, or even threaten the seat of power", but is also one of our 'essential values' (Lynch and Carr, 1979, p. 415). Lynch and Carr (1979) support the principle of freedom in public space, arguing that:

> "We prize the right to speak and act as we wish. When others act more freely, we learn about them, and thus about ourselves. The pleasure of an urban space freely used is the spectacle of those peculiar ways, and the chance of an interesting encounter." (Lynch and Carr, 1979; p. 415)

In respect to this, it was decided that in an ideal world, a perfect public space would not need the presence of any form of control (police or CCTV) as people would survey each other; in other words there would always be 'eyes on the street' as the famous American urban scholar Jane Jacobs described in *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* (1961). It is not denied here the importance and role of police in the contemporary civil society; what is asserted is that an ideal public space will not *need* a visible control presence*.*

Intermediate situations relate to what Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998; pp. 183-185) term 'soft' or 'passive' control focuses on 'symbolic restrictions', passively discouraging undesirable activities. John Allen (2006, p. 441) offers a similar definition, noting that "… one could be forgiven for thinking that power is largely about guards or gates or that it is present through surveillance techniques

….", he highlights the role of 'ambient power' in public places, discussed above, meaning:

> "… something about the character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it and which, in turn, seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt." (Allen, 2006; p. 441)

Many commentators give a flavour of the 'less public' situation. Oc and Tiesdell (1999), for example, identified four approaches to creating safer environments.[1] Control corresponds to what they term 'the panoptic approach', featuring explicit control of space, an explicit policing presence (especially the presence of security guards); CCTV systems as tools of control; covert surveillance systems; exclusion of people/groups and the erosion of civil liberties. The American scholars Németh and Schmidt (2007; pp. 288-291) discuss control in terms of 'surveillance and policing', highlighting such features as (lack of) public ownership or management; security cameras; the presence of (primary) security personnel; and the presence of secondary security personnel. Similarly, for Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998; pp. 183 – 185), 'hard' or 'active' control uses vigilant private security officers, surveillance cameras and express regulations either prohibiting certain activities from happening or allowing them subject to the issue of permits, programming, scheduling, or leasing. Control also relates to Flusty's 'jittery space' - places that cannot be used unobserved due to active monitoring by roving patrols and/or surveillance technologies (Flusty 1997; pp. 48 – 49).

To conclude, control, as the fourth meta-theme of publicness, is defined here as:

> **Control** refers to the different measures taken to limit the individual freedom and the political manifestations of the members of a certain social group, when they are present in a public place. It refers both to measures taken as part of the management of public places and to methods imbedded in the design of public place.

---

[1] Control often purports to be about safety, but it is often the safety of property (and hence of an investment) rather than of people. Oppressive control is not the sole provenance of the private sector, but can be by the State – albeit it would typically be the State acting in a private interest.

3.6 The fifth meta-dimension of publicness: <u>Civility</u>. Caring for public space.

3.6.1 Understanding civility

A fifth strand of research, less obvious than the others but of equal importance, is concerned with the maintenance of the public places, after their production process ends. Therefore, civility involves caring for and maintaining public places; it involves both the presence and activity of cleaners, maintenance workers, park rangers etc. but also the people's behaviour towards a place.

> "A good environment and an attractive public realm are not just created by professional specialists – architects, town planners, engineers, landscape architects and so on – or even just by the patrons of those professionals. They are created and maintained by the love and care of the people who live and work in a town or city." (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 100)

Civility refers to how a public place is cared for and maintained so that a positive and welcoming ambience is cultivated:

> "Incivilities, or the improper use of public space, are assumed to hold a cumulative and detrimental impact, denying access to and enjoyment of public space facilities (such as park benches and public lavatories) by the respectable majority." (Banister *et al.*, 2006; p. 924)

Madanipour (2004) also refers to the image of a public place that should not be marked by litter and decay so that it conveys a negative impression of the place,:

> "…in any case, the result of neglect by public authorities and residents is clear: a public environment that tends to be shabby and dilapidated. This degrades the quality of life in the neighbourhood, contributes to the negative image of an area and undermines the chances of social and economic improvement." (Madanipour, 2004; p. 279)

A key quality here is that the place appears to be cared for. It can be noticed that civility is closely related to the dimension of animation, but also, regarding UK policies for the past decades under the government of New Labour, to the dimensions of control and physical configuration:

> "…in the complex intermingling of social and urban policy which has characterised the government's approach to 'respect' and 'incivility', an important tension is emerging between the attempts to create the 'respectable' city, centred around policies of zero tolerance towards anti-social behaviour and the physical restructuring of urban space to create boulevards, plazas and gentrified enclaves, and the 'respectful' city, where

following Sennett (2003, p. 52), we take "the needs of others seriously". (Banister *et al.*, 2006; p. 920)

This is the most difficult dimension to delineate. Civility is another 'slippery term', which had been loosely defined in both the academic and policy literature (Banister *et al.*, 2006). The concept of 'civility' is understood more than often as a respectful way of interacting with other members of 'the public':

> "While consideration of others in interpersonal relations, manners, politeness, and "proper" deportment are central to the study of civility, the concept has been extended, especially in the political sphere, to encompass civility in the conduct of public and civic affairs, and the conduct in discourse on policies and programmes for the commonweal of communities and states." (Ferriss, 2002; p. 377)

There is a distinct tension in the dimension of civility related to the fragile balance between an 'ordered' and a 'controlled' public. Kohn (2004; p. 3) highlights this core tension between commentators calling for "... more civility and vigorous enforcement of community norms in the form of policing and laws against begging and loitering ..." and others "... arguing that the vitality of public space comes from its diversity, heterogeneity, and even its disruptive quality." Lynch and Carr (1979) identified four key public space management tasks, suggesting the close relation between control and civility, seen here as the two complimentary sides of the management of public space:

- Distinguishing between 'harmful' and 'harmless' activities - controlling the former without constraining the latter.
- Increasing the general tolerance toward free use, while stabilising a broad consensus of what is permissible.
- Separating, in time and space, the activities of groups with a low tolerance for each other.
- Providing 'marginal places' where extremely free behaviour can go on with little damage.

Civility thus involves awareness of and respect for other people's use of public space (see Boyd, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006; Banister *et al.* 2006). This requires recognition that freedom of action in public space is a 'responsible' freedom. According to Carr *et al.* (1992, p. 152), it involves "… the ability to carry

out the activities that one desires, to use a place as one wishes but with the recognition that a public space is a shared space". Civility is also necessarily associated with incivility and incivilities, which La Grange *et al.* (1992; p. 312) define as "… low level breaches of community standards that signal an erosion of conventionally accepted norms and values" (see also Ellickson, 1996).

As well as behavioural norms, civility also relates to the maintenance and cleansing regimes employed. Lack of adequate maintenance can precipitate a spiral of decline. As the American academics Wilson and Kelling's (1982; p. 31) broken windows theory of crime prevention contends: "… one unrepaired window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing." Although very influential in policing practices in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, the empirical work undertaken by Harcourt and Ludwig has shown that "there appears to be no good evidence that broken windows policing reduces crime" (Harcourt and Ludwig, 2006, p. 316).

Therefore, civility is understood here as the way a space is kept, cleaned and maintained. It resonates with Francis Tibbalds' (1992) use of the term *after-care*:

> "Looking after towns and cities also includes *after-care* – caring about litter, fly-posting, where cars are parked, street cleansing, maintaining paved surfaces, street furniture, building facades and caring for trees and planting. After - care matters every bit as much as getting the design right in the first place." (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 7)

A dilapidated, dirty and poorly cared for public place will lead to a lesser degree of use and to becoming a 'no go area'. Tibbalds (1992) describes this as following:

> "Lack of maintenance or poor maintenance in the public realm can also significantly harm perceptions of a place. Street furniture and paving materials must be chosen for their robust, enduring qualities, but they must also be looked after. A brick paved street must not be patched with asphalt. Knocked-down bollards should be quickly re-erected. Graffiti must be quickly cleaned off or painted out." (Tibbalds, 1992; p. 74)

3.6.2 Degrees of publicness according to civility

Civility's 'more public' situation corresponds to an environment that looks pristine, tidy, in a good state of repair, with well-maintained greenery. It is nevertheless acknowledged that an over-management of public places could lead to sterile

environments that could deter users because they are 'too clean' and 'too organised'. Nevertheless, the quality and amount of lighting at night can influence a site's publicness, especially those public places that are meant to be used on a 24 hour basis. A key element included in civility is the presence of public toilets, both a prerequisite for the cleanliness of the environment and for attracting users from different age categories that are more sensitive to this, for example children and the elderly.

The 'less public' situations are where places are either over-managed or under-managed (Carmona, 2010a). Carmona (2010a; p. 125) observes how many critics, particularly practice-based critics, focus on what they see as under-management, painting a picture of "… a rubbish strewn, poorly designed and insecure public realm." Attributing under-management to a series of causes, he categorises its consequences as 'neglected space', 'invaded space', 'exclusionary space', 'segregated space', and 'domestic, third and virtual space'. The response to under-management can be a perverse swing towards over-management, which is also widely criticised in Carmona's categorisation; its consequences are 'privatised space', 'consumption space', 'invented space', and 'scary space'. Because both over - and under-management deter at least some publics, each makes a place less public.

To conclude, the fifth meta-theme of publicness, civility is defined here as:

> **Civility** refers to the overall cleanliness and tidiness of a public place, including those elements that are key in making a public place an inviting and attractive area (bins, green areas, public toilets, etc.).

3.7 Defining an ideal public space as a standard of publicness

Five key dimensions of 'publicness' have been presented, differentiated for the purpose of this theoretical endeavour into five meta-themes: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility (Figure 3.4). Through their synergic interaction, where the sum of all is greater than the parts added together, they create the publicness of public space. They vary from a 'more public' to 'less public' situation (Figure 3.5).
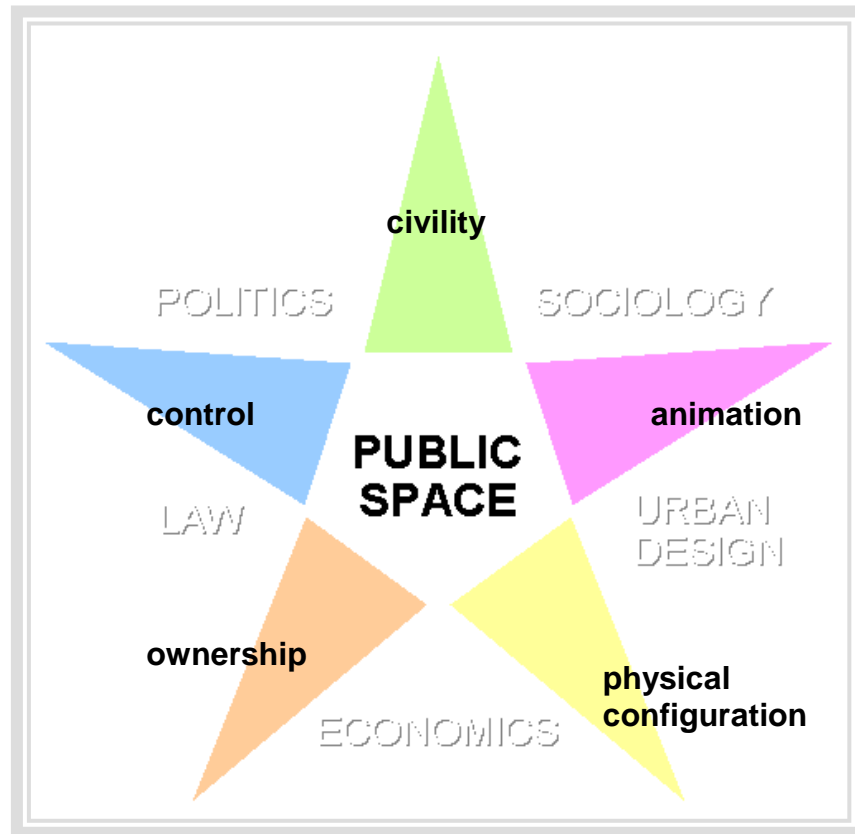
Figure 3.4 The theoretical Star Model of Publicness

More public	-	Less public
Publicly owned space with public use	**OWNERSHIP**	Privately owned space with public use
Well-connected/located within the movement system (i.e. on-the-beaten-track); strong visual connection to external public realm beyond space; without obvious entrances and thresholds; a wide range of supports for a wide range of activities	**PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION**	Poorly connected/located within the movement system (i.e. off-the-beaten-track); poor visual connection with external public realm; with explicit entrances and thresholds; narrow range of supports creating a limited potential for activities
A large and diverse public engaged in a variety of activities	**ANIMATION**	Dead public space: few people engaged in few activities
Free use and a comforting police presence	**CONTROL**	Overt and oppressive control presence - human and electronic surveillance; highly visible security presence
Cared-for; well-kempt; inviting	**CIVILITY**	Untidy, vandalised, dirty and uninviting

Figure 3.5 Descriptors of 'more public' and 'less public' for each meta-dimension

Public ownership of a site means that the place is 'owned', in a way, by all members of the society and is, in principle, open to all members of 'the public', no matter how one defines that public. It means that decisions about its use and accessibility are subject to some form of public accountability. Public ownership creates the potential for all members of the public to be present in a public place. High connectivity and visual permeability enable greater access into a public place, while specific elements of design support different activities, responding to different needs of people in public places. The absence of oppressive control allows for a freer and therefore more diverse use of a public place. A more civil place – one that is well lit, clean, green and inviting, will attract a greater number and diversity of users. A more animated place, where a variety of activities are performed by a large and diverse public will also designate a more public place. Therefore in this research public space is defined as:

> *the concept referring to all public areas, that are publicly owned by democratically elected bodies, well connected in the surrounding urban grid and designed according to principles that foster activity and social interaction, used by a large and diverse public in a variety of ways, controlled in an non oppressive manner and characterised by an inviting and tidy atmosphere.*

The definition illustrates the common understanding found by the researcher of what constitutes a 'very public' public place today in the UK and in the Western world generally. In other words, this can be understood as an ideal public space, illustrating a standard of publicness that all public places should strive to attain, and in relation to which they can be measured potentially. It should be noted though that the over management of public places (Carmona et al, 2008) can lead to sterile and deserted urban landscapes. These public places give the impression of being 'too clean' and therefore deter potential users from appropriating them.

Many statements on the existence, quality and even the dissolution of 'public space' imply that the notion of an 'ideal public space' has always existed, informing the creation of real public places. When referring to an 'ideal' of public space, the example often used in most writings is the Greek *agora* (Madanipour, 2003; Carr *et al.,* 1992; Mitchell, 1995). This could not be used though as a

standard for the publicness of new public places as it was created in a completely different time period, with a different conceptualisation of what publicness is. The American Geographer Don Mitchell (1995) points out that in the agora, freedom of speech was only allowed for the male Athenian citizens, with at least three generations of ancestors of Athenian origin and denied to women, slaves and foreigners. Today, slavery has long been abolished, human rights are (or at least are supposed to be) guaranteed in many Anglo-Saxon and Western societies, women have gained equal rights to men while globalisation, immigration and the 'visitor economy' bring 'strangers' into cities every day.

Looking for other historical ideals of public space in the literature, another example was found, closer to contemporary realities - the Palais-Royal, in Paris during the French Revolution. The American historian Darrin McMahon (1996) argues for the importance of this public place for the radical change in the political situation at the end of 18th century in France:

> "For not only the Palais Royal serve as an immediate staging ground for many of the events of the Revolution, but in a broader sense, it was one of the first pieces of France that French men and women claimed as their own (…) as the property of the nation." (McMahon, 1996; p. 2)

The re-development plan for this space, already playing a key role for many Parisians in the pre-revolutionary period, has opened it to more diverse social categories and brought different *publics* together. Together with the members of the aristocracy that had used the Palais as a place for promenade, "…there comingled a new, expanded public" (McMahon, 1996, p. 18). Access was allowed to everyone except drunkards and those dressed indecently, and even though it is doubtful that a true social mix was realized, the creation of places for the entertainment of all social groups brought a more diverse range of users and uses. As such, the animation and control dimensions of this space can be considered as rating fairly high. In terms of physical configuration, the design of the public place attracted a variety of users and supported a diversity of uses while the overall tidiness of the place was maintained at high standards. In terms of ownership, even though the place was owned by a member of the aristocracy, the use of it by the people of Paris for over a century gave them "the right of usufructuary":

> "In such instances, the historical rights of the public took precedence over those of the individual – be he, no less, a prince of blood." (McMahon, 1996, p. 12)

From this short analysis, it can be inferred that the publicness of this famous Parisian place was relatively high:

> "Once the exclusive preserve of the rich, the Palais-Royale had become, by the late spring of 1789, a truly public forum – a place of the people – open to all." (McMahon, 1996, p. 25)

Looking at these two examples, the Greek agora and the French Palais-Royal, it is important to understand that the publicness of a public place is a historical reality - it can be analysed only at a certain point in time, like a snapshot. As such, neither of them was considered appropriate for defining a standard of publicness for contemporary public places and therefore the researcher needed to delineate, based on the literature available, what an ideal public space means today, in the Western world. This ideal is first and foremost a mental construct and its existence can be justified in two main ways. First, considering the complex relation between human rights and public space, public space can be seen as a political ideal; as such, it becomes an important standing point for all groups fighting for inclusion and human rights:

> "As ideological constructions, however, ideals like "the public", public space, and the public sphere take on double importance. Their very articulation implies a notion of inclusiveness that becomes a rallying point for successive waves of political activity. […] By calling on the rhetoric of inclusion and interaction that the public sphere and the public space are meant to represent, excluded groups have been able to argue for their rights as part of the active public." (Mitchell, 2003; p. 133)

The American scholars Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) reinforce this point and argue for the conceptual nature of the ideal public space, and stress its importance as something to aspire towards when social groups fight for expression and representation in the public arena:

> "One argument is that public space is only ever an ideal, something to be struggled toward. As such, the substance of those ideals – what is being struggled for – is political."(Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008, p. 119)

Second, as with any ideal, it needs to exist to provide an exemplary model to aspire to, setting up a standard for more public, public places to be created. In this respect, the ideal public space will be transformed in a tool to measure real public places.

3.8 The interaction of the five dimensions of publicness: Access and Power

The delineation of these five meta-themes, as pointed out before, is mainly a logical exercise; in reality they interact all the time and are deeply interrelated. It was already shown how control and ownership are interrelated, how physical configuration and animation work together and how control and civility are the two sides of the management of a public space. All the meta-themes interact in complex ways and create the publicness of a public place. Their interaction will be tackled in more detail in the following paragraphs under two headings: access and power.

3.8.1 Access

Several writers identify open and free access as a key characteristic of public space; Margaret Kohn (2004) places accessibility, along with ownership and inter-subjectivity at the core of public space definition while Sharon Zukin (1995) finds as key characteristics for 'urban public space', "…proximity, diversity and accessibility". In this context, Madanipour, using Ben and Gaus's (1983) model of analysing public space, considers *access*, next to *agency* and *interest*, as fundamental for understanding public space. When discussing the process of transforming Copenhagen's urban environment and the improvements in the city's public realm, the Danish urbanists Gehl and Gemzøe (1999), assert that accessibility is one of the key qualities of the new public places:

> "It is a very important quality that the urban spaces of Copenhagen are public and democratic, and allow access to all groups in the population." (Gehl and Gemzøe ,1999; p. 67)

In the Star Model of Publicness, the accessibility of a public place is seen as a resultant of a high level of publicness and as such, access is understood as imbedded in the meaning of the five meta-themes (Figure 3.6). If a place is owned by a public body, democratically elected then it is *de facto* open to all members of the public. If there is a high level of animation, with a large number of different activities being performed by a high number of users, it means that a large part of the public considers the place as accessible. At the same time, a large number of people combined with an unobtrusive police presence contributes to creating a

general feeling of safety which also will determine higher accessibility[2]. If the place is physically configured so that is well connected with the surroundings by crossing points, public walkways and cycle routes, then it will allow a greater number of users in the site. If the public place is tidy, clean and attractive then again it will be characterised by a greater accessibility, as more people will be disposed to use it.
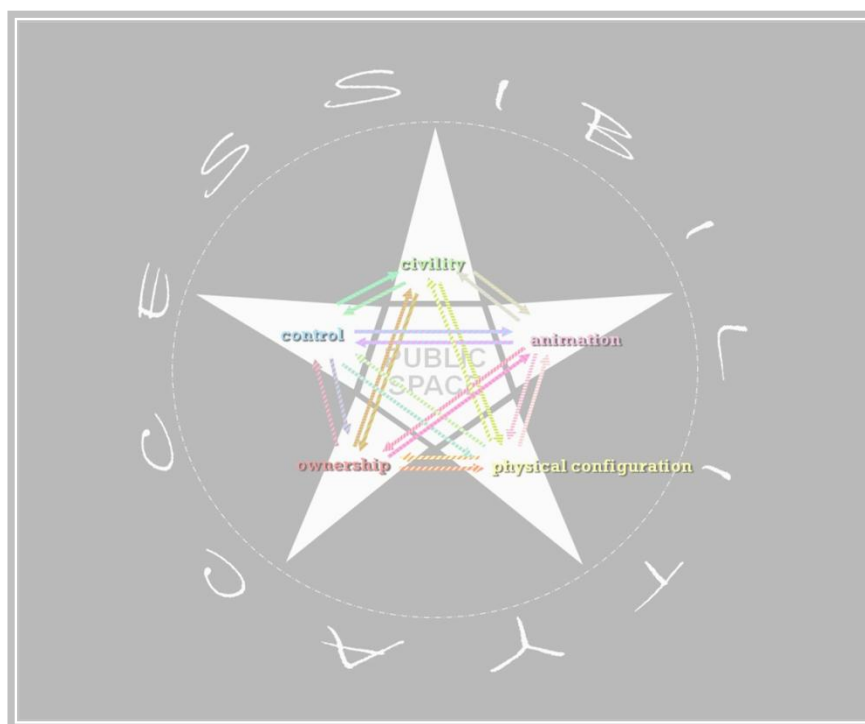
Figure 3.6 The synergic interaction among the five meta-themes of public space resulting in accessibility

Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) identify three types of access: 'statutory access', 'physical access' and 'mental' or 'psychological access'. Their distinction is employed in this thesis as following:

- The first type 'statutory access' refers to access "established through property relationships" (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008; p. 116). As such, a space is closed or open to the public according to the statutory regulations established for it. This meaning of access is included in the ownership meta-dimension which reflects the understanding of public space as a legal entity.

---

[2] It is supported here that the lack of police presence shows a well-designed and successful public place while the presence of a large number of policemen indicates that there is a need for the control presence

- The second type refers to physical access which Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) have conceptualised as including both the physical barring of access to a place but also the feeling of accessibility, how one perceives a place as accessible or not:

  > "It is also a matter *how* one enters a space, even if not physically barred from it. In this sense, access is conditioned by feelings of receptivity, of welcome, of comfort (or by the lack of all three things)." (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008; p.116)

  In this analysis, physical access, referring to the presence of actual barriers, gates and fences that prevent people from entering a place, has been included in the physical configuration dimension. On another hand, as stated previously, people perceive public places in different ways. Therefore a public place can seem inviting and accessible to one person but not to another. If a place is perceived as accessible (or not) by different members of the general public relates to the subjective perceptions of publicness and can be researched in a deductive manner, not undertaken in this study (as presented in Chapter 1).

- The third level of understanding access refers to the way people behave in a certain public setting. This is implied in the animation and civility meta - themes of publicness. If there is a large number of people and a high diversity of users, engaged in various activities, it means that a large proportion of the public perceives that place as accessible. A clean and inviting site will also show a high level of accessibility as people are generally attracted to using such places. By contrast, if a place is fairly empty, poorly maintained and not well lit then this can have a negative impact on psychological access; many users will be deterred from entering and using such a place.

To conclude this section, it can be stated that although initially access was considered as one of the key meta-themes of publicness, subsequently it was decided that this is imbedded in the meaning of the other five meta-themes. Therefore, the accessibility of a public place was considered here as a resultant of the five different meta-themes that create a site's publicness.

3.8.2 Power

If accessibility can be understood a resultant of the interaction of the meta-themes of publicness, these meta-themes can be seen as linked by and as a reflection of power, a crucial concept to understanding public space:

> "…we need to understand the power relationships that operate in public space. By controlling space, individuals and groups create the power to shape other relationships, including relations between people who aspire to be included in the public." (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008; p. xxiii)

There are two mainly different conceptions of power – *power over* something *and power to* do something, explained by the Australian scholar Kim Dovey (1999). *Power over* can be seen in a negative light, as it is the force by which several individuals try to influence and shape the actions and behaviours of many. *Power to* appears in a positive light, as the linking force that brings people together and leads in the long run to development and progress. It is a force resulting from social interaction that acts as a social adhesive, enabling different people, groups or organizations to come together and make decisions for the benefit of all. In this view, power is seen as dispersed and no longer centralized. It's a Foucauldian point of view that complements Hannah Arendt's and Max Weber's conception that "power is never power in general, but always power of a particular kind" (Allen, 2006, p. 2). Power can be understood in many forms, as authority, seduction, manipulation or coercion (Allen, 2006; Dovey, 1999).

The five meta-themes of publicness can be seen as both *power over* and *power to* (Figure 3.7). The meta-theme of control is the one most obviously related to the concept of power. The different methods of control in public space can be seen as a form of *power over,* as authoritative measures, imposing certain restrictions. Ownership can also be understood as *power over* the stock of land, the physical realm. When it is the case of public ownership the local authorities can be hold accountable for what happens in a certain public place. When a public place is owned by a private actor, he or she can impose his own rules and regulations which can lead to the infringement of certain rights that people should have in public space and as such impose a more authoritarian form of control. Animation and civility can be seen as *power to* do something together– the force that links actions, actors and circumstances in creating positive outcomes.
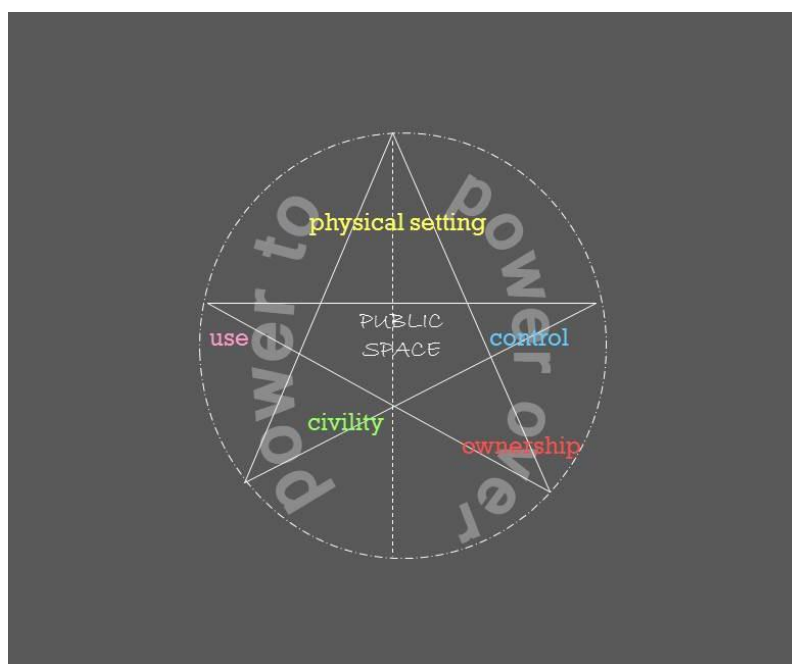
Figure 3.7 Power and public space

Regarding animation, the co-presence in a public place of diverse users, enhances the potential for social interaction and leads to a more vibrant and rich public life. Regarding civility, a tidy and well maintained public place can be realised only through the cooperation of different agencies but also with the participation of the general public. Physical configuration can be seen as reflecting both types of power; when a space is designed with the involvement of the public and towards fostering a high level of animation it can be seen as *power to,* as co-operation. When measures of control are imbedded in the physical design of a public place with the aim of controlling behaviours and excluding certain groups of people, physical configuration can be seen as *power over*. In this respect, different types of power appear; the use of sadistic street furniture can be seen as a matter of coercion but when ambient power is imbedded in the built environment, as in the case of the Sony Plaza in Berlin (Allen, 2006), it is a matter of seduction.

The above discussion of power leads to another key aspect of the public space debate: the relation between public space and public freedom. It has been mentioned briefly in the previous sections the importance of the concept of 'freedom' for the analysis of public space. The distinction between individual and public freedom is important because they have different starting points. Individual

freedom comes from "…the property of some separate inner self" (Mensch, 2007; p. 34) which is characteristic to any human being and which allows us to "…step back from the world and accept its determinations" (Mensch, 2007; p. 33). Public freedom, on the other hand, is defined by Hannah Arendt (quoted in Mensch, 2007; p. 34) as "deeds and words which are meant to appear, whose very existence hinges on appearances" and is rooted in the psychological understanding of the human as a social being. Public space is therefore the key part of the built environment where one can appear in the world and can crystallize these 'appearances' through "deeds and words". In this respect, in a very public, public place both individual freedom and public freedom need to coexist in equilibrium. This acquires a new level of meaning in the context of the current trend of 'taming' public places by creating 'sanitised' areas where spectacle is carefully staged and individuality is subordinated:

> "The greater the ambitions of those who hold power to supply a certain kind of harmonious social environment, the greater will be the pressures on individuality and against variations in divisive individual expression." (Nagel, 1995; p. 97)

This is not the time and place for a more ample discussion on the complex notions of 'power' and 'freedom' but they are fundamental concepts for understanding public space. A democratic society is based on the separation of power in the hands of different actors. Ideally understood today as the quintessential space for the democratic life of a community, public space is a reflection of power relations and in turn, the place where these can be overturned, by public protest.

3.9 Conclusions

As an answer for the question at hand here, *what makes a public space, public?*, the term 'publicness' has been employed here as an umbrella-term comprising those key characteristics that are key in conceptualising public space. It was found out that these can be grouped in five dimensions or meta-themes of publicness ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility This chapter has been concerned first with detailing each of them and presenting their variation from a 'more public 'to a 'less public' situation. Following this, a definition for the ideal public space was found, which offers a standard for the publicness of recently created public places in the Western world. It was argued that the

differentiation of the meta-themes is mainly a logical exercise as in reality there are fuzzy boundaries between them. Two main concepts that link the meta-themes were discussed in the last part of the chapter, access and power.

After conceptualising publicness as a cultural reality and defining a standard for the publicness of new public places, the next step was to understand this as a historical reality. First, it was aimed to understand how public places were produced in different time periods according to different principles and reflecting different ideas and ideals of publicness. Second, it was intended to grasp the process of the physical production of public places, today, in the Western world generally and the UK in particular – the land and real estate development process. These issues are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC SPACE AS A HISTORICAL REALITY

4.1 Introduction

4.2 A historical view on public space; from ancient cities to modern planning

4.3 A contemporary view on public space; from utopian plans to negotiation and power struggles

4.4 The land and real estate development process and public space – stages, actors, outcomes

4.5 Conclusions

4.1 Introduction

So far the thesis has aimed to understand the publicness of public space A cultural reality, today, in the Western world. This chapter follows with an insight into the historical nature of publicness. Each public place is created as part of the larger urban development fabric which means that at a certain point in time its publicness is influenced in general by the historical context that governed the production of that built environment and in particular by the social actors that were involved in its construction. The chapter starts by presenting a short history of public space creation. It then moves on to detail the post 2ndWW changes in Western cities, especially in the UK, describing how planning emerged as the practice of building better human environments than otherwise would be created. The current debates in planning and urban design show that better developments are created when consensus is reached among the different parties involved in the production of a certain place. After presenting the current debates in planning and urban design theory, attention will be paid to the different actors involved in the land development process. At this point, the chapter returns to the concept of power and shows how this plays a pivotal role in the production of the built environment and public places. The chapter will be concluded with a discussion on the particularities of public space creation; it will be shown how publicness is a socially constructed entity and how this has influenced the present research.

4.2 A historical view on public space; from ancient cities to modern planning

There are many different theories on the birth of urban settlements but the general consensus often links this major change in human history to economic reasons – the storage of food surplus, military reasons – the defensive needs of settlements to face enemy attacks or religious reasons – the desire to please the gods by erecting structures such as pyramids and ziggurats that became the centres of many ancient cities. From the first cities developed in the Indus Valley, Nile Valley and Mesopotamia (LeGates and Stout eds., 2003; p. 21) to the present day world when more than 50% of the population lives in cities[1], the story of human development is deeply intertwined with the evolution of these complex forms of social organisations. At the same time as cities were created, public places appeared naturally in response to different human needs. Streets and roads were built to facilitate transport, marketplaces to stage commercial activities, temples to perform religious functions. As discussed before, in the Western world the most prominent ancient public places were the Greek agora and the Roman forum. Compared to many of the ancient cities in the Middle and Far East, built as a reflection of autocratic forms of government, the Greeks created their cities based on the concepts of democracy and equal participation in the life of the *polis*:

> "It was the concept of urban citizenship and democratic self-government that was the distinctive contribution of the Greeks to the evolution of urban civilization." (LeGates and Stout eds., 2003; p. 22)

As pointed out in Chapter 3, this was not a perfect democratic model and the *agora*, the focal point of the Greek social life, denied women, foreigners and slaves the right to participate in the political arena. The agora did not only have a solely political role but also functioned as a marketplace and this purpose did not refuse the presence of these politically underrepresented categories of the population (Carmona *et. al.*, 2008; Madanipour, 2003). Other social activities, such as the performance of spectacles and festivities gave the opportunity to all the city dwellers to access and be present in this public place. As such, the *agora* "…was a place in which economic, political and cultural activities were performed alongside each other, acting as an integrative platform for the social life of the city"

---

[1]http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21405637~pagePK:64257043~piP K:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html

(Madanipour, 2003; p. 194). Several characteristics of today's public space creation have been therefore inherited from the Greek agora: the idea that a public place should be a stage for active debate and interaction among the members of the public, the presence of mixed uses and activities and also "…the aesthetic qualities of public space giving rise to pleasure" (Carmona *et al.*, 2008; p. 24). It can be seen that, in relation to the previous discussion of publicness in Chapter 3, these characteristics of the ancient agora resonate with several fundamental traits of publicness. This can be a reason why although the *de facto* application of the principles of democracy in the ancient agora were contradictory to current debates on inclusion, feminism and multiculturalism, this public place has remained a recurrent theme in the public space literature and is often mentioned as an ideal of publicness.

The Romans' greatest contribution to city building was a more planned approach – the roads and aqueducts they built are still the basis of Europe's contemporary transport system. This was reflected into the creation of a wide network of public places, well integrated in the urban fabric and staging commercial, cultural, religious and political functions (Carmona *et al.,* 2008). Among these, was the archetypal forum, hosting a variety of mixed uses (Mumford, 1961), similar to the Greek agora, and designed according to rigorous principles theorised by the famous Roman architect Vitruvius in the first century BC as described below:

> "In inland cities, the forum was to be placed at the centre of the city, while in seaside cities it had to be right next to the port (Vitruvius, 1999, I, 6, p.31). Temples and other public places were to be adjoined next to the forum and the senate house, in particular, and built so as 'to enhance the dignity of the town or city' (Vitruvius, 1999, V, 2, p. 65)." (Madanipour, 2003; p. 195)

The careful integration of a public place in the surrounding urban network is still considered key in contemporary urban design (as it was discussed in the physical configuration dimension in the previous chapter). Apart from this, the Romans also understood the potential that the design of public places can have on impressing the image of authority, be it state or religious authority, on 'the public':

> "Examples of this are the strong symbolism of the state and religion in Roman piazzas, where surrounding buildings contained the senate and temple, accompanied by monuments and statues. This is a tradition that continued in towns and cities through to today." (Carmona *et al.*, 2008; p. 25)

This issue has been touched upon in the previous discussion on control and power in relation to publicness and it will be discussed again later in this chapter in relation to the current public space production practices. Even though the importance of religion has diminished significantly in the Western world today and authoritarian regimes have been replaced with democratic ones, control is still one of the key dimensions that determine the publicness of public places (see Chapter 3).

In the Middle Ages, religion played a significant role in the life of towns and cities as they underwent a period of significant decline. Most of the times the only public place was in front of the church which functioned also as a market on a weekly basis (Carmona *et al.*, 2008). The medieval urban public space landscape was dominated by three elements: the religious space for congregation, under the control of the church, the marketplace, under the control of the guilds and the street. The first urban civic squares were developed in this historical period from small marketplaces, such as Piazza San Marco in Venice (Carr *et al.,* 1992, p. 55). These were to evolve into the majestic plazas in the following Renaissance period. Although the marketplace and the church were key pillars for the life of the medieval urban settlements, the fundamental public space of this historical period was the street:

> "In the Middle Ages it was the street – tortuous, dirty, crowded – and not the public space identified with the church or the castle or market, that was the centre of economic and social life. The street was the place of work, the place of buying and selling, the meeting and negotiating, and the scene of the important religious and civic ceremonies and processions." (Jackson, 1984 in Glazer and Lilla eds., 1987; p. 289)

The medieval street can therefore be considered the most influential addition of the Middle Ages for the evolution of public space. Carmona *et al.* (2008) point out that in the enclosed urban medieval settlements, the streets gained two qualities that can be argued to have permeated the principles of public space creation until today. On one hand, these public places were more inclusive and allowed for more universal access as the city dwellers found a new sense of egalitarianism in the face of permanent outside threats. On the other hand, the winding, narrow streets of the medieval city led to a more unpredictable and thrilling experience of urban life. Comparing the medieval city with a tapestry, Lewis Mumford (1961) advocated

that the experience of the medieval urban life was made up from a variety of small, unexpected experiences in a similar way that the eye can only see a series of details and cannot behold the whole complexity of the woven pattern at the same time.

Both of these important traits of publicness gain a raised importance in the creation of new public places today, said to be under threat by increased measure of control but also by the designing of 'sanitised landscapes' geared towards eliminating the unplanned encounter with the 'other' (Stevens and Dovey, 2004). The writings of Jane Jacobs (1961) and William H Whyte (1980), promoting the diversity and vibrancy of the street and of the 'small urban spaces', echo the importance of the qualities of the medieval urban street, in the contemporary cities. However, in the current day and age, the question remains whether this quality of the medieval public space can be designed and implemented or whether it can only grow naturally, as a result of the city's evolution. The words of Camillo Sitte from the nineteenth century seem to be valid today as much as then:

> "It is strange that the really wildly irregular plazas of old towns often do not look bad at all, while an irregular corner in a modern layout invariably appears very unattractive. This is due to the fact that the irregularity of old planning is almost always of a kind that one notices only on paper, overlooking it in reality; and the reason for this is that old planning was not conceived on the drafting board, but instead developed gradually *in natura*, allowing for all that the eye notices *in natura* and treating with indifference that which would be apparent only on paper…" (Sitte, 1889, in Glazer and Lilla, eds. 1987; p. 58)

The Renaissance and Baroque periods constituted a return to the classical principles of beauty and symmetry. These are exemplified by the first urban symmetrical plan, of the Sforzinda by Filarete in Italy, in the fifteen century (Madanipour, 2003; p.199) and by the first Parisian planned square – the Place Royal, today Place des Vosges in 1605 (Carmona *et al.*, 2008; p. 26).The most famous public places of this time were the new civic squares:

> "As authorities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became increasingly conscious of the possibility of planning urban space, a number of spacious public squares were created, often with the surrounding buildings planned to provide a uniform frame for the monument in the centre." (Leith, 1991; p. 6)

These new developments marked a clear and important advancement in the evolution of urban public space from the previous forms that grew in a natural way as organic parts of the city's body:

> "The great plazas of the Renaissance, carefully planned and formally designed, were a departure from the more organic, naturally evolving public spaces of the Middle Ages." (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. 55)

And:

> "Public squares in French and other European cities are now so much a part of the urban landscape that we are apt to forget that their advent was an important stage in the history of urbanism. Medieval cities grew up in a haphazard fashion in which open spaces were often accidental rather than the result of conscious planning." (Leith, 1991; p. 6)

In the New World, the colonists brought with them the principles and practices of city making from Western Europe. Both the newly founded Spanish and English colonial urban settlements were based on a central square or commons from which the city radiated in all directions. On a virtually empty landscape, the newly built cities were designed in an opposite fashion to the complicated and unsystematic European counterparts; they were based on a linear grid pattern, enclosing a central as well as lateral squares. The first of these plans was devised by Penn and Holmes in 1682 for Philadelphia, which became the norm for most North American cities (Carr *et al.*, 1992).

The revolutionary wave that swept Europe in the eighteenth century showed that the relation of power and public space can affect public life in ways not conceived before. The public places designed to show the authority of the ruling, aristocratic classes were now the stage of protest for those unsatisfied categories of the population (Leith, 1991). The new large boulevards designed for different purposes, such as to better facilitate commercial activities or to permit an easier movement of military troops allowed for a much more visible display of the rich to the poor and showed in a much clearer way the great divide that existed in the pre-modern society between the various social categories:

> "These new boulevards that emerged throughout Europe – culminating in Haussmann's nineteenth-century redesign of Paris – frequently became major gathering points for people of all classes (Girouard, 1985). At the same time, in many places dissociation occurred, with the rich driving back and forth on the boulevards in the carriages, and the poor relegated on the gutter or, eventually the sidewalk (Mumford, 1961, p. 370)." (Carr *et al.*,1992; p. 58).

This once again shows that there is a very fragile balance between the concept of *publicness* and the concept of *power*. A public place can be at any time under the control of a certain social group, appropriating it to express dissatisfaction with a certain state of affairs (as it was discussed in Chapter 3)

Due to this shifting character of publicness in time, but also across cultural landscapes, it is proposed here that the publicness of a public place can be assessed only in very specific temporal and geographical coordinates. This short inquiry into the historical evolution of public space shows that as there are overarching themes that describe public space at a certain moment in time, there are also commonalities on the historical scale. By looking at the broader history of city making in the Western world, it can also be seen how key events from the past have had striking effects on the current urban landscape. In the modern era, the industrial revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century and the two world wars in the twentieth century have brought more dramatic changes to the urban landscape than ever before. This will be detailed in the following section.

4.3 A contemporary view on public space; from utopian plans to negotiation and power struggles

The industrial revolution had a major impact on all aspects of city living. The fast increase in population coupled with the developments in technology and scientific research led to overly populated, highly polluted cities. At the same time, the formation of the urban working class and the electoral reforms that gave the newcomers the right to vote put new pressures on the old ruling classes to satisfy the needs of the growing and more diverse urban population. In this context of dramatic urban change, one of the major additions to urban public space was the creation of public parks to reconnect the urbanite with the lost nature of the countryside. Their predecessors were the royal parks, the domain of the aristocratic promenade which restricted universal access for a long period of time. In England, for example, universal access was granted only in the early nineteenth century (Carmona *et al.*, 2008; p. 29). The first public parks appeared in Germany in the 1820s (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. 62) and became a common site in most cities in

Europe as well as in America. A parallel phenomenon of rapid increase and great diversification of the urban population characterised the New World which led to the development of many parks and playgrounds during the so called Reform movement of the nineteenth and twentieth century (Carr *et al.*, 1992). The provision of these new public parks was part of a broader, more coherent movement to actively intervene in the design and building of cities. The overall aim was to improve the quality of life and health of city dwellers, which suffered a steep decline in the industrial age. The most illustrious figure of this large scale development of the American public space landscape was Frederik Law Olmsted. The unhealthy conditions of the industrial city on mainland Europe, determining a life expectancy in 1860 in London of 26 years and in Liverpool of 17 years, made Olmsted promote and implement the necessity of creating public parks in the cities of the New World (Starr, 1984 in Glazer and Lilla, eds. 1987). His vision of the public park is rendered below:

> "We want, especially, the greatest possible contrast with the restraining and confining conditions of the town, those conditions which compel us to walk circumspectly, watchfully, jealously, which compel us to look closely upon others without sympathy. Practically, what we want most is a simple, broad, open space of clean greensward, with sufficient play of surface and a sufficient number of trees about it to supply a variety of light and shade." (Olmsted, 1870, in Glazer and Lilla, 1987; p. 245)

Olmsted's legacy, even though criticised for its emphasis on aestheticism and lack of functional principles, can be seen today in the in the many parks and recreation facilities built in cities all over the world. The post 1960s regeneration of urban industrial waterfronts, to be discussed in Chapter 6, emphasising the creation of leisure and entertainment spaces can also be traced back in time to this period of great concern with the quality of urban life. Apart from the idea of the beautification of the city, other issues which arose during the creation of these first parks areof a similar importance today. Writing about his experience of participating in the creation of New York's first park, Central Park, Olmsted pointed out concerns such as the provision of land for public use, the need for gathering both political and financial support, the importance of accessibility and connectivity of the public place with the surrounding urban fabric or the concern that a large public place would allow for criminal behaviours to flourish and it would become an unsafe part of the city (Olmsted, 1870, in Glazer and Lilla, 1987). All these appear as critical

issues in the recent regeneration of post-industrial waterfronts, as will be shown in Chapter 6.

Olmsted's public places were part of the larger City Beautiful movement of American cities:

> "This movement put America's new industrial wealth on display, with great civic buildings – city halls, libraries, museums and courthouses – often placed on carefully landscaped boulevards, such as Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin Parkway. Although City Beautiful was very much a product of the industrial age, its goal was to bring classical beauty into an urban scene that was rejected as being chaotic and untidy." (Carr *et al.*, 1992; p. 59)

The authors above show that, as in the case of Olmsted's parks, the City Beautiful Movement was criticised for its emphasis on form and aesthetics and ignored dealing with more pressing urban problems such as overcrowding, high densities, housing needs and poor infrastructure. We should consider though the context in which this movement appeared, as a reaction to the bleak reality of the industrial city and what better reminder is to us than the vivid description of the archetypal industrial city by Charles Dickens in his famous novel *Hard Times*, first published in 1854 (Figure 4.1).

.

> *"It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but as matters stood, it was a town of unnatural red and black like the painted face of a savage. It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. It contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and to-morrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next."(Dickens, 1990, p. 22)*

Figure 4.1 The industrial city as described by Charles

Faced with such a harsh urban reality, many visionaries at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century wanted to replace the grim and unhealthy urban landscape of the industrial age with idealistic plans for a better world. Burnham and Bennet's plan for Chicago or Frank Lloyd's Wright 'Broadacres' in America were paralleled in Europe by Ebezener Howard's 'Garden City' and LeCorbusier's 'Radiant City'. These were all comprehensive, top-down approaches to city building. Although impractical and often criticised for their idealism, they constitute the birth of modern planning and they had a great impact on the post 1945 rebuilding of Europe's war scarred cities. As such, the principles of planning after the 2nd World War were based on physical design and the creation of blueprints or masterplans, within a framework of zoning that laid out a clear distinction between the different areas of the city. The industrial, polluting areas were segregated from the commercial and the residential parts of the modern city in an attempt to create a cleaner and healthier environment

Most cities affected by the war bombings pursued large scale measures of rebuilding the housing stock and infrastructure. Many of the old industrial slums were torn down to make room for the newly built neighbourhoods but with so many pressing problems to solve, public space was not on the main agenda of city re-building. This type of physical planning was rapidly criticised in the 1950s and 1960s for its narrow vision of shaping the urban environment based only on aesthetic and physical design principles:

> "What planners lacked and what planning theory had failed to provide, was an adequate empirical understanding of the world they were seeking to manipulate. More than anything, this explained the failures of planning in practice in the two decades following the Second World War, and it also explained the deficiencies in the planning theories which guided this practice." (Taylor, 1998; p. 55)

The physical approach of the post war years was replaced in the 1960s and 1970s with the view of cities as complex systems and in this context, planners tried to understand the intricate pattern of the urban environment, based on a more rational approach. Physical planning was complemented by economic and social planning, a broadening of the field that led to an important change for the role of the planner in the development of the urban sites:

> "This was a significantly different way of examining and assessing development proposals from that which had been typically undertaken by

planners who viewed planning largely in terms of design and aesthetics. It suggested the need for a new kind of planner altogether, one who was trained in analysing and understanding how cities and regions functioned spatially in economic and social terms – a planner, that is trained in economic geography or the social sciences rather than architecture or surveying." (Taylor, 1998; p. 63)

The optimism and energy of the modernist planners in the first half of the twentieth century, expressed in their visionary plans and logical models of city building were translated in the urban reality into a landscape of high rise housing estates and motorways that destroyed much of the traditional urban fabric and with little emphasis on public places. This led to a large number of protests sweeping across British cities in the 1960s which contributed to a major change in the planning paradigm. Planners were no longer seen as the all-powerful designers of the environment, in charge with the provision of a vision for the future of society as a whole. Instead, they were considered as part of the broader social network, as *negotiators* between those with the political and economic power who implement development and the large public, who consumes it. This resulted in viewing planning as a collaborative endeavour – the building of the city was no more the vocation of the few but it could only be achieved through clear communication and a joint effort among all actors involved in the development process.

"A tradition of planning theory has emerged, therefore, which views the town planner's role as one of identifying and mediating between different interests groups involved in land development. The town planner is viewed not so much as a technical expert (i.e. as someone who possesses some superior skill to plan towns), but more as a' facilitator' of other people's views about how a town, or part of a town, should be planned." (Taylor, 1998; p. 162)

The implications for the research of this current paradigm in the building of cities is that public places, as integrated parts of the urban tapestry, are build today as a collaboration enterprise among the various actors that are involved in the development of a project. As a result, the publicness of a public place can be seen not only as a static phenomenon, as a synergic relationship among the five meta-themes identified in the previous chapter, but also as a socially constructed reality. The publicness of a certain urban site can be seen as a result of the various decisions made in the development process, being highly influenced by the frictions, compromises and negotiations among the different development actors. Therefore, the next part of this chapter will look more closely at the characteristics

of the land development process and at the different categories of actors that are involved in the production of places. Before this, two other issues that highly influence the planning system today need to be highlighted – the public's participation and the sustainability paradigm.

In the 1970s, planning started to be seen as more than just an aesthetic discipline or a social science but also as a political activity. The importance of the public's participation in the decision making process was now seen as key to the success of projects and has remained an influential strand in planning until today. This newly reached understanding of the close relationship between the fields of planning and politics was evident in practice as the New Right came to power and fundamentally changed British society and its built environment. On the larger background of the decline of the old powerful industrial cities that dominated the world, the new culture of entrepreneurialism led to a blurring of the roles of the state and public authorities in the provision and control of urban development. In this context, the planners, the former visionaries and shapers of society found themselves powerless without the support of the market forces. This was the period when the distinction between public and private became a vague delineation and with the diminishing role of the state in the provision of public amnesties, the publicness of new public places started to diminish.

> "…Thatcherism altered the whole culture of planning so that, by the end of the 1980s, planners increasingly saw themselves as partners working with the market and private sector developers. They had little choice to do otherwise, whatever their political views about the role of town planning, for the political context of town planning had changed." (Taylor, 1998; p. 139)

These changes towards a more privatised system of development must be seen in the wider context of the restructuring of cities in the last decades of the twentieth century from centres of production to centres of consumption, on the background of rapid advancement in communication and transport technologies, the globalisation of capital and the formation and expansion of multinational companies (Knox, 1987 in Carmona and Tiesdell, eds., 2007; Gordon and Buck, 2005).

In the 1980s and throughout the 1990s another major paradigm change influenced city building and human society as a whole – the concept of sustainability. The

Bruntland Report, published in1984 and the Rio Summit, held in1992, with the promulgation of the Agenda 21, played a significant role in addressing the growing global concerns for the fast diminishing quality of the natural environment. This had a major influence towards the revival of the concern for urban public places, all over the world, as they can play a major role in the building of the more compact and greener city (see Chapter 1).

In the particular case of the UK, public places acquired a raised importance after New Labour regained power in 1997. The new government placed as a key priority on their agenda the improvement of Britain's degrading former industrial cities. The Urban Task Force, chaired by Lord Rogers published the famous report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999) where a restructuring of the planning system was proposed, incorporating principles of sustainable development and geared towards creating *better urban* places. A wave of regeneration projects were developed across cities in the UK, many of them situating public places at the forefront of the redevelopment of the old industrial areas (see Punter ed., 2010). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

This inquiry into the historical evolution of city building and urban public space shows that the characteristics of public places change across time and are largely influenced by the broader paradigm that governs a society's way of life, in a certain time period. The physical environment, the social structure, the political system, the level of economic development, the dominant aesthetic principles etc. are factors that affect the shape of a city and the publicness of its public places. There appears to be also common themes across history such as the idea of public space as a space for freedom of expression and equality or the close relationship between public space and control. A more in depth study than can be undertaken here could highlight the historical influences in the construction of the current understanding of publicness. What needs to be kept in mind though when analysing the publicness of a public place, is that first, the general background of its development needs to be investigated and second, the particularities of its production process need to be understood. Because today in the Western world, the vehicle of delivering urban sites is the land and real estate development process, its understanding is necessary in order to investigate how public places

are produced in the current period. This is the task of the second part of this chapter.

4.4 The land and real estate development process and public space – stages, actors, outcomes

The literature in the field of public space is unfortunately lacking a coherent description of the practical process of specifically building public places. But as they are part of the broader urban environment, which is created through the land development process, the particularities of this can be helpful in understanding how public places are built.

The development process is most commonly defined as involving "…the combination of various inputs – land, labour, materials and/or finance (capital) – in order to achieve an output or product." (Carmona *et al.* 2003; p. 213). There have been several models proposed to describe it, categorised by Healey (1991, quoted in Adams, 1994) in:

- (a) equilibrium models, deriving directly from neoclassical economics;
- (b) event-sequence models, reflecting an estate management preoccupation with managing the development process;
- (c) agency models, from a behavioural or institutional perspective, that concentrate on actors and their relationships;
- (d) structure models, grounded in urban political economy, identifying forces that determine relationships in, and drive the dynamics of, the development process.

For the purpose of this study, the event sequence and the agency models were considered the most appropriate for understanding the production of public places and as such, they will be detailed in the following paragraphs.

The event – sequence model describes each singular project as part of the larger cycle of land development and has been conceptualised in an graphic manner by Barett *et al.* (1978, in Adams, 1994) in their "development pipeline model" (Figure 4.2.).
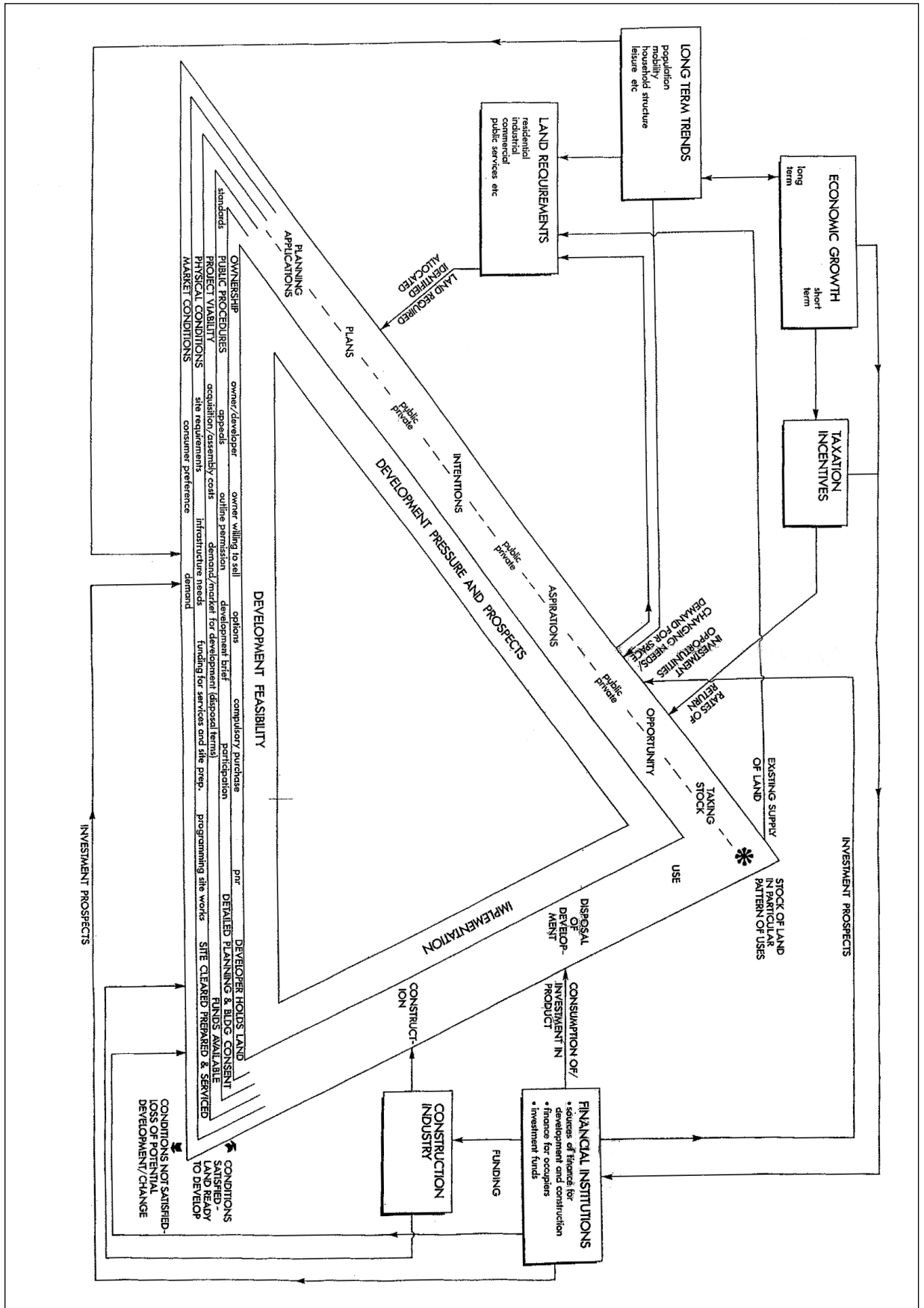
Figure 4.2 The development pipeline (source: Adams, 1994)

Each side of the triangle describes one of the three key stages of the process: development pressure and prospects, development feasibility and implementation. The first stage presents the necessary conditions which need to be met in order for the development of a land parcel to start: taxation incentives, economic growth, long term trends related to population and land requirements, technological achievements etc. (Adams, 1994). In a favourable socio-economic and political context, when an appropriate development proposal and a suitable site meet, and consensus is reached between the public and the private sectors, development starts in the pipeline. A key requirement in this stage is the assembly of the land necessary for the development. In a country such as the UK, where ownership is very fragmented and where much of the land stock is in the hands of private actors, the land assembly, especially for large projects such as the waterfront regeneration ones, is critical for their success. One common way for the public authorities to trigger development of a site is by the process of master planning. Most often a team of designers is employed to create a visionary plan for an entire area. If the planning authority manages to gain the support of the economic actors, the politicians and the approval of the large public, the project usually starts to be built.

The second stage of the development process of a site concerns its feasibility. A project is considered feasible if it meets several requirements (Adams, 1994). The first one is related to ownership and the developer, be it a public authority or a private actor, a single body or a joint venture of development actors, needs to have control over the entire land by the end of this phase. In many countries the public authority can go to the extreme of compulsory purchase if a key project is held back by the refusal to sell of a landowner. A second condition is related to the approval of a planning application by the planning authorities. In many countries, such as the Netherlands or France, planning is based on a zoning system. If the intended development corresponds with the precise requirements of the area in which it needs to be built, it gains approval. The Scottish and UK planning systems are discretionary and plan led; there are several layers of policies and plans that regulate development, supported often by additional guidelines. A planning application may or may not be submitted with a design statement and specific public space provision. The system is discretionary

because it does not impose strict rules, like in the zoning system; a planning officer makes a recommendation on the planning application and the planning committee makes a decision sometimes disregarding the recommendation. Refused planning applications can appeal and be granted consent in a later phase. In the SPP1 (Scottish Planning Policy) published by the Scottish Executive Development Department (2002) , it is stipulated that an application could be refused on design reasons but it is debatable of how often this happens in practice:

> "Design is a material consideration when determining a planning application. A proposal may be refused, and the refusal defended at appeal, solely on design grounds."

The document goes on to stipulate that:

> "It is therefore important that planning authorities can draw on expertise with a sound understanding of the principles of design."

A third condition for a project to be feasible is related to its being a viable venture which means that in addition to the land, the developer needs to secure the capital necessary for creating the new development, either from private or public funds. As mentioned above there is lately a proliferation of public-private partnerships and joint ventures on the background of an entrepreneurial culture, fast paced urban competition and a lack of power and funding from the part of public authorities. Projects initiated and funded by the public sector, compete for an increasingly limited amount of funds, so that their feasibility depends on being included in a 'flagship programme/project' or being designated as a 'strategic priority'. For a project to be completed, the local authority needs to prove strong commitment, regardless of the change in political leadership. Physical and market conditions are also important for the feasibility of a project. Adams (1994) points out that the land development process is highly susceptible to economic cycles and this has been shown in the recent economic crisis highly related to a real estate market failure.

The third phase of the development process s the implementation phase "which includes both the process of construction and the transfer of the completed development into new use and occupation" (Adams, 1994; p. 48). Construction implies that developers rely on building contractors, and most times they hire a professional team of architects, quantity surveyors, engineers and associated

consultants to design and build the development. The developer seeks to secure that most properties are purchased before the development is complete. The process of development is dynamic, it functions in the real world as a spiral, and at any point the relation between components may change resulting in different outcomes.

The importance for this research of seeing the development process through the framework of the event-based model is that a public place needs to be understood as a sequence of different stages. At any point in the process certain decisions can lead to improving or diminishing the overall resulting publicness of a site. The event-based model has been criticised for not giving enough insight related into the decisions and the objectives of the different actors involved in the development process. The agency model, presented below, has been considered as a much better way to understand these issues.

The agency model is the most insightful description of the production of the built environment for this research into the publicness of public space. A public place and its publicness can be seen as a result of the synergic interaction of all the actors involved:

> "It is useful to think of the design and production of the built environment as a process that involves a variety of "actors" or decision makers, each with rather different goals and motivations. As they interact with one another over specific development issues, they constitute an organisational framework for the evolution of the built environment (Knox and Ozolins, 2000; p. 4)

The main actors involved in the development process can be classified according to different criteria. More than often they are divided into providers, who supply the land and capital for a development, regulators, who impose restrictions on the development and consumers, the future occupiers of the development. Another way to classify them is into four broad categories: the state, the finance industry and the construction industry (Ambrose, 1986, quoted in Adams, 1994). The general public is a fourth actor, whose role has increased lately as presented in the previous section, in the new collaborative planning paradigm.

Among the many different actors that take part in the development process, the ones who have the greatest influence for the production and quality of public space are: the landowner, the developer, the planner, the funder/investor, the architect/urban designer and the user. It needs to be kept in mind that these divisions are arbitrary – a developer can be landowner at the same time; a local authority can be a provider of land and capital and a regulator through its planning department and so on. It is important though to understand the complexity of the process and how this complexity affects the final outcome of a project and the publicness of the public places that are part of it.

A. The landowner

All developments start with the activation of a site that has been vacant or which value has changed, making it profitable for a new development. Although some authors (Adams, 1994; Carmona *et al.*, 2003) suggest that the importance of landowners is limited in the land development process as they rarely play an active role (except when they are represented by builders or developers that own land banks devoted to development), in the creation of public places, the importance of landownership is crucial. As it was shown in Chapter 3, the publicness of a site is higher if the site is in public ownership. It has also been showed that the distinction between public and private ownership has been significantly blurred in recent decades.

At the same time, the size of the owner's property matters in the development process generally and the creation of public places in particular. The smaller the ownership, the longer it takes for the developer or the local authority to assemble the site. There are mainly three kinds of landowners: traditional landowners (e.g. the church, the aristocracy and the Crown in the UK), industrial landowners (e.g. farmers, manufacturers, industrialists, retailers or service industries etc.) and financial landowners, who see their property as an investment and are subsequently very well informed. They include financial institutions such as pension funds and insurance companies, or can be represented by developers or builders that own large land banks and are waiting for favourable market conditions to start development. If they decide to or are forced to sell, landowners

usually influence the production of the built environment "in two broad ways: (1) through the size and spatial pattern of parcels of land that are delivered to speculators and developers and (2) through conditions that they may impose on the subsequent nature of development." (Knox and Ozolins, 2000, p. 5). The size of land ownership is very important as many of the waterfront projects that have been deemed successful, especially in mainland Europe, have been built on sites where the land was entirely (or in a high degree) held by one landowner, often the state represented by the local authority (e.g. HafenCity in Hamburg, Germany). As such, in investigating the publicness of case study public places, a first step needs to be taken in finding out who owns the sites under analysis and how the owner has influenced the characteristics of the resultant public places.

B. The developer

The developer is often considered in the literature as the most important actor and his/her role has been often compared "…with that of a director of a play who has to manage the diverse and conflicting objectives of all actors on a public stage" (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008; p. 10). This is due to several reasons. First, the entire development process is driven by the prospect of *reward mediated by risk*, and the actor that undertakes the greater part of the risk is the entrepreneur – in most cases the developer. Second, the developer is the one who decides the type of development that is going to happen on a site and therefore s/he can claim the most important role in giving form to the built environment. Third, the broader socio-political background of urban development today is influenced by neoliberalism and entrepreneurialism as pointed out before; therefore the role in the development process of the developer grew as s/he acts as the entrepreneur/speculator.

> "City governments in many Western countries have increasingly shifted to a new civic culture of entrepreneurialism that draws heavily on public-private partnerships, in which public resources and legal powers are joined with private interests in order to undertake development projects. This shift has fostered a speculative and piecemeal approach to the management of cities." (Knox and Ozolins, 2000; p. 8)

As a consequence, even though developers usually used to do only preparation work, such as deciding the type and shape of the project, dividing the land according to the size of plots needed, implementing the infrastructure – more and

more developers get involved in all the other stages of the process such as land assembly, design, construction, marketing and even post-construction management.

Developers can be classified according to several criteria: they are either traders or investors, specialised in residential or commercial projects, operating on a local/ national base or on a global/international level or they can be specialised in particular geographic locations, as for example waterfront regeneration. Some developers find niche markets and specialise accordingly such as for example, renovating or converting historical buildings (Carmona *et al*, 2003).

The main objective of any developer, no matter the category s/he belongs to, is to "appropriate the development value of sites" (Carmona *et al*, 2003; p. 223), or, in other words to secure a profit by increasing the value of a site by developing it. It is assumed that development value 'floats' around over a large area and it is appropriated by a developer once s/he creates the supply for an unmet market demand. Therefore, even though often developers are seen stereotypically as interested only in financial gains, dismissing design quality or the public interest, they can be credited with a greater awareness of the needs and preferences that define the market demand in the built environment at a certain time. It will be interesting to see in this research how much the developers of projects that include public places are interested in the publicness of these sites although, as pointed out before, public places do not bring immediate and obvious economic benefits.

C. The planner

In the first part of this chapter, it was shown how as ideas about the meaning and role of planning have changed dramatically in the past century, so has the role of planner in the development process. Planners can work both for the local authority but also for private bodies which places a great pressure on the decisions they make:

> "A planner's loyalty is torn between serving employers, fellow planners, and the public. In this contested terrain of loyalties, what remains of the once

accepted cornerstone of planning, serving the public interest?" (Campbell and Fainstein, 1996; p. 7)

No matter who they work for, as the quote above highlights, planners should be responsible for serving 'the public interest', a concept seen as problematic to define but creating successful public places is part of this objective. As most actors in the development process follow individual goals, the public authorities are the ones that undertake the responsibility to provide *the best developments for the most publics.* Public space is part of what Adams (1994) views as 'the public goods' which are not usually provided by the normal market mechanisms because they produce no immediate or direct returns when consumed. Webster (2007) describes public space as a local public good and defines its characteristics as:

> "A public good is classified as such on the basis of its consumption characteristics – being jointly consumed, capacious (in infinite supply and undiminished by any person's consumption) and non excludable. A local public good is a collectively consumed good for which demand (usage) falls off with distance."(p. 85)

As the local authority represents a community of users, it is mostly its responsibility to provide these public goods generally and public space in particular. At the same time, the private sector can provide public places too:

> "Public goods can be provided by private suppliers and private goods can be provided by the state. Many of Britain's great urban parks were originally supplied privately by wealthy families."(Webster, 2007; p. 86)

The recent phenomena of privatisation of public space is deeply interrelated, as shown in Chapter 3 with the growing provision of public places by private actors. This is not only a British phenomenon. In her research on the recent development of Dutch city squares, Rianne van Melik demonstrated this growing trend:

> "Local governments and other parties involved in developing and managing public space respond to public preferences by redesigning public space. Their reaction stems from the social remit of the local government to provide public goods, including public space." (Van Melik, 2007; p 60)

The role of the planners working for the local authority is crucial in the provision and the quality of public places. Today, as mentioned before, the planner's role is to negotiate among the different actors in the process and to ensure that the new development respects the planning regulations in place. Also they have to secure public gains for the planning authorities. The planners therefore need to bargain with the other actors, especially the developers to secure the budget for the

creation of public places, especially very public, public places. In this research it is argued that a lack of a clear definition of public space and of the standards for very public, public places are crucial problems that arise when planners need to communicate their requirements and negotiate with other actors for the provision of this kind of public good.

The public sector through its planning authorities creates the broad framework for land and property development and acts as a regulatory body through planning laws, planning policies and by providing the main infrastructure and framework for the other actors involved. In the western countries, there has been a tendency in the last decades for the foundation of public-private partnerships, the local authorities assuming more and more an entrepreneurial role. This being said, many local authorities take a pioneering role in starting development projects in the hope of attracting further private sector investment. This happens especially with the aim to regenerate certain areas of the city that are in some sort of development vacancy due mainly to the area having an unattractive image for both the market and potential users (e.g. The Gorbals project in Glasgow). Many European waterfront projects such as Rotterdam's Kop van Zuid or Hamburg's Hafen City, are initiated and managed all the way through by the public authorities; in North America, Baltimore Harbour is an example of a successful state led waterfront development. Waterfront regeneration as a particular type of land development will be described in more detail in Chapter 6.

D. The funder/investor

In most cases, the developers and the local authorities involved in a certain development do not have the necessary funds needed to finance it and so they have to secure the appropriate funds from other sources, usually described by the term financial institutions. In most cases, they include pension funds, insurance companies, banks and such like. As these institutions invest in different assets, they need to be sure that the development is financially viable and therefore can impose certain conditions for the subsequent development. Their main goal is making a profit and therefore developers need to be skilled in 'selling' their project to these funding bodies. They need to secure both short term capital, to finance

the costs arising from putting together the development and also long-term money, needed after the development is completed (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008). The public authorities might have certain 'bags of money' dedicated to the regeneration of certain areas of the city but in most cases they need to apply to different grants as their budgets cannot cover major developments. These include urban regeneration grants from the governments at Westminster or Holyrood, European Union Structural funds or even National Lottery money as exemplified by the recent regeneration of Sheffield city centre. In the current climate of economic recession, it will be essential that local authorities can secure funding for developments that do not follow only financial goals but also the creation of liveable and attractive urban public places.

E. The designer

Most of the time in the history of public space creation, the architect has been the designer of public places, as it was shown previously in this chapter. Architects still greatly influence place – creation and often benefit from a certain 'status' given to them by their knowledge, expertise and renown. The recent phenomenon of 'iconic architecture' where world famous architects are employed to design key projects that local authorities consider necessary for improving the image of their city (Sklair, 2006) is an example of this different kind of power that architects have in influencing the development process. In Glasgow, examples include employing famous architects such as Norman Foster to design the Clyde Auditorium or Zaha Hadid for the New Museum of Transport. In the late 1950´s and throughout the 1960´s much criticism arose against the focus of architecture on individual buildings which left the spaces in between unattended, what Sennett (1977) called `dead public space´. Key voices in this movement were Jane Jacobs and William H Whyte. The discipline of 'urban design' started to take shape, since the late 1950's, replacing the older term of 'civic design' (Carmona *et al.*, 2003). Its focus has been the space in between buildings and it made the link between the two seemingly different areas of planning and development:

> "Similarly, just as there has emerged an appreciation of the inextricable interrelationships between old and new, between a building and its surroundings, the past and future, so also has it come to be seen that planning, design and development are interconnected in a complex way and that cities are not well served when these activities are too rigorously

separated. Urban design, in its new form, has tended to bring planning and development together." (Robertson, 1981, in Glazer and Lilla, 1987; p. 486 - 487)

The current view in the literature is that urban design, although a new and fast evolving discipline "...should be seen as an integrative "joined – up" activity, at the heart of which is a concern for making places for people" (Carmona *et al.*, 2003, p. 19). These authors also suggest that the urban designer can have many roles in the development process, from the general level of vision creator and policy maker to a more specific level of designing the infrastructure and 'joining up' the various physical parts of the landscape by creating the design guidelines for the entire project. It is often argued that next to urban designers, architects are able and should create a better public realm:

> "The capacity of architecture to create outdoor rooms - comfortable spaces with places to sit and watch, transition spaces between the public space and the private interior that can shelter a range of activities – or backdrops for visual enjoyment through light changes, ornamentation, good materials, or the introduction of elements of nature, is essential to the creation of an attractive public realm (Punter, 1990, p. 11)."

For this research, it is important to investigate who was in charge with the design of public places and what the urban designer's or architect's vision for the public place provision was. It is also important to assess if this vision was respected throughout the development process or if there were other factors that made the final appearance of public places different from the initial guidelines.

F. The user/tenant

While most developments have precise users in mind – a housing complex is geared towards the potential home owners, an office building towards the companies that need office space etc., in the case of public space, as stated before, the consumer is 'the general public'. As this is such a vague term and because it is quite difficult to involve all members of the 'public' or the various 'publics' in the design and development process, often publicness is lost in the producer – consumer gap. This is a characteristic of all speculative developments, as Carmona *et al.* (2003) point out. However, what is specific for public space production is the vast array of different meanings attached to the term itself.

Different actors will have different understandings of public space, while the potential users may have very little input in the future development. It is often in the post-development stage when the voice of the public is heard through protests and campaigns against developments that do not fulfil users' needs. There is also the crucial aspect that public places should in principle be universally accessible and free of charge. As such, in a development process that is mostly geared by speculation and capital returns, the role of the public authorities, representing the future users, to convince the other actors that the development should also serve the public interest, is often a very difficult one. This is one of the main reasons that often public places fail to become lively and diverse urban environments. These issues inform the present research in the respect that it will be important to see to what extent was the public involved in the production of the new public places under analysis, and, if this happened, to what degree their requirements have been incorporated in the final product.

In the above discussion on the different parties involved in the land development process, the concept of power came across as a fundamental aspect that underlines this process. Chapter 3 mentioned the concept of power as key in linking the different dimensions of public space. Dovey's (1999) distinction between *power over* and *power to* has also been discussed. These two meanings of power are reflected in the two main approaches that frame the current process of planning and development of the built environment. A trend originating in the Foucauldian argument that power in different shapes and forms dominates the current mode of social organisation (Healey, 1992) is translated into understanding the development process as a play of power among the different actors involved. Several of these forms of power have been mentioned above. They include the power of landowners to hold back development in the search of a higher price for their land stock, the power of the state to regulate development through its local authorities, the power of the investors to put conditions on the subsequent development in return of their input of capital or the power of the architect or the urban designer to use their expertise and renown, or "cultural capital" (Bentley, 1999 in Carmona and Tiesdell eds., 2007) in order to impose their own vision on the development. To these it can be added the power that politicians have in supporting a project which usually speeds up the development process

considerably. At the same time, the four year electoral system that most democracies are based on today, can lead to the disruption of many projects that span over more than four years. As a result, the urban environment can be read as a succession of 'landscapes of power' (Zukin, 1991) and it can be argued that the different actors that hold these different kinds of power use it in achieving their own personal goals and interests, often divergent. An example of how this is translated in public space creation is offered by Carmona *et al.* (2003) as shown in Figure 4.3. Dovey (1999) supports this view when stating that:

> "...places are necessarily programmed and designed in accord with certain interests – primarily the pursuit of amenity, profit, status and political power. The built environment reflects the identities, differences, and struggles of gender, class, race, culture and age. It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order, and the private corporate interest in stimulating consumption." (p. 1)

An opposing view sees the planning and the development of the built environment processes not as a powerplay among different actors but as a result of a process of communication, collaboration, bargaining and negotiation among them. Based on Habermas' communicative rationality principle (Healey, 1992), this view is reflected in the current collaborative planning approach, mentioned before. This sees the planner's role as one of bargaining and negotiating with the other actors towards reaching consensus so that development is carried forward. In this view the power of each actor over resources, capital or knowledge is equally important to the ability of each individual to gain the support of the other actors and through communication and negotiations development is created.

Bentley (1999, in Carmona and Tiesdell eds., 2007) sees the relations between the different categories of actors as pertaining to four categories. Two of them are an illustration of Dovey's (1999) first understanding of power as *power over* someone or something. These are "the heroic-form giver" view, where one actor, often the architect, holds most power and influences the entire development of a project and "the masters and servants" approach. In this second approach, the actors with more power can order the ones with less. For example, the developer, the actor with the most financial power and who pursues mainly financial objectives can dictate over the often divergent interests of the architect or designer employed. A third way of seeing the relations amongst the participants in

Motivation of 'supply side' development actors (i.e., those who, in some, way, 'produce' the development or contribute to its production)

		PRICE	FACTORS OF MOTIVATION	DESIGN ISSUES	
DEVELOPMENT ROLE	Time scale	Financial strategy	Functionality	External appearance	Relation to context
LANDOWNER	Short-term	Profit maximisation	No	No	No
DEVELOPERS	Short-term	Profit maximisation	Yes But only to financial end.	Yes But only to financial end.	Yes To extent that there are positive or negative externalities.
FUNDERS (devt finance)	Short-term	Profit maximisation	No	No	No
BUILDER	Short-term	Profit maximisation	No	Yes	No
ADVISER I EG Man Agent	Long-term	Profit maximisation/seeking	Yes	Yes But primarily to financial end.	No
ADVISER II EG Architect	Short-term	Profit maximisation/seeking	Yes	Yes But indirectly, to extent that external appearance reflects on them and their future business.	No

Motivation of 'demand side' development actors (i.e. those who, in some way, 'consume' the development)

		PRICE	FACTORS OF MOTIVATION	DESIGN ISSUES	
DEVELOPMENT ROLE	Time scale	Financial strategy	Functionality	External appearance´	Relation to context
INVESTORS (Investment funding)	Long-term	Profit maximisation	Yes But primarily as means to financial end.	Yes But primarily as means to financial end.	Yes To extent that there are benefits to making positive connections.
OCCUPIERS	Long-term	Cost minimisation	Yes	Yes But only to extent that external appearance symbolises/represents them and their business.	Yes To extent that there are benefits to making positive connections.
PUBLIC SECTOR (Regulation)	Long-term	Neutral (in principle)	Yes	Yes To extent that it forms part of a greater whole.	Yes To extent that it forms part of a greater whole.
ADJACENT LANDOWNERS	Long-term	Protect property values	No	Yes To extent that new development has positive or negative externalities.	Yes To extent that new development has positive or negative externalities.
GENERAL PUBLIC	Long-term	Neutral	Yes To extent that buildings are used by general public.	Yes To extent that it defines and forms part of public realm.	Yes

Figure 4.3 An example of the existence of different actors' motivations in the development process (Source: Carmona *et al.*, 2003)

development is by understanding the built environment not as a result of the power struggles among them but by the way in which they respond to the "market signals". Bentley (1999, in Carmona and Tiesdell eds., 2007, p. 326) argues that this is an abstract view that cannot work "...because of a mutual ignorance and antipathy between the various members of the development team, a state of affairs which arises through the process of increasing specialisation itself". His view is that a fourth interpretation of the development process, as a "battlefield" is more appropriate.

This approach sees the various actors involved in the development process "...not merely as ordering each other around, or responding to market signals, but rather as plotting and scheming to use their power in the best ways they can devise, in attempts to achieve the built forms they want" (Bentley, 1999, in Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007, p. 323).This is an illustration of the second meaning of power, as *power to* do things together and reflects the view that planning is a collaborative enterprise based on communication, bargaining and negotiation.

In conclusion, public places today are usually produced as part of larger urban projects created in the process of real estate development. Each project is framed by broad political, economic, social and geographical factors but is simultaneously shaped by individual participants, coming from a wide range of backgrounds, holding different kinds of power and influencing the final product in various ways. The production of public places can be seen as a result of structure and agency. All the development actors cannot use their power freely and have to respect rules and regulations created and enforced by public authorities, which represent certain political views depending on the specific governance regime functioning at a certain time and often changing on a four year cycle. The process is even more complicated by the different negotiation and bargaining qualities of certain actors that can use them to gather support from the other parties and drive a certain development towards their specific goals. What are the repercussions of this complicated process for the publicness of newly created public places? To answer this question, an inquiry needs to be made into the development process of the site under analysis to identify the broader historical context that governed its creation, the different stages of its production but also the various actors that were

involved in the place making process. As such, publicness is not just a resultant of the different meta-themes that make a space public but also a socially constructed phenomenon.

4.5. Conclusions

This chapter has looked at public space from a historical point of view, describing its evolution from the first cities, throughout the ancient times of the Greek agora and the Roman forum, the Middle Ages with their intricate and unpredictable streets and until the 19th century urban parks and the utopian visions of the ideal city that laid the foundations of the modern planning discipline at the beginning of the 20th century. It was shown that the ideal of publicness of public space changes in time. The most dramatic and rapid changes affecting the urban landscape generally and the production of public places in particular have occurred as a result of the industrial revolution at the end of the nineteenth century and the two world conflagrations in the twentieth century. It was shown how public places today, as part of the larger built environment, take form as a result of the land and real estate development process. Two models that describe this process were presented with their implications for public space research: the event – sequence model and the agency model. As a result, to fully assess the publicness of a public place, one needs not only look at its defining characteristics grouped in the five meta-themes but also at the way in which the site has been produced and publicness negotiated among different actors involved in the development process.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

5.2 The research process

    5.2.1 Stages of the research process

    5.2.2 Methodological framework

5.3 Creating a tool to measure publicness as a cultural reality – The Star Model of Publicness

    5.3.1 Determining and calibrating the indicators

    5.3.2 Calculating and representing publicness

5.4 Assessing the publicness of public places in practice

    5.4.1 The selection of the case study public places

    5.4.2 Publicness as a historical reality: document analysis and semi-structured interviews

    5.4.3 Investigating publicness as a cultural reality - the practical application of the Star Model of Publicness: structured observation

5.5 Ethical considerations and methodological issues

5.6 Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

The second part of the thesis is concerned with the practical application of the researcher's conceptualisation of publicness. The first chapter in this part, Chapter 5, presents the research design process that guided this study, the methodological framework and the empirical fieldwork undertaken to assess the publicness of public places. First, the theoretical foundations and the stages of the research design process are presented to clarify the thought process that drove this thesis forward. It is shown how the theoretical understanding of publicness as a dual nature concept was translated into a mixed methods approach for assessing public places. Secondly, the creation of the Star Model of Publicness, a new method for measuring publicness is clarified and its applicability in practice is explained. Thirdly, the chapter presents

the methodology and fieldwork undertaken to assess in practice the publicness of public places. The chapter ends with mentioning the methodological issues encountered during this project and with several points of ethical concerns.

Chapter 5 presents a journey from an idea – that a unified theoretical model can coherently describe the publicness of public space – to the creation of a practical way to assess public places. The journey had the researcher question not only the concept of publicness, but that of methodology itself and how this can be applied to study the built environment. As it lies between the natural world and the social reality, the built environment in general and public space in particular presents a complex methodological challenge. The view embraced here is that methods need to be chosen, and where necessary created, so that they reflect as closely as possible, the reality researched as opposed to trying to fit the reality in preordained methodological frameworks. Although it is not claimed here that 'the secret formula for assessing the publicness of public space' has been found, it is hoped that this attempt provides a first step towards more analytical, more scientifically rigorous and more innovative studies in the field of public space research.

5.2 The research process

5.2.1 Stages of the research process

Although research is a circular process where ideas and concepts move back and forth, in order to clarify the thought process underpinning this project, six distinctive stages in the development of this research were delineated.

The starting point was identifying in the academic public space literature that newly created urban public places are losing 'something of their publicness'. By asking the question *What makes a public space, public?*, the researcher wanted to find out what are those key characteristics or qualities which together create a very public, public place. By finding these key elements and defining *a standard of publicness*, different public places could be measured, graded and compared, so that it could be grasped if

this loss of publicness was taking place and which particular traits of publicness were lost. As a result, **the first stage** in the research process was focused on reviewing the literature in the field with the aim of understanding the concepts of 'public space' and 'publicness'. The literature review showed three key problematic issues:

- There was no model to describe publicness in a rigorous way and as such no method to measure public places, except for some incomplete attempts (Chapter 1).

- A multitude of disciplines looking at public space from different perspectives was found; each discipline described the concept through a different lens and focusing on different aspects (Chapter 1);

- There were many different definitions and concepts used sometimes arbitrarily to describe public space and no single, coherent, over-arching understanding of publicness (Chapter 2).

To solve these difficulties, a conceptual framework was devised, reflecting the dual nature of a public place and its publicness. Each public place is seen as both a cultural artefact and a historical construct and as such its publicness is seen both as a cultural and a historical reality. Related to the first understanding, all public places created in a specific socio-cultural setting and in a delineated period are cultural artefacts and as such, they share similarities based on an existing ideal or standard of publicness common to a certain society. This is publicness as a cultural reality and the standard can be grasped in an inductive way by interrogating the available scientific literature in the field of public space to find common elements that are fundamental for the publicness of public places. It is also acknowledged that it is possible to adopt a deductive inquiry by interrogating and synthesising the various understandings that the members of 'the public' have on the concept of 'publicness', but this would have been a far more time consuming project than could have been undertaken here.

By analysing and grouping the available public space literature, five common themes appeared, called dimensions or meta-themes of publicness: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. These were seen as varying from a 'less

public' to a 'more public' situation. Based on each meta-theme's 'more public' understanding, a standard for measuring public places was devised for the Western world and for the contemporary time period. Graphically, this was represented in the theoretical Star Model of Publicness. By measuring public places against the standard, it could be grasped *if* publicness was lost and *what* exactly was lost. Creating the Star Model and coining a definition for the ideal public space concluded the first stage in the research process.

The dual nature of public space and publicness asserts that a public place is also a historical construct and its publicness a historical reality. Each public place will be characterised by a certain rating of publicness according to the specific historical conditions of its production. As a result, **the second stage** was focused on understanding the practical production of public places, today, in the Western world generally and the UK in particular. This led to the investigation of another body of literature concerned with the creation of the built environment and the main vehicle of delivering places today in this socio-cultural setting, the land development process. As the researcher had a background in geography, a general understanding of the main theories and practices of planning and urban design was needed in order to grasp the practical creation of public places. At this point, it was realized that there was very little research undertaken to explain how the development process influences the publicness of public places. The researcher's attempt here is among the first of its kind and opens a whole new rich field of research. Publicness as a historical reality was therefore understood as the result of a public place being constructed on a micro-level through a complex process of negotiations, bargaining and compromises between developers, architects, planners, funders etc., all being important actors in the shaping of the built environment. On a macro-level, the development story of each public place is influenced by broader historical and socio-cultural phenomena.

The third stage of this research was concerned with finding a way of practically assessing the publicness of public places. Because of the dual nature of publicness, assessing it meant both measuring publicness as a cultural reality and understanding

the particular measurement as a historical reality. This was translated into a mixed methods approach. First, the theoretical Star Model of Publicness was transformed into a tool to measure and graphically represent publicness as a cultural reality. Indicators needed to be found and calibrated for each meta-theme, quantifiable elements that would reflect each dimension of publicness. The model was created as a simple and straightforward way to be used by anyone interested to calculate the publicness of a certain site. Due to the model being a first attempt of this kind, the researcher needed to find the most suitable way for its application in practice. Besides this, in order to grasp publicness as a historical reality and explain a particular measurement obtained, appropriate methods needed to be chosen to investigate the development process of a public place and its general historical context.

The **fourth stage** was concerned with choosing the case study public places, designing and undertaking the empirical fieldwork to assess their publicness in practice.

The fifth and last stage of the research was focused on analysing the data and writing up the thesis. The literature was briefly reviewed again to see if the conceptualisation of publicness proposed here clarified several of the uncertainties identified at the beginning of the project. A key concern in the writing up stage was to write a clear thesis and not to add more confusion in this already complex and multidisciplinary field of research. A second major concern was to give coherence to the arguments presented and robustness to the methodology employed. The linking of the different chapters and ideas into a clear, coherent and strong thesis was the overall aim in this final stage. Conclusions were drawn, the main research question was addressed, the model's strengths and weaknesses were reflected upon and recommendations for future research were made.

5.2.2 Methodological framework

This research stems from asking the question *what makes a public space, public?* or, in other words, *how can one conceptualise and measure the 'publicness' of public space so that different public places can be graded and compared?* This determined, in an initial stage of the research, the existence of three main objectives:

- To conceptualise publicness;
- To find a method for measuring publicness;
- To apply and test this in practice on several case study new public places.

During the literature review of key multi-disciplinary writings on public space, the majority of them created in the Western world and in the period since the 1960s, it was discovered that publicness is simultaneously a cultural and a historical reality. This conceptualisation of publicness, described in the first part of the thesis led to an additional research objective: a method (or several) needed to be found to be able to explain the rating for the publicness of a site by investigating the historical evolution of a public place on two levels. On a general level, it meant understanding the broader context of the public place under analysis. On a particular level, it was aimed at investigating a place's specific development process and at finding out how this influenced its overall publicness. Therefore, assessing the publicness of public space meant not only measuring different sites but also explaining the ratings obtained based on their historical development.

This complex theoretical background led to a mixed methods approach (Figure 5.1), both in terms of the types of methods, quantitative and qualitative and their novelty – a new method has been joined by previously created ones. The methodological framework employed can be described as having five distinctive parts:

1. Creating a tool to measure the publicness of public places based on the standard of publicness derived from the literature review, easily applicable in practice – The Star Model of Publicness;

How can one conceptualise and measure publicness, so that different public places can be graded and compared? — Research question

Theoretical level — Literature review

Publicness as cultural reality
Five meta-themes of publicness
Defining the standard

How can one conceptualise publicness?
Dual nature of the publicness of public places

Publicness as historical reality
Conceptualising the real estate development process

Public space literature

Planning and urban design literature

Creating the Star Mode of Publicness
Translating the standard of publicness into a practical tool to measure public places

Practical level — Methods employed

A public place as a cultural artefact
Obtaining a rating for publicness in relation to the defined standard

Assessing the publicness of public places
3 new public places on the Clyde Waterfront

A public place as a historical construct
Reconstructing the development history to explain the rating for publicness

Practical application of the Star Model of Publicness

Semi structured interviews

Document analysis

Figure 5.1 The theoretical and methodological framework of the research

2. Devising the method(s) to apply and test the Star Model in practice – mainly structured observation;

3. Finding appropriate methods to investigate the historical background and the development process of a public place in order to explain the rating obtained for publicness – document analysis and semi-structured interviews;

4. Selecting the case studies to be assessed under the proposed framework – three new public places on the post-industrial waterfront of the River Clyde in Glasgow;

5. Conducting the fieldwork and analysing the results.

The creation, choice and use of methodology are the focus of the greatest part of the present chapter. Regarding methodology, as Bryman (2004) contends, the delineation between quantitative and qualitative methodologies is arbitrary. This means that methods should be used carefully and where missing, new ones created so that they are appropriate to the subject investigated. At the same time, although a new method has been created – a model as 'objective' as possible to measure the publicness of public space - it is acknowledged that this is a *subjective* creation of the researcher. At any time, other scholars may find different writings, disciplines, key dimensions and indicators to conceptualise and measure the publicness of public space. Nonetheless, the current attempt aims to be as rigorous and objective as possible.

After presenting the research process and briefly summarising the methodological framework employed to answer the question of assessing the publicness of public places, the remaining part of this chapter will detail each method and its application.

5.3 Creating a tool to measure publicness as a cultural reality – The Star Model of Publicness

The present model, aimed to measure the publicness of public places is the first of its kind, building upon several initiatives from the Netherlands, UK and USA, as presented in Chapter 1. These attempts were considered inappropriate here and as

such, the chief challenge of this PhD was to create a practical tool for measuring the publicness of public places. This aim was set at the beginning of the project, but it could only be tackled after finding a satisfactory way of conceptualising publicness. Based on the theoretical Star Model of Publicness, containing the five meta-themes and presented in Chapter 3, a measuring tool was devised – the practical Star Model of Publicness. The creation of such a model was based on two principles: simplicity and usability. It was meant that anyone, interested in a public place, without necessarily a professional or academic background, could use it to assess its publicness in a quick and as objective as possible manner. The next paragraphs will describe the creation of the model.

5.3.1 Determining and calibrating the indicators

Chapter 3 showed that the publicness of public space is a multi-dimensional concept, comprising five meta-themes: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. The thought process driving the translation of the Star Model from a theoretical construct into a practical tool to measure and represent publicness is shown in Figure 5.2. The challenge was to find elements for each meta-theme that could be measured easily and quickly so that anyone with an interest in a site could calculate its publicness. As there were no satisfactory attempts in the literature on public space, a similar approach showing how to devise a measurement index was searched for in other fields of research. Such a study is Hemphill, Berry and McGreal's (2004) attempt to measure sustainable urban regeneration.

Disciplines
Multi-disciplinary study of public space

Meta-themes
Five meta-themes of publicness

Indicators
Finding and defining the indicators

Calibration
Quantifying the indicators

Star Diagrams
Representing the data
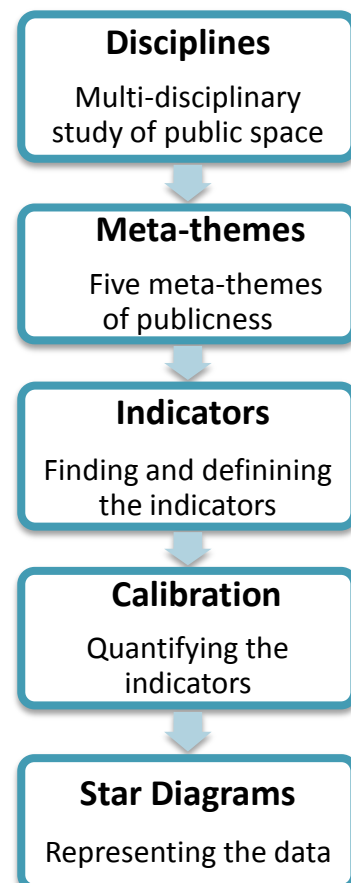
Figure 5.2 Translating the theoretical Star Model of Publicness into the Star Diagram of Publicness

Although in their research, the thought process was similar to the one undertaken here in defining the concepts, establishing the themes, devising the indicators and then creating a measurement index, due to publicness being a completely different concept than sustainability, it could not be used for this endeavour. As a result, most indicators (apart from *Active frontages*, as it will be explained later), were created by the researcher, based on the literature reviewed and following seven principles (DETR, 1998):

- Scientifically sound;
- Technically robust;
- Easily understood;
- Sensitive to the change that it is intended to represent;
- Measurable;
- Capable of being updated regularly.

Bearing these in mind, a search was initiated for those elements that could be measured and that were influential for determining the ownership, the physical configuration, the animation, the control and the civility of a site. They are presented in Figure 5.3. It is acknowledged that the indicators express each meta-theme but do not fully illustrate it as each is a complex phenomenon. Following this first stage of identifying the indicators, the second stage was concerned with calibrating them. In this respect, a rating scale was decided upon for grading their variation from low to high publicness. In previous research, Nemeth and Schmidt (2007) have used 0,1 and 2 values and created statistical modelling for a large number of public places in New York. This was considered as a too superficial way of observing and translating into measurements the different shades of publicness of particular public places. In the beginning, after three grades of publicness were decided upon: low, medium and high, a scale from 1 to 3 was thought to be used but this seemed insufficient for rendering the many variations in publicness. As a result, it was opted for a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being the lowest publicness and 5 the highest. A scale more than 5 would have complicated the model too much while a lower one would have not been sensitive enough for the different levels of variation. For each grade, from 1 to 5, the researcher tried to give a description as objective as possible for every indicator and

create a scale ranging from 'less public' to 'more public' based on the theoretical decisions made during the literature review stage. Although it is acknowledged that the rankings have an inherent degree of subjectivity, the researcher tried to be as objective as possible and create a model as less arbitrary as feasible with the available time and resources.

First meta-theme: Ownership

The first meta-theme, ownership, is encapsulated in only one indicator, *Ownership status,* illustrating the legal status of a site that is open to the public. The indicator shows in its variations the degree of influence that the general public can have in the way a public place is maintained, controlled or regarding any changes in its design. As a result, the highest rating was awarded for a public place owned by a public authority, democratically elected and therefore, publicly accountable. The lowest rating was considered for a public place being entirely under the ownership of one (or several) private body, which means that the decisions made regarding the site are entirely out of the reach of the larger public. Intermediary stages towards a low rating of publicness were awarded as following: the rating 4 for ownership of a site by a governmental arm's length authority/agency or 'quango' or by a public organisation, 3 for a public-private partnership or joint venture, and 2 for a BID type of administration. In the case of an arm's length local authority or a public organisation, the public is indirectly represented, but the government is still a democratically elected body. The degree of the public's influence is even lower in a public – private partnership, where private interests can prevail and limit the public's influence over matters regarding the public place. In the case of BIDs, although there are many types and forms (as described in Chapter 3), its understanding here is as a private, third party form of government, directed mainly by commercial interests and allowing a very little influence of the greater public (Justice and Skelcher, 2009).

In the case when the site is divided among different types of ownership, an aggregate rating needs to be used. First, each part of the site will be rated according to the ownership indicator and second, the percentage of this in the total area will be

calculated. The rating for the entire site will be obtained by the weighted mean between the different areas. For example if there are three parts, part A in private ownership rated 1, part B in public ownership rated 5 and part C in public-private ownership rated 3 with part A being for example 30% of the entire area of the public place, part B is 20% and part C is 50% then the total ownership rating will be calculated as:

$$(0.3*1) + (0.2*5) + (0.5*3) = 2.8$$

Second meta-theme: Physical configuration

As it was presented in Chapter 3, this meta-theme comprises both macro-design and micro-design. Regarding macro-design, how well the public place is connected to the surrounding urban environment, four indicators were found: *Crossings*, *Public walkways*, *Cycle routes* and *Fences*. The more a public place is easy to find, easy to enter and easy to see into, it will allow for a greater number and variety of users on its premises. Macro-design indicators reflect the importance of accessibility and permeability when designing public places (Tibbalds, 1992) but also of ease of movement and legibility (Carmona et al., 2003). It is acknowledged that to calculate the connectivity and centrality of a public place more complex methods such as space syntax (Hillier, 1996) could be used but because access to these methods is limited, employing them would limit the model's easy use.

In relation to the first indicator *Crossings*, it was considered that in the most likely case when there are obstacles such as a river, a busy road, a railway etc., a public place would be rated highest when crossings are provided in all cardinal directions. Without these key linkages, such as pedestrian bridges, street crossings, underpasses etc. it would be impossible for users to access the public place. The second indicator *Public walkways* relates to the connectivity of a public place with the adjacent public realm network. A walkway is defined as a path designed, and sometimes landscaped for pedestrian use (www.thefreedictionary.com/walkway).

Figure 5.3. The indicators for the Star Model of Publicness' and their calibration

Meta-themes	Indicators	Descriptors	
Ownership	Ownership status	5	Local authority/state ownership
		4	Arm's length local authority/agency – quango/public organisation
		3	Public-private partnership/ joint venture
		2	BID type
		1	Private ownership
Physical configuration	Crossings	5	Crossing points present in all cardinal directions
		4	Crossing points present in only three cardinal directions
		3	Crossing points present in only two cardinal directions
		2	Crossing points present in only one cardinal direction
		1	None
	Public walkways	5	Connecting the public place in all cardinal directions
		4	Connecting the public place in three cardinal directions
		3	Connecting the public place in two cardinal directions
		2	Connecting the public place in one direction
		1	None
	Cycle routes	5	The public place is connected in all cardinal directions by cycle routes
		4	The public place is connected in three cardinal directions by cycle routes
		3	The public place is connected in two cardinal directions by cycle routes
		2	The public place is connected in only one cardinal direction by cycle routes
		1	The public place is not connected by cycle routes in any cardinal direction
	Fences	5	No physical restrictions to access (no fences)
		4	Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: lower than the average person's height/small fence or tall fence, higher than the average person's height but see through; access points present in three or four cardinal directions
		3	Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: lower than the average person's height/small fence or tall fence, higher than the average person's height but see through; access points present in one or two cardinal directions
		2	Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: opaque fence, higher than an average person's height; access points present in three or four cardinal directions

Note: The "Macro – Design" label appears vertically spanning the Crossings, Public walkways, Cycle routes, and Fences indicator rows.

Physical configuration	Micro – Design		1	Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: opaque, higher than the average person's height; access points present in one or two cardinal directions
		Sitting opportunities	5	Presence of benches at regular intervals, mainly along the edge of the site; benches are designed to be comfortable; there are many informal sitting opportunities (more than two types) such as: decks, statues or fountain plinths etc.; there can be landscapes of sitting opportunities (amphitheatre type)
			4	Presence of benches at regular intervals, mainly along the edge of the site and positioned towards the main viewing landscape (the public place or the river or the main attraction) or towards the main pedestrian flow; benches are not comfortable and are not positioned necessarily to facilitate conversation; there are many informal sitting opportunities (more than two types) such as: plinths, decks etc.
			3	Presence of benches in one or two clusters , they are not positioned at regular intervals, often being too far apart and as such missing in key areas of the site and not necessarily directed towards the main viewing landscape or pedestrian flow; benches are designed to be comfortable; there are one or two types of informal sitting opportunities
			2	Presence of benches in one or two clusters , they are not positioned at regular intervals, often being too far apart and as such missing in key areas of the site and not necessarily directed towards the main viewing landscape or pedestrian flow; benches are not comfortable; there are one or two types of informal sitting opportunities
			1	No benches and no informal sitting opportunities
		Walking opportunities	5	Even and easily walkable surface on the entire paved area of the site
			4	Even and easily walkable surface in more than approximately 75% of the paved area of the site
			3	Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 50% and 75% of the paved area of the site
			2	Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 25% and 50% of the paved area of the site
			1	Even and easily walkable surface approximately below 25% of the paved area of the site
		Opportunities for active engagement and discovery	5	More than three different elements (statues, fountains, opportunities for play etc.) for active engagement and discovery
			4	Three different elements for active engagement and discovery
			3	Two different elements for active engagement and discovery
			2	One element for active engagement and discovery
			1	No elements for active engagement and discovery
			5	More than 15 premises every 100 m; more than 25 doors and windows every 100m; large range of functions; no blind facades and few passive ones; much depth and relief in the building surface; high quality materials and refined details
			4	10-15 premises every 100m; more than 15 doors and windows every 100m; moderate range of functions; a few blind or

	Active frontages		passive facades; some depth and modelling in the building surface; good quality materials and refine details
		3	6-10 premises every 100m; some range of functions; less than half blind or passive facades; very little depth and modelling in the building surface; standard materials and few details
		2	3-5 premises every 100m; little or no range of functions; predominantly blind or passive facades; flat building surface; few or no details
		1	1-2 premises every 100m; no range of functions; predominantly blind or passive facades; flat building surfaces; no details and nothing to look at
Animation	Diversity of activities	5	Over 8 activities
		4	7 or 8 activities
		3	5 or 6 activities
		2	3 or 4 activities
		1	1 or 2 activities
	Presence of street vendors and entertainers	5	Present throughout the entire site all day long
		4	Present throughout the entire site only for a limited time of the day
		3	Present in only one or two locations in the site all day long
		2	Present in only one or two locations in the site for a limited time of the day
		1	None
Control	Control technology: CCTV cameras	5	No cameras
		4	Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; covert type of surveillance - cameras are hard to see
		3	Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; overt type of surveillance - cameras are highly visible
		2	A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are hard to see
		1	A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are highly visible
	Control presence: Police/ guards presence	5	No overt (easily seen) police presence and no private guards
		4	One walking police patrol/day and no private guards
		3	One walking police patrol/day with one other instance of police presence (car, van, motorbike, horse etc.) and no private guards
		2	Two or three walking police patrols/day, instances of other types of police presence may be present (car, van, motorbike, horse etc.); police is unfriendly; one type of private guards
		1	Overt police presence on site during the entire day and more than one type of private guards

	Control by design: Sadistic street furniture	5	No sadistic street furniture
		4	Presence of one element of sadistic street furniture and only in one or two places across the site
		3	Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in several places throughout the site (less than half of the area)
		2	Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in multiple places throughout the site (more than half of the area)
		1	Presence of multiple elements of sadistic street furniture (more than two) throughout the entire site
	Control signage	5	No signs deterring behaviours
		4	Sign(s) deterring one behaviour
		3	Sign(s) deterring two behaviours
		2	Sign(s) deterring three behaviours
		1	Sign(s) deterring more than three behaviours
Civility	Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture	5	The place is spotless – tidy and clean, no rubbish or clutter and no signs of vandalising; bins are present throughout the entire area and are in good state (not broken and not overspillling)
		4	The place is generally tidy and but there are slight signs of wear and tear; bins are present throughout most of the area and are in a good state (not broken and not overspillling)
		3	The place presents several untidy and dirty areas (less than 50% of the site); there might be one or two areas with signs of vandalizing such as graffiti or broken elements (of pavements or street furniture); there are few bins looking untidy (some may have broken elements or may be overspillling)
		2	The place is generally untidy and dirty (between 50% and 75% of the area), several signs of vandalising may be present (broken street furniture or pavements, graffiti); there are few bins, may be overspillling or broken
		1	The place is very untidy and dirty (more than 75% of the area); there are many instances of broken elements (street furniture or pavements) and vandalising, such as graffiti; there are only one or two bins in a bad state (broken or overspillling) or they might be missing completely
	Physical maintenance and provision of green areas	5	Tidy, trimmed, healthy
		4	Tidy and just slight signs of wear and tear
		3	Several signs of deterioration (broken or unhealthy looking trees, trampled or missing grass)
		2	Serious signs of deterioration, green space looks overgrown and untidy
		1	No green space

	Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets	5	Present, easy to find and well maintained; free access
		4	Present , easy to find and not well maintained, free access
		3	Present, hard to find , well maintained, free access
		2	Present, hard to find , not well maintained or toilet with paid access
		1	No toilets
	Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting	5	All areas of the site are well lit, there are no dark corners, the light is warm and creates a pleasant and safe ambience; there may be multiple lighting strategies
		4	There are only one or two areas in the site that are not properly lit and look dark; otherwise approximately more than 75% of the area is well lit; the light is warm or friendly; there may be more than one lighting strategies
		3	Only approximately half of the area is well lit with several dark areas; there is no particular consideration of the type of lighting – standard and one type of lighting strategy
		2	Only approximately 25% of the site is well lit, there is generally a dark and unfriendly, unsafe ambience, one type of lighting
		1	One or two lights or no lights at all across the site; the site is predominantly dark, unfriendly, unsafe; lights may be broken or vandalized

The highest rating was given when well-delineated public walkways are present in all cardinal directions creating the highest potential for pedestrians to access and use the site. The lowest rating was given when no public walkways connect the site in any cardinal direction. Apart from public walkways present in all cardinal directions, it was also considered important that a public place should be well connected by *Cycle routes.* In creating the sustainable city, cycling is promoted more and more as a free and healthy alternative to car use or public transport (Unwin, 1995; Ogilvie *et al.*, 2004; Pucher and Buehler, 2010). A public place connected by cycle routes in all cardinal directions will attract a greater amount of users and as such will be more public, being rated highest, while the absence of cycle connections was rated the lowest.

The fourth indicator for physical configuration was *Fences*, the presence of which highly diminishes visibility and connectivity of a public place with the adjacent area. As such, the type of fence was considered of importance; tall, opaque fences with few access points was rated lowest while low fences and many access points (in all cardinal directions) was rated higher. The standard was considered the absence of any type of fences, which allows for the greatest permeability and visibility into a public place and as such creates the potential for a high and diverse use. It is acknowledged that the erection of fences can be considered an element of control but as long as there are access points (free of charge and free of guards), there is unhindered access to a site for all categories of users. In terms of charges, it was decided that a public place is public only when there is no entrance fee. This is the view of this researcher and it is acknowledged that other scholars might take a different stance. In terms of fenced places, closed during certain hours, especially at night time, it was considered that the moment a site is closed, then one cannot assess its publicness as it stops becoming a public place.

In terms of macro-design, it is acknowledged that special consideration has to be paid to wheelchair users, but this is limited to those public places that are elevated on podiums or stairs, in which cases special ramps need to be provided. It was decided here that as long as there are well-delineated public walkways in all cardinal directions

and the sites are at ground level, wheelchair users could access the site through these. However, it has to be kept in mind that in case of elevated sites, an indicator would need to be created for this special category of users. This would rate highest when there are ramps for disabled users in all cardinal points of the site and lowest when these are missing in any direction.

Micro-design, as explained in Chapter 3, refers to those elements that are essential in accommodating the basic needs of people in public places. Four indicators were created: *Sitting opportunities, Walking opportunities, Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* and *Active frontages.*

In terms of *Sitting opportunities*, there can be no standard defined for the actual number of benches given the difference in layout, size and type of public place (there can be too few but also too many benches). The indicator was created based on the two characteristics presented in Chapter 3 as common for successful benches: well positioned and comfortable. The highest rating is given when the benches are placed at regular intervals, towards the main viewing landscape (e.g. the river, the public place) or towards the main pedestrian flow. In addition, in terms of comfort, benches should be designed as to be easy to sit on and stand up from, especially for the categories of children and older people. Apart from benches, which are formal sitting opportunities, the presence of a variety of informal sitting opportunities (e.g. plinths, ledges etc.) creates an increased potential for users to sit in a public place. The lowest rating is given when there are no benches and no informal sitting opportunities.

In terms of the second indicator, *Walking opportunities*, it was considered that even, easily walking pavements in the entire site create the highest potential for movement within the place, for all categories of users (the elderly and children as well as women with high heels are the categories most susceptible to the paving materials). The lowest rating was awarded when even and easily walking pavements were present in less than 25% of the site. Walking is the most predominant form for people's active engagement with an environment but also serves the needs of relaxation and discovery. Being able

to easily move through the site will potentially make users want to discover what other opportunities for using that particular public place are available.

The third indicator, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* refers to the presence of those particular elements that influence the way members of the public actively engage with and discover a public place. These elements give people the opportunity for 'things to look at' or 'things to do' and refer to the presence of fountains, statues, sculptures or other instances of public art, elements that offer the possibility for play and any other type of design object that makes a public place interesting and attractive. The lack of these elements was rated lowest while the presence of more than three, ideally different types, of these opportunities was rated highest. Of course, these have to be adapted to the size and layout of the particular public place avoiding the overcrowding of a site with a multitude of different elements that could hinder the pedestrian flow. Nevertheless, it was considered that the more interesting and different elements present in a public place, the more opportunities will be created for people to actively engage with the environment. These elements are also key for social interaction among strangers and research has proven that the greatest number of spontaneous social interactions took place around these types of micro-design elements, when there was something to look at, something to do and something to talk about (Gehl, 1996; Carr *et al.*, 1992).

A fourth indicator was related to the presence of *Active frontages* in the buildings defining the public place, which is often mentioned in the literature as enhancing the vibrancy of a public place (Tibbalds, 1992; Gehl, 1996; Carmona *et al.*, 2003). The ratings for this indicator were adapted from Llwelyn Davies (2000; p. 89). The presence of different retail units, at small distances from each other was rated highest while the existence of only a few, large and opaque frontages, was rated lowest.

<u>*Third meta-theme: Animation*</u>

Despite the importance of animation in the literature, no clear guidance is available on how this dimension can be applied in practice. An experimental approach had therefore to be adopted as it was proved problematic to decide upon the indicators. In principle, the more public, a public place in terms of this dimension, the greater the diversity and number of people that are engaged in a variety of activities (in the one public place, at the same time). At a first glance, three components appeared to demonstrate animation:

- Diversity of activities;
- Number of users;
- Diversity of users.

In terms of the first component, a public place is more animated and as such more public, the more activities happen there at a certain point in time. Different activities, performed at the same time, support and stimulate each other and as such:

> "Something happens because something happens because something happens."(Gehl, 1996; p. 77)

The indicator devised was called *Diversity of activities*. On the scale from 1 to 5, this was rated lowest when there are one or two activities happening at the same time and highest when there are more than eight. It is acknowledged that this is the creation of the researcher and that other scholars might consider different values. Apart from calculating the indicator, it was also deemed important for understanding the animation of the site, to grasp which kind of activities happen in the public place. As such, the different types of activities were recorded.

In respect to the second component, a public place is more public when there are a larger number of people present. It was therefore decided to record and count the number of people that used the public place under observation. However, despite various attempts, it did not prove possible to translate this into an indicator because no standard value could be found. In other words, any indicator would have to be relative to elements such as the size or the location of each site and no absolute value can be applied rigidly to all public places. As a practical way forward it was decided to use as

an indirect indicator of the number of users - *The presence of street vendors or/and entertainers*. This is because vendors or/and entertainers appear when there is a certain footfall supporting micro economic activities such as these. The indicator was rated lowest when there are no street vendors and/or entertainers and highest when these are present throughout the entire site, during the entire day.

Finding an indicator for the third component, diversity of users, proved the most difficult task. Even though most writers on public space assert that a very public, public place is characterised by a high diversity of users, they provide little guidance on exactly how this might be measured and quantified. In other words, it was not possible from the literature to identify a 'formula' for describing the diversity of people in a certain public place. So, for example, should a standard public place have all the age groups equally represented and both sexes in equal 50/50 proportion? And in terms of ethnicity, can one say what percentage of a certain ethnicity should be present in a public place? Moreover, each public place occupies a certain location in the urban network and its public will be influenced, to a higher or lesser degree, by the age, gender and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood(s) in its proximity. Therefore, no indicator that could be used in the model for the diversity of users could be created. Nevertheless, it was still considered that knowing something about the age, gender and ethnical composition of the users of a public place could enable the animation dimension to be better understood.

In conclusion, for the animation meta-theme, it was considered that a highly public, public place is characterised by two indicators: *Diversity of activities* and *Presence of street vendors and/or entertainers*. Due to the difficulties highlighted, these indicators are considered as proxies for animation and their value will be commented upon in the conclusions chapter. It was also decided that, to facilitate a better understanding of the animation dimension, the elements that could not be captured by the indicators should be recorded and presented. These include the type of activities, the number of people and the diversity of users according to age, gender and ethnicity.

<u>*Fourth meta-theme: Control*</u>

When choosing the indicators for the control meta-theme, four elements were decided upon: *Control technology - CCTV cameras, Control presence - police/private guards, Control by design – Sadistic street furniture* and *Control signage*. In relation to the first indicator, it was considered that the highest potential for publicness is achieved when there are no cameras. The lowest rating was given for the situation when there are overt CCTV cameras, observing more than half of the site, which would lead to a highly oppressive control presence through technology. The 'mosquito' device presented in Chapter 3 was not integrated in the indicator because it has only been used in very few situations. It is acknowledged that whenever another technological invention aimed to control behaviours will become as highly employed as CCTV, a new indicator will have to be created.

In relation to the second indicator, *Control presence*, it was decided that in an ideal situation of free use, there should be no overt police presence or private guards although it is acknowledged that some members of the public might deem necessary the presence of policemen for their feeling of safety in public places. The debate between the basic human need for safety and the ideal of public place fostering freedom and universal right of access is open ended:

> "Should everyone be allowed access to these spaces at all times or should this be restricted to ensure safety? This question suggests a tension between the rights of citizen access and safety." (Atkinson, 2003; p. 1831)

Here the researcher needed to make a value judgement and answered the above question by embracing the opinion that safety should be ensured mainly by the existence of a large number of users, what Jane Jacobs (1961) called 'eyes on the street'. Creating public places with a high rating of publicness, places that are well connected, well designed, clean and well maintained and highly animated would ensure safety but also freedom of use. A distinction was made between police officers (that are employed by a public authority and as such are publicly accountable) and private guards (that cannot be held publicly accountable), rating low the presence of the latter.

The lowest rating was awarded for an oppressive control presence through both police and private guards on site during the entire day.

The third indicator *Control by design – sadistic street furniture* refers to those elements that have been put in place recently in public places to deter certain categories of users, such as homeless people or skateboarders (as discussed in Chapter 3). Their presence makes a public place uncomfortable for all users (an elderly person or a child might want to lie down on a bench that inhibits this) and shows an oppressive control presence. The highest rating was awarded for the lack of presence of such elements and the lowest for the presence of multiple elements of sadistic street furniture across the entire site.

The fourth indicator *Control signage* refers to the presence of signs deterring certain uses such as: 'No skateboarding', 'No cycling', 'No food and drinks', 'No dogs allowed' 'No photography' etc., either written or present in a descriptive manner. It was considered that the absence of these signs will lead to high publicness and as such will rate highest while the presence of the more these elements are present, the more controlled and as such less public a public place is. It should be noted that signs referring to civil behaviour, e.g. 'No dog fowling' or 'Pick up your litter' were not taken into consideration as they do not show an oppressive control manner..

It is recognised that the present approach taken in relation to the control dimension is informed by the discourses on inclusion, diversity and safety as they have been investigated and assimilated in the literature review stage. As such, it is acknowledged that public places situated in different socio-cultural backgrounds will be controlled and managed according to the local ideologies and beliefs and the negotiations between safety and diversity will always take place within the framework of local political principles and structures of power.

Fifth meta-theme: Civility

Civility, as discussed previously, refers in this thesis to the tidiness and cleanliness of an area. Four indicators were identified: _Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture, Physical maintenance and provision of green areas , Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets_ and _Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting_. In terms of the first indicator, it was considered that a spotless and tidy place with multiple bins, which are in a good state, would rate highest, as it would attract more users, also showing a high level of care of the public for the place. In addition, an inviting and clean area contributes to the feeling of safety that users need in order to enjoy a public space. The lowest rating was awarded for a place that is entirely dirty, untidy with signs of severe vandalising and broken elements of the pavements and street furniture. This would attract a lower number of users and would reflect the lack of care of the public towards the public place.

The second indicator, _Physical maintenance and provision of green areas_ reflects the state of the green space, rating highest when this looks trimmed, healthy and tidy and lowest when there is no green space. Although there are variations from place to place concerning the amount of greenery and its type (species of trees and flowers, grass, bushes etc.), it was considered here that any public place benefits highly from the presence of well-kept greenery. This helps in creating cool microclimates during hot weather and shelter during adverse weather conditions, offers possibilities for people to engage with the public place (people prefer sitting on benches under trees or lying on grass to sunbathe, read, eat, relax etc.) and generally creates a more pleasant and attractive environment. In addition, greenery is essential both in building the sustainable city and in creating more healthy environments.

The third indicator, _Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets_ was considered as a key element for a civil public place and especially necessary for the elderly and children. Their presence is fundamental for securing the use of a public place for a longer duration. The highest rating was awarded for the presence of these facilities,

maintained in a good state, easy to find and with free access. The use of public toilets is highly diminished when these are hard to find and have paid access with the lowest rating being given for their complete lacking on site.

The fourth and last indicator created for the civility meta-theme was *Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting*. Although the types and strategies of lighting differ from public place to public place, it is commonly agreed in the literature that a well and friendly lit site will create the potential for a high use during evening and night time and will contribute fundamentally to the overall safety of the area. As such, the highest rating was awarded when the entire public place is lit, when multiple lighting strategies are present and overall a friendly and warm ambience is created. The lowest rating was given to a site that is mostly dark with no (or only one/two) lights present in the entire area, with possible signs of vandalising. The majority of users will perceive this site as unfriendly and unsafe.

It can be concluded that a large number of indicators was found – nineteen in total. Although it is believed these indicators are robust and sensitive enough for the present endeavour, it is accepted that these can be improved in following studies, where the model could be tested on a larger number of public places. This could show that other indicators might exist or that several of the ones defined so far need improving. For now, due mostly to time considerations the present amount and type of indicators was considered as acceptable for applying and testing the model on real case study public places.

5.3.2 Calculating and representing publicness

Following the creation of the indicators, decisions needed to be made on how to calculate and represent the overall rating for publicness. The first decision was related to the way in which to assign numerical values to the observations. The most suitable way was to go and observe each public place and see how the reality matches the different descriptors for each indicator. This was a lengthy process and the description

for the indicators has gone through several transformations until it was considered that the five grades assigned for each indicator are comprehensive and clear enough.

The second decision was related to how to aggregate the results. Although it can be argued that the indicator referring to *CCTV cameras* could be more important than *Sadistic street furniture* for example or *Crossings* than *Cycle routes*, there was no rigorous way to find this out at this stage. As a result, it was decided to consider all indicators equal for each meta-theme, recognising that it is a task for future research to find out other more complex ways of calculating the measurements for each meta-theme. Because each meta-theme is characterised by a different number of indicators, with ownership having the least number, one, and physical configuration the most, eight, it was understood that in the overall measurement of publicness, different indicators will have a different weight. This could be overcome in a later stage when the model will be refined. The other option at this stage would have been to consider all the nineteen indicators equal but this was deemed unsatisfactory as this would have not shown the complex nature of publicness. The aim here was not only to find a mathematical model to measure the publicness of public space but also to find a way to express the multilateral nature of the concept. Therefore, it was searched for a way of illustrating the results pictorially. Previous attempts used cobweb diagrams but it was decided this was not an accurate enough method to represent publicness. Although they are useful in representing multi-dimensional concepts, their weakness lies in the fact that the sequence of dimensions radiating out from the core affects the overall graphic effect. As a result, the cobweb's appearance can be altered by changing the sequence of events and not the core information. Using the theoretical Star Model of Publicness as a starting point it was decided to translate it into a Star Diagram that would illustrate the measurement of publicness in a more comprehensible and clear way. The Star Diagram of Publicness was created after several previous inconclusive attempts (Figure 5.4). From the centre of the star, five axes are drawn at equal angle intervals from each other, each axes being divided in five equal intervals with the value 1, closest to the centre, indicating the lowest measurement of publicness and the value 5, the highest.
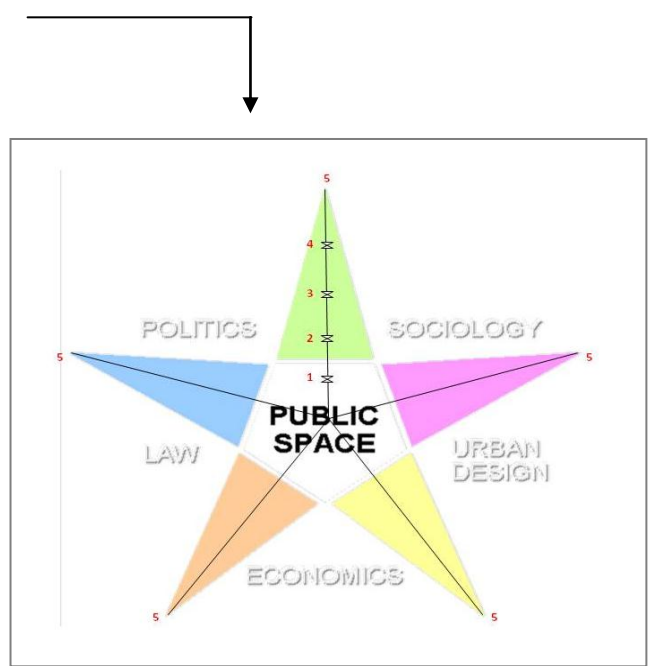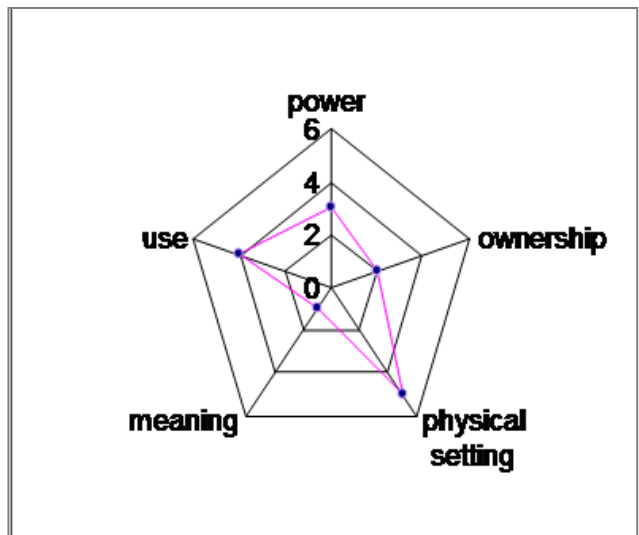
Version 2
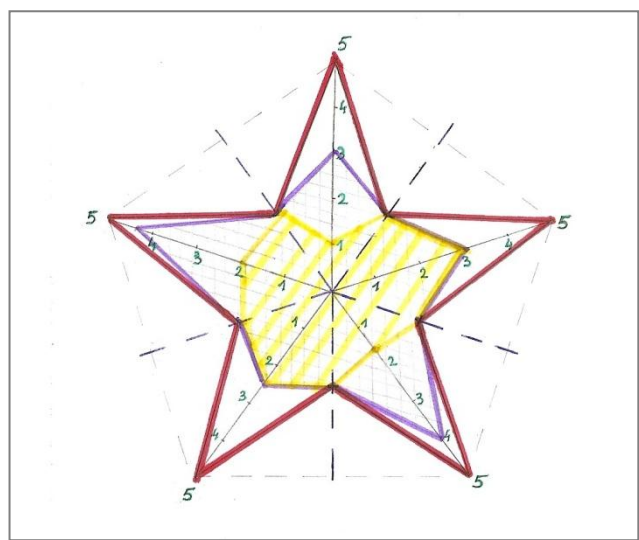
Version 3
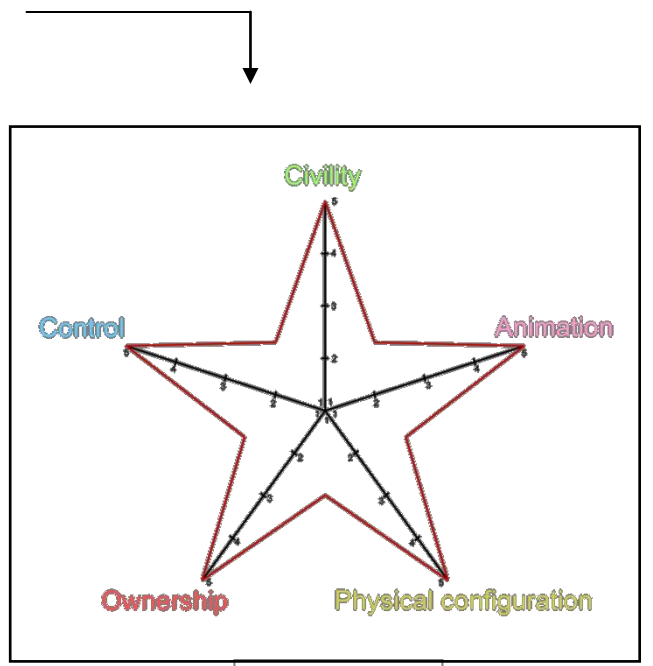
Final version

Figure 5.4 Stages in the creation of the Star Diagram of Publicness

The larger and better delineated the star, the highest the publicness of the public place would be while less well delineated, even 'negative' stars would reflect a site with a low value of publicness. Each leg of the star represents a different meta-theme, and the number present on each axis results from averaging the indicators (apart from the meta-theme ownership, where there is only one indicator). The diagram is useful in both capturing the publicness of a site at one glance but also to see exactly where publicness fails and as such what elements need to be improved so that the publicness of a public place could be increased.

Apart from representing each public place's publicness through a 'star diagram', the numerical values for the meta-themes were aggregated through the arithmetic mean and a number, between 1 and 5, was obtained for each public place's publicness. The closer the overall rating to the value 5, the higher the publicness of a public place and the closer the number for the value 1, the lower the publicness. At this stage, each meta-theme was considered as having an equal value but again this model is a prototype and in future studies the possibility that they weight differently will be explored. The reason for considering them at this stage equal is due to the lack of empirical evidence (it is the first time the model is tested) and also as a platform for future experimentation.

To conclude this section, The Star Model of Publicness and the Star Diagram have been created to measure the publicness of public places, in a way as quick and easy as possible. This implied finding and calibrating indicators for each meta-theme of publicness and deciding on a way to calculate and represent the results. This reflects the first understanding of publicness as a cultural reality. In order to apply the model in practice, the majority of the indicators can be measured by using the method of structured observation. The only indicator that cannot be measured in this way is *Ownership status*. The rating for this indicator needs to be found out during the investigation of publicness as a historical reality, for which the methods of document analysis and semi-structured interviews were chosen. The selection of the case studies

employed and the description of the fieldwork to assess publicness as both a cultural and a historical reality will be described in the remaining part of the chapter.

5.4 Assessing the publicness of public space in practice

After the Star Model of Publicness was created and the necessary methods were decided upon to undertake the fieldwork, the next stage was concerned with assessing publicness in practice. This consisted of three main stages:

1. Selecting the number and type of case study public places to be investigated;
2. Performing document analysis and semi-structured interviews to understand the historical reality dimension of publicness (an additional aim was to find out the rating for the *Ownership status* indicator);
3. Performing structured observation on each selected public place to measure the indicators and calculate publicness.

5.4.1 The selection of the case study public places

The starting point for this research, as mentioned before, was the common shared view in the academic literature on public space that new public places were not as public as they should be - they were losing something of their publicness. The first decision was therefore to look specifically at new public places. In their majority, these have been created in the contemporary period, in the Western world, either in city centres or on post-industrial waterfronts, as a result of the process of urban regeneration. The second decision was to choose the latter location, based on the following rationalities. First, as the model has not been applied and tested before, it was aimed that in this first stage, public places that would already be known as having certain similarities would be the best option for more robust and comprehensive comparisons between sites. A large majority of the new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts shared similar characteristics in terms of their development, physical layout but also in their built purpose as places of leisure and entertainment, aimed at being vibrant areas,

reconnecting the local population with the river and attracting tourists. By applying and testing the model on these new public places, it could be assessed if indeed these areas were successfully integrated in the urban public realm. Second, the creation of new public places on post -industrial waterfronts is a relative new phenomenon that has been only partially researched and the present endeavour would help shed more light and enrich this area of inquiry.

Although at the beginning of the project, it was intended to look at new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in two different cities, Glasgow, and another city (with Rotterdam, Bilbao or Melbourne among the ones considered), it became clear after the Star Model was created that a large amount of time has already been dedicated to the understanding, conceptualising, defining and modelling the publicness of public space. As a result, for both academic and practical reasons, the research focused on Glasgow. From an academic point of view, the creation of new public places on the recent regenerated waterfront of the Clyde, the central river in Glasgow, has not been adequately investigated. From a highly industrialised river that brought wealth into the city and made Glasgow 'the second city of the empire', in the second half of the 20th century, the waterfront underwent slow decay culminating to the city having turned its back to the river. The recent regeneration of the waterfront has been therefore a controversial process that captured the attention of the public, the media and the research community. In the process of urban regeneration, public space has been seen as a priority for changing the image of the city and for promoting Glasgow on the world stage. By assessing the publicness of new public places on Glasgow's post-industrial waterfront it was intended to apply and test the model, while investigating the recent transformation of the river as part of the broader background of the city's regeneration. Apart from these academic considerations, from a practical point of view, Glasgow was the location where the researcher was placed and as such time and material resources could be saved by applying the model there.

Regarding the number of case studies, a balance needed to be found between the advantage of investigating more case studies, which would help test the applicability of

the model and the disadvantage regarding less time available for appropriately exploring the development process and historical background of each site. Consequently, three case study new public places created on the post-industrial waterfront of the River Clyde were selected. After performing several reconnaissance trips to the waterfront and investigating the local process of the river's regeneration, the choice was based on four main reasons. First, the locations would have to be new public places, created in the last decades of waterfront regeneration. Second, they would have to be similar in purpose, in the sense that they should all be created for the 'wide public', Glaswegians and tourists alike (and not for specific categories of users, such as a children's playground). Third, the size of the locations was important - they were meant to be of a similar size, which could be observed by the researcher as easily as possible. Fourth, in order to introduce variation and see how the model works in slightly different circumstances, each case study was chosen as part of a different type of development that has been produced in a different period in the last thirty years or so. Based on these considerations, the following sites were chosen (for the location of the case studies in the urban landscape of Glasgow, see Chapter 6, Figure 6.17):

- Pacific Quay is one of the first places where development started to happen on the derelict post-industrial landscape of the Clyde's waterfront as this was the location for one of the first cultural regeneration events in the city – the Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988. It is an area dedicated to leisure and tourism (the Science Centre Museum has been constructed here) but also to the media industries, representing Glasgow's new 'Media Quarter (the new headquarters of BBC Scotland have been relocated on site in 2007). The walkway by the Clyde with the adjacent square in between the BBC and the Science Centre buildings was chosen for analysis. The site is situated approximately one mile to the west of the City Centre, on the southern bank of the river. On the northern bank, opposite to the case study public place are the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre) and The Clyde Auditorium or 'The Armadillo' – two famous landmarks in the cultural and touristic life of the city.

- Glasgow Harbour was developed mainly as a housing project, especially in its first stages. It started in 2000 and it is one of the most controversial developments in

Glasgow in the last decades. This is due primarily to the demolishing of the famous Meadowside Granaries, a significant landmark from Glasgow's rich shipping industrial past, to be replaced with luxury apartments and a new public place. It is situated to the West of the city centre, bordering the traditional working class neighbourhood of Partick and was planned as an extension of the close by West End – the most affluent part of the city and the location of the University of Glasgow. The project started in 2001 and is still continuing today, being mainly privately driven. The area under analysis comprised both the river walkway and the linear park, connected by Meadowside Quay Square, created in the first phases of this project.

- <u>Broomielaw</u> is the latest public space development on the Clyde waterfront, opened in 2009. It is part of a larger project consisting of two regenerated river walkways, one on the north side of the river at Broomielaw and one on the south side of the river at Tradeston, connected by a new pedestrian and cycle bridge, the Squiggly Bridge. Due to the current recession, the Tradeston development is not yet completed; the greatest progress has been made in the Boomielaw part and as such, the new public place here – the river walkway - was chosen as the case study. The site is in the City Centre of Glasgow, next to the International Financial Services District (IFSD) and has been a publicly led project by the Glasgow City Council.

5.4.2 Publicness as a historical reality: document analysis and semi-structured interviews

During the research process, it was acknowledged that an inquiry needed to be made into both the general historical context and the particular development process of the case study public places under analysis, to understand publicness as a historical reality. The most viable and useful methods for this endeavour were considered to be <u>document analysis</u> and <u>semi-structured interviews</u>. The main purpose for performing document analysis was to create a good understanding of the redevelopment of the Clyde in general, and of each case study in particular, with a focus on new public place creation. Examining both public and private documents was deemed useful to clarify the

policy context, the governance structures and the general vision for public place creation on the derelict riverfront of the Clyde. In addition, they would be the basis for identifying the interviewees – main actors involved in the river's regeneration and particular actors involved in the development of each case study. The semi-structured interviews would provide additional information on the river's regeneration but would mainly show how different actors have influenced the publicness of the new public places chosen for analysis.

By undertaking interviews with each actor individually and not with focus groups for example, different sides of the same development story could be found out and the history of the site reconstituted as objectively as possible from the various accounts. As such, the publicness of each public place could be understood as resulting from the interaction of the various development actors, each with their own objectives, visions and rationalities regarding the newly created public places. As part of understanding the development story of each site, the researcher would also obtain the rating for the indicator *Ownership status*, when undertaking the interviews and the document analysis. Each of these two methods will be detailed in the next paragraphs.

Document analysis

This research used <u>official documents</u> as a source of data, such as planning applications, masterplans, city plans and other publications that describe the Glasgow City Council's strategy for developing the Clyde waterfront. The reading and examination of such data sources was aimed first at identifying the general historical background for development and second at finding the different actors that have been involved in the development process of the particular case study public places. Third, they were also a good source for understanding several of the objectives that the local authority has pursued, together with the visions and strategies undertaken in regenerating the waterfront of the river and producing new public places. These texts fulfil both the criteria of credibility and representativeness, but it has to be kept in mind that they were written with certain objectives in mind and to promote the interests of the

public authority. Important sources of information were the planning applications (the ones that could be found) for the sites under investigation; these were found in the Glasgow City Council archives.

A series of <u>private documents</u> were investigated along with the official ones, represented by the publications of private actors (e.g. Glasgow Harbour Ltd.), in order to determine their objectives, degree of involvement and vision for the respective areas. Even though they are representative for the research, being produced by private companies, these texts have to be carefully analysed in the sense they have been written with certain objectives in mind and to promote certain interests.

A distinct category was the use of the <u>World Wide Web as a text</u> with the same purpose of identifying the main actors involved in the development process and also to help re-constitute the development stories. Several kinds of documents are included under this category, such as newspaper articles, internet pages of the different actors involved in the development of the examined sites or internet pages dedicated to the general re-development of the Clyde (e.g. wwww.clydewaterfront.com). It should be noted that from all the documents analysed, internet research was the most time consuming and provided the least reliable information. Nevertheless, it proved very rewarding in finding the different actors that were subsequently interviewed along with their contact details, and also in discovering important documents, such as masterplans and key information for re-constructing the development story of the river and the case study sites[1]. The main documents investigated and the purposes of their analysis are presented in Figure 5.5.

---

[1] Two important sites are www.futureglasgow.co.uk and www.skyscrapercity.com

TYPES OF DOCUMENTS	PURPOSE OF ANALYSIS
1. Planning applications submitted at the Glasgow City Council for the three sites under investigation	To identify the different actors involved in the development of the sites and understand their development process.
2. Publications that refer to the Clyde's redevelopment commissioned by public bodies (e.g. Glasgow City Council, Scottish Enterprise, Clyde Waterfront)	To understand the different stages that the redevelopment of the Clyde has undergone and create a time line of the main events that changed the river's landscape in order to place the analysis of the three case studies in a broader historical context; To identify the different objectives that the public authority had and still has in relation to creating new public space along the waterfront, with an emphasis on the three case studies.
3. Publications that refer to the Clyde's redevelopment commissioned by private bodies (e.g. Clydeport, Glasgow Harbour Ltd etc.)	To identify the different objectives that the private companies have in relation to public space along the waterfront, and to find out elements from the development story of each case study (in particular Glasgow Harbour)
4. Internet resources: A) the internet pages of actors that have been involved in the development of the Clyde (e.g. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Harbour Ltd., Clyde Waterfront, Scottish Enterprise, The Science Centre etc.)	To identify other actors involved in the development process of the sites and to find their contact details. To find more background information on the new developments.
4. Internet resources: B) the internet pages dedicated to the regeneration of Glasgow and that capture the opinion of different specialists such as planners or architects in relation to the public places investigated.	To capture other various informed opinions about the new developments. To find graphic sources of data such as masterplans or photos of the different stages that marked the development of the sites.

Figure 5.5 The main types of written texts analyzed and the purpose of their investigation

Semi-structured interviews

In the literature on research design methods, there is much criticism directed at the lack of clear sampling methods in qualitative research (Bryman, 2004) and it is agreed here that it is important to explain clearly the steps taken in identifying the interviewees in order to achieve dependability and reliability of the research. The criteria used in this research for selecting the first group of interviewees was the analysis of all the types of the documents presented above. After the first interviewees have been selected and interviewed, by using purposive sampling based on the snowballing technique, the researcher managed to identify a second group of participants.

The interviewees could be broadly grouped into two categories: 'commentators' – people generally involved in the regeneration of the river and of Glasgow and 'actors' – people specifically involved in the development of the case study public places.

The category of commentators included a politician from the local City Council, Nina Baker from the Green Party with involvement in the river's redevelopment, the former leader of the Glasgow City Council, Charlie Gordon, the current planning officer in charge of the river, Ethel May Abel, the City Design Advisor, Gerry Grams and the urban designer Willie Miller, involved in Glasgow's regeneration for the past twenty years. For issues related to the meta-theme of Control, Bill Love was interviewed, the officer in charge with safety in the city centre and along the river, from the City Council's ALEO Community and Safety Services (see Chapter 6 for the structure of the Glasgow City Council).

This interview also included a visit to two of the case study sites, Broomielaw and Pacific Quay, with the interviewee explaining to the researcher many issues related not only to the security of the sites but also to their general development. It is regretted that no one from the current leadership of the City Council or its Land and Regeneration Services was available for interviewing although several attempts were made in this regard. The 'actors' group comprised interviewees, pertaining to the different categories identified as key in the development process in Chapter 4, for each site. Therefore, it was intended to interview at least an architect/urban designer, a developer and/or

owner, a planning officer and a person from the construction industry. In practice these roles are blurred and so the people interviewed held two or three roles at the same time. The distinction between the two groups of interviewees 'commentators' and 'actors' was made here especially for a clarification purpose. In reality several of the 'commentators' provided very valuable information on different meta-themes of publicness for the different sites (for example Charlie Gordon was heavily involved in the Glasgow Harbour site, Bill Love offered information about the Control in Broomielaw and Pacific Quay, Ethel May Abel provided the reason for the lack of provision of public toilets for all case studies etc.) while several of the 'actors' provided useful information about the general regeneration of the river.

The interviews lasted for different lengths of time from thirty-five minutes to approximately two hours. Sixteen interviews were performed in total with eighteen people being interviewed. Two interviews were conducted with two people at the same time; two officers from the City Council wanted to be interviewed together and while interviewing the project manager for Broomielaw, the person in charge with the construction of the public place came in and agreed to be interviewed as well. The interviews were aimed to be performed in locations as quiet as possible so that the quality of the recording was high and they could be transcribed and analysed at a later stage. In terms of content, the interviews were semi-structured in the sense that the researcher carried a pre-defined interview pro-forma to each interview (Annexe 1). There was a slight difference in the predefined interview pro-forma between commentators and actors. In the case of commentators, the main issues that were investigated were related to the river in general and the creation of public place on its post-industrial waterfront in particular. When possible the interviewer steered the discussion towards the case studies if the interviewee showed interest and had knowledge about these particular sites. Also the interviewer tried to focus as much as possible on the public space discussion, in the general context of the river's regeneration, in terms of the five meta-themes (e.g. when an issue related to civility or control appeared in the discussion, the researcher picked up on it and expanded it). When interviewing the particular actors, the researcher tried first to understand the

development story of the site overall and second to find out information about the publicness of the newly created public places, structured under the five meta-themes. It was very useful to perform the document analysis prior to the interviews as the researcher had already acquired a good insight into their general development. Apart from an interview pro-forma, the researcher also carried a folder with pictorial materials. These were photographs from the three sites illustrating issues pertaining to the five meta-themes (taken by the researcher in the process of selecting the case-studies) and several maps of the city and of the Clyde's regeneration. All the interviews opened up with asking the interviewee to define public space. This was done for two reasons. First, to collect a series of subjective definitions of public space given by practitioners so that it could be seen if public space is indeed a fuzzy concept in the practice of public place production and not only on a theoretical level. The second reason for opening the interviews with this issue was to focus the discussion on the topic of public space.

Each interviewee was presented with three options: to disclose their name and position, only their position or to be anonymous. All the interviewees chose to have both their name and position disclosed and when the thesis was written up, it was decided to mention these. This can be seen as an advantage as it is easier for the reader to understand how each actor has influenced the publicness of each public place and also to better grasp the power play among the different actors in the development process It needs to be acknowledged though that this is also a disadvantage because by agreeing to give their name and position, the interviewees might have presented an 'official story' and held back certain information. It happened several times that the interviewee asked the researcher to switch the recorder off and told several details that they did not want revealed. This is an inherent characteristic of this research method and the researcher needs to be satisfied with finding out 'a truth' and never 'the whole truth'.

After the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed and then analysed. Common themes were found referring to the regeneration of the river and Glasgow in general that were used to describe the general historical context. The data from each interview was organised according to the meta-themes of publicness, for each site, so

that the measurement of publicness could be related with decisions, motivations and objectives from the development process. A table was created with all the collected definitions of public space. The majority of the interviewees showed great interest in the project and belief in its usefulness.

5.4.3 Investigating publicness as a cultural reality - the practical application of the Star Model of Publicness: structured observation

As it was mentioned previously, applying the Star Model of Publicness meant using the method of structured observation. All the indicators (apart from *Ownership status*) were physically observable entities and could be grouped in three categories:

- Type 1 – indicators that were not highly time dependent; they could change only in long time periods and as such they could be observed by performing a one day visit to the site. These included all the indicators for physical configuration (it could be assumed that during a year a new street crossing could be created or more active frontages could appear but for a limited observation time these would not change); all the indicators for civility and the three indicators for control: *Control technology - CCTV cameras, Control by design – Sadistic street furniture* and *Control signage*

- Type 2 – indicators that were time dependent daily (their rating would vary from day to day). These were the indicator for control: *Police/Guards Presence* and the indicator for animation: *Presence of Street Vendors/Entertainers*. The rating for these indicators would change if the site would be observed in different days.

- Type 3 – indicators that were highly time dependent – these could change all the time during a day and would also differ from day to day. This referred to *Diversity of Activities* indicator for the animation meta-theme. To measure this, it was needed to record at certain regular intervals, the total number of activities performed at the same time by the people present in a public place. In addition,

the type of activities, the total number of people and their ethnic, age and gender composition would be recoded to have a better understanding of the site's animation.

After this typology was understood, the following questions needed to be answered: *When should the observation take place and for how long?* Measuring the publicness indicators could be performed by spending one entire day, from morning until evening time in each public place, in parallel with recording, at specific times, the activities and users. Although the model is meant to measure publicness as a snapshot, at a certain point in time, it was considered that it was insufficient to record the animation of a place only for one day, because this would lead to a biased set of data. In that specific day, adverse weather conditions, a special event or celebration in the city or other similar factors could greatly influence the animation of a site. In addition, the Type 2 indicators would differ from day to day and as such, it was not enough to measure them in only one particular day. It was therefore decided, according to the time available for the empirical work, that three days would be spent in each location, each different days of the week: Mondays to account for the week use, Fridays and Sundays for the weekend use pattern. By spending three entire days, at different times in the week, from morning until evening, in each location, it could be grasped if the Type 2 indicators vary and an average measurement would be obtained for them. Even more important though, a set of data representative enough to calculate the *Diversity of activities* indicator and understand the average animation of the public place could be gathered.

In relation to *when should the observation take place?* in an ideal situation, longitudinal yearlong studies should be undertaken, to grasp, in a manner as realistic as possible, the use of a public place regarding different seasonal variations. An example of year long, in depth studies of the use of public places is offered by Setha Low (2000) where she analyses two South American plazas. The aim in this research though was not to investigate the use of public places in depth but to apply and test the model created. As such, it was decided to perform the observations in the autumn of 2009, for approximately two months, from the end of September until the beginning of November.

The observation would be undertaken alternatively in the three chosen days (see Annexe 2 for the list of days when the observation was performed together with the weather conditions). This observation period was chosen for two main reasons. First, as the aim was to gather a sufficient amount of data for the measurements to be robust enough, it was opted for this particular time of the year due to a lesser probability of rain (end of spring and beginning of autumn are the driest seasons in the yearlong climate of Glasgow). Second, besides gathering a sufficient amount of data, it was also aimed to observe the average use of the places and as such winter or summer was not chosen, being the extreme seasons. In winter, the weather conditions would lead to a much diminished use of the sites resulting in insufficient and inconsistent data while in the summer the presence of festivals – such as the River Festival - and the holiday season would have biased the data. As the indicators were finalised at the end of summer 2009, the most appropriate time for observation was the following autumn.

The next stage was to answer the question *how would the observation take place?* In order to answer this, first, a Non-Time Dependent Observation Audit Pro-Forma was created, containing all the Type 1 indicators and their descriptors (Annexe 3). This would be taken by the researcher with her in the first observation day and the indicators graded according to the reality on site.

In order to measure the *Diversity of activities* and understand the public place's animation, the structured observation method was considered the most viable option. In terms of recording the diversity of users, by observation, only certain typologies could be identified, gender, age and ethnicity – the latter two with a certain degree of inaccuracy as they were 'guessed' by the researcher when observing the site. A wider range of types of users (according for example to their education background, nationality, profession etc.) and more accurate data regarding ethnicity and age could be obtained by performing user intercept surveys but this would interfere with the normal life of a public place and as such was not chosen here. It was also acknowledged that the most accurate data concerning the animation of a site would be gathered by using video cameras that would record the continuous flow of uses and

users. This would influence the normal life of a public place the least but this was not an option available, due to financial reasons, and as such, time-dependent observations needed to be performed at specific times, common to all sites. Therefore, in order to record the animation of each public place, a second observation pro-forma needed to be designed. To create this, the researcher undertook a pilot study of two hours in each case study public place, prior to beginning the actual observations. This resulted in the following decisions:

- Each site needed to be divided in several observation areas with one observation point in each, because the researcher could not see the entire site from only one position. The public place in Pacific Quay was divided in two areas, while the public places in Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw in four. The observation points were chosen to be as unobtrusive as possible to the normal events happening in each location. Although when the case studies were chosen, it was intended that they were easily observable entities, it was not possible to find sites small enough to see everyone and everything that was going on at the same time from only one point. The situation is most likely to be encountered in many public places and can be better managed by having a team of observers, each placed at a different observation point (could be two, three, four or more depending on the size of the site) or in an ideal situation by using video cameras.

- A five-minute interval was decided upon to record the use of a site; the time interval should have been as short as possible but less than five minutes would have been insufficient to be able to record. The observations will be done as snapshots, for a five-minute interval, at the following times: for Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw at 15 minutes past, 35 minutes past, 45 minutes past and 55 minutes past and for Pacific Quay, the timed observations were done at 45 minutes past and 55 minutes past.

- The main activities that were occurring on the sites were identified, so that the researcher would only have to fill the number and types of people in the short

observation interval. These were: Strolling, Standing, Sitting down, Cycling, Jogging, Playing, Eating, Drinking and Walking the dog. The difference between Strolling and Standing was decided as following: strolling referred to people who were walking at a slow pace throughout the public place while standing referred to people who were only standing (often leaning on a support like the river balustrade or a lamp post) throughout the 5 minutes observation time. Two other categories were added: one for other activities, labelled as 'Other' and one for 'People passing through'. The first one was meant for capturing any other activity happening on site while the latter was meant for delineating the people that were actually doing something in a public place, ' the users' and the people that were only transiting the site. As such, the people passing through were not considered in the measurements.

- A system of coding was created (Figure 5.6) so that the researcher could fill in rapidly the users in each category. For example if in one observation for Strolling will be MAY, FWMA and MWT and for Cycling it will be M+F WY meaning that at that time there were two activities happening done by five people out of which three are walking by themselves: one person male, Asian and young; one person female, White and middle -aged and one person male, White and teenager and two are cycling together: a male and a female, both White and Young.

-

Sex (male and female)	Ethnicity (White, Black and Asian)	Age (children, teenagers, young, middle aged and pensioners)
M	W	C
	B	T
		Y
	A	MA
		P
F	W	C
	B	T
		Y
	A	MA
		P

Figure 5.6. The system of coding for recording the diversity of users

The <u>Time-dependent Observation Audit Pro-Forma</u> (Annexe 4) was created based on these decisions. This also included the observation point, the observation time, the weather conditions and a section where other elements could be recorded. These included preferred movement patterns or any other elements that would help understand the animation of the site. In addition, the Type 2 indicators had a separate column so that in case a police officer/private guard, a street vendor or a street entertainer were observed, this could be noted down. After this second audit pro-forma was created, the researcher undertook the nine days of observation. Each observation day lasted from approximately 10 a.m. to 8 p.m.

Following the undertaking of the fieldwork, the measurements for the indicators were averaged and the Star Diagrams were drawn (including the *Ownership status* measurement obtained from the interviews and document analysis). The data for the animation was introduced in Microsoft Excel sheets and apart from the indicator *Diversity of activities,* other elements were calculated. These included the total number of users, the activities that took place the most and by whom they were performed and the ethnic, age and gender composition of the users. The indicator *Diversity of activities* was calculated in the following way. Because the site could not be observed in its entirety at the same time, the researcher had to make an approximate count of the activities happening in the public place, in the short five-minute time interval. For example, if in Glasgow Harbour, in the period from 9 a.m. until 10 a.m. the following activities were recorded:

-   In the first observation area, there were two activities Cycling and Jogging at the 9:15 – 9:20 observation;
-   In the second observation area, there were three activities Cycling, Jogging and Sitting down at the 9:35 – 9:40 observation;
-   In the third observation area, there were two activities Cycling and Jogging at the 9:45 – 9:50 observation;

- In the fourth observation area, there were two activities: Strolling and Jogging.

the total number of different activities performed on the entire site was measured as **4**. The measurements for each hour were averaged and three different values were obtained for each observation day. These were again averaged and a final value was obtained for the entire site. It is understood here that this is not a perfect reflection of the reality but as said before, only by employing a team of researchers or video footage can the measurements be more accurate.

As a consequence of the fieldwork, the publicness of each site was first analysed as a historical reality, as a result of the development process and second, measured as a cultural reality. The obtained rating for publicness was correlated with the development story in order to understand why the specific measurement was obtained.

5.5 Ethical considerations and methodological issues

In terms of ethical considerations, this research did not pose any difficult issues. Regarding the interviews, an ethics form was presented to the interviewee at the beginning of the interview where she or he was informed on the topic and purpose of the research and who the interviewer was. The interviewee had three choices: disclosing their name and their position, only their position or remaining completely anonymous. The structured observation did not require any ethical approval as the researcher stayed as inconspicuous as possible and did not engage the subjects of the research.

In terms of conceptualising and developing the Star Model of Publicness into a practical tool to assess the publicness of public places, it can be said that the lack of previous attempts, made the process very time consuming. It is hoped that by applying the model and testing it in future research on more case study public places, the present indicators can be improved while others can be found.

In relation to the fieldwork undertaken, several issues were problematic. First, regarding the interviews, although it was intended to perform these in quiet locations, this was not possible in two situations, when the interviewees accepted to be interviewed in their office, which was a very noisy location. This resulted in the very cumbersome transcription and analysis of these two interviews. Second, regarding the document analysis, the researcher could not obtain several important documents (such as the Design Guidelines for the new public realm in Pacific Quay or the masterplan for the future development of pavilions in Broomielaw) which were shown to her during the interviews; the interviewees refused to allow the researcher to borrow these documents. Third, in relation to the structured observation, two main issues need to be highlighted: the lack of public toilets and the issue of the researcher's safety. The lack of public toilets in all the three public places broke the continuous flow of observation several times when the researcher left the site in search for such amenities. This shows the crucial importance of the provision of these amenities in public locations. Nevertheless, the average of eight – ten hours spent in each public place in each observation day, from the morning when there was very little animation till evening time, when the animation died out was considered a sufficient time to record the different uses and users on site. Similarly as in the case of the need to divide the site in several observation areas, this would not have been an issue if the observation would have been performed by using teams of observers or ideally, video cameras. As this was not possible in this particular study, this is strongly recommended for future research.

The other problem encountered during the fieldwork was the issue of safety of the researcher in the evening time. After a consultation meeting with the supervisor, it was decided that a friend would accompany the researcher during the evening hours of the observation. This proved a useful strategy because several times (as for example in the case of the researcher being approached by a drug dealer) there were situations when the researcher felt unsafe.

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with modelling publicness – presenting the mixed methods approach employed to assess the publicness of a public place both as a cultural and a historical reality. It has described the stages of the research process and the different objectives set to answer the research question and argued for the selection of the particular case studies. The Star Model of Publicness, a new method to measure the publicness of public places has been detailed in terms of creation and application. This describes and measures publicness as a cultural reality. The practical application of the model was realised by performing mainly structured observation. In order to explain the measurement obtained for each particular site and analyse publicness as a historical reality, an exploratory study based on document analysis and interviews was undertaken. The chapter ended with highlighting several methodological issues and presenting the ethical considerations. Following this part, the next chapters will focus on the practical application of these methods and will present first the broad historical context of the transformation of the Clyde into a post-industrial waterfront as part of the regeneration of Glasgow and second the analysis of the publicness of each case study public place as both a cultural and a historical reality.

CHAPTER 6

SETTING THE SCENE. GLASGOW'S EXPERIENCE IN WATERFRONT REGENERATION AND THE CREATION OF NEW PUBLIC SPACE

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Waterfront regeneration as a worldwide phenomenon

    6.2.1 Re-development, re-generation, re-naissance

    6.2.2 Waterfronts as key sites for urban regeneration and the creation of new public space

6.3 Glasgow's experience in waterfront regeneration – a public space perspective

    6.3.1 Glasgow – 'Scotland with Style?'

    6.3.2 The regeneration of the Clyde

6.4 Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the case study analysis of the publicness of public places created on the post-industrial regenerated waterfront of Glasgow. First, it describes the phenomenon of urban regeneration as the most common paradigm for urban development in many Western cities and then zooms in on waterfronts, as one of the key sites where this phenomenon has been taking place. One of the outcomes of waterfront regeneration has been the creation of new public places, which provided an opportunity to test the Star Model of Publicness. It was previously shown that publicness is a historical reality and that to assess the publicness of a public place it is necessary to gain insight into the broad historical background that has framed its development. As a result, the chapter moves on to describe first, Glasgow's recent urban regeneration and second, the redevelopment of the River Clyde's waterfront, as the larger background where the particular case study public places investigated in this thesis are located. The chapter ends with several conclusions on Glasgow's recent experience of

waterfront regeneration and on how this has affected the creation of new public space.

6.2 Waterfront regeneration as a worldwide phenomenon

6.2.1 Re-development, re-generation, re-naissance

Cities, the greatest cultural artefacts of human social organisation, change in time, as the societies that produced them experience different phenomena of economic, social, cultural and political transformation. The current view in the urban literature is that at present, cities, especially in the developed world, are undergoing a dramatic change from what has generally been termed 'the industrial, modern city' to a post-industrial, post-modern city' (Fox-Prezeworski, Goddard and de Jong eds.,1991; Couch, Fraser and Percy eds., 2003; Gordon and Buck, 2005; Sklair, 2008; Doucet, 2010; Zukin, 1995).

This phenomenon was triggered by a decline in the industrial functions of urban centres that previously dominated the world stage on the background of the globalisation of labour and capital, quality-based competition on various levels from individual companies to entire cities and flexibility of production (Gordon and Buck, 2005). Other current global transformations, including the innovations in transport and information technologies, the increase in leisure time, a culture of growing consumerism, neo-liberal politics and deregulation have led to a general shift in the function of cities from centres of production to centres of consumption.

In a climate of heightened urban competition, many cities have pursued strategies to re-brand or re-invent themselves to attract increased flows of capital, labour and tourism. Starting with the famous 'I love NY' campaign in the 1970s, other cities have pursued similar marketing strategies such as 'I **am**sterdam' in the Netherlands, in 2004 (Figure 6.1) or the present Glasgow 'Scotland with Style" brand, discussed in the second part of this chapter.

As pointed out earlier in Chapter 4, many Western cities were faced in the post 1950s years with grave problems such as the poor conditions of the industrial housing estates or the growing demand for transport infrastructure in a climate of rising car use.

Broadly, 'urban regeneration' is the umbrella term used to describe the policy response from local authorities to tackle these various urban problems, the UK but also in France, Germany, the Netherlands or Belgium, (Couch and Fraser, 2003). In many of these countries, the budget for urban regeneration has increased steeply, as for example in France where it grew 100 times in the period 1990 to 1999 (Korthals Altes, 2002).

In Britain, different related terms have reflected various urban initiatives aiming to deal with the bleak legacy of industrialisation and war destruction. Urban renewal' has been replaced with 'urban regeneration' and recently with 'urban renaissance' (Furbey, 1999; Carmona, 2001; Punter, 2010).

"Why do we need a new approach to city marketing? Because competition between cities in Europe is becoming stronger. Cities across the continent are more effectively emphasizing their strong features to attract visitors, companies and new residents than ever before. Amsterdam and its surroundings likewise want to show off their enterprise, innovation and creativity. This is what we have been good at for centuries and it is (partly) the means by which we are perceived and admired throughout the world."

From *The Making of the City Marketing of Amsterdam*, published by the City of Amsterdam in 2004

Figure 6.1 The "I am*sterdam***" campaign of re-branding the city**

Reflecting the shifts in planning theories and political regimes, the approach moved from a public sector driven physical strategy based on zoning policies and large-scale developments, in the 1960s and 1970s to more economic focused initiatives in the 1980s, on the background of Thatcherist entrepreneurialism. The market driven approach has slowly changed in the last decade, with the emphasis being placed on partnerships, sustainable goals and community involvement in the current urban renaissance paradigm. This was put forward by the new Labour government that came to power in 1997 in an attempt to revitalise British cities and tackle the negative effects of the property-led urban regeneration practiced in the previous Conservative period (Colomb, 2007). Both the report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) and the Urban White Paper that followed

it, *Our Towns and Cities* (DETR, 2000) showed the new government's commitment to focus on improving the 'liveability' of British cities. This was based on principles such as a good quality public realm, sustainable development, co-operation among the different stakeholders involved in urban renewal, social well-being and economic growth (Carmona, 2001; Holden and Iveson, 2003). Carmona (2001), in an effort to unpick the traits of the urban renaissance, describes the concept as being based on three main aspects:

- a change from anti-urban feelings to more positive attitudes towards cities and city living;
- re-investment in urban environments to provide not only economic but also social and environmental infrastructure and
- positive and integrated management and leadership to enable the above.

Opposed to the previous market-led regeneration, based on strengthening local economies and pushing forward any type of economically viable development (Healey, 1992), New Labour's urban agenda was hailed as a design-led regeneration (Carmona, 2001; Punter, 2007), focusing on making better places for people and on creating more attractive urban environments:

> "In the original Urban Task Force Report, we set out a vision: a vision of well designed, compact and connected cities supporting a diverse range of uses – where people live, work and enjoy leisure time at close quarters – in a sustainable urban environment well integrated with public transport and adaptable to change." (Urban Task Force, 2005)

Consequently, public space has become a key concern in urban regeneration with a civilised and attractive environment being seen as a way of tackling anti-social behaviour and incivilities (Colomb, 2007). Thatcherism also left a very divided British society and a good quality public realm was seen as a way of bringing people back together in an effort to regenerate communities and reintegrate neighbourhoods:

> "A reformed and revitalized public domain is presented as a visible task that New Labour can undertake to sweep away the dark days of Thatcherite individualism." (Holden and Iveson, 2003; p. 58)

Another reason behind the promotion of public space in the post-industrial cities is related to the fact that regeneration is concerned mostly with deprived and

dilapidated areas and an attractive public realm is considered able to change the negative image associated with these urban environments and help create a positive image for the entire city (Raco, 2003).

Although projects all over the UK were built reflecting these principles, the success of the British urban renaissance in creating a democratic, inclusive and vibrant public realm has been highly disputed. Holden and Iveson (2003) argue that the new public realm is exclusionary and gentrified and they point out a crucial paradox at the heart of New Labour's design-led urban renaissance:

> "...a good-quality public realm is seen to be necessary for fostering social cohesion and community, and yet improvements to the prior formation of social cohesion and community, which are found to be wanting in many existing towns and cities." (Holden and Iveson, 2003; p. 66)

In practice this has led to the ubiquitous question: should public places be built only after a certain community has been established in an area or should public places be built first to help create such a community? Other critics of the urban renaissance suggested that the new developments included an increasingly privatised and controlled public realm, as described in Chapter 3. In this context, the decision was made that the case studies chosen for this research were new public places created as a result of this contested British urban renaissance, in the particular case of Glasgow. Apart from wanting to test the Star Model and measure the publicness of public places, it was also thought useful to find out how public are these new public places created as part of the broader phenomenon of urban regeneration, in the particular case of the UK. As the spectrum of urban renewal is very broad, covering various areas of the city, the research looks at public sites developed in a specific form of regenerated urban landscapes – the former industrial waterfront. The next part will present the key characteristics of this specific type of development.

6.2.2 Waterfronts as key sites for urban regeneration and the creation of new public space

In the beginning of his book *Fluid City. Transforming Melbourne's Urban Waterfront* (2005), Kim Dovey states:

> "The regeneration of urban waterfronts is one of the key urban design and planning stories of the late twentieth century. No longer required to serve as

working ports or industrial sewers, waterfronts have become places of urban transformation with potential to attract investment and reverse patterns of decline. ... The urban waterfront has become a new frontier of the city with opportunities for significant aesthetic, economic, social and environmental benefits; it is also the new battleground over conflict between public and private interests." (Dovey, 2005; p. 10)

Indeed, many studies in the literature speak of the regeneration of a plethora of urban waterfronts around the world. These range from North America with cities such as Baltimore, Boston, San Francisco, Toronto and Vancouver (Marshall, 2001a; de Jong, 1991; Hoyle, 2000) to the Southern Hemisphere with Cape Town in South Africa (Kilian and Dodson, 1996) and Sydney and Melbourne in Australia (Dovey, 2005; Sandercock and Dovey, 2002; Stevens, 2006). In Europe, famous examples like Barcelona (Jauhlainen, 1995), Bilbao (Gomez, 1998; Rodriguez, Martinez and Guenaga, 2001), Rotterdam (Doucet, 2010; Couch, 2003; McCarthy, 1998), Amsterdam (Marshall, 2001b), Hamburg, and Helsinki are joined by the more problematic stories of Copenhagen (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004) and Tallinn (Feldman, 2000). In Africa, Cape Town's regeneration is followed by the less known examples of Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (Hoyle, 2000; 2001) while in Asia, Shanghai (Marshall, 2001c; WU, 2004) and Singapore (Hoyle, 2000) are often quoted as dramatically having developed their waterfronts.

In the UK, the controversial market-led development of the London Docklands in the 1980s was followed by projects all over the country with notable examples in in Manchester and Liverpool (Wood and Handley, 1999), Cardiff (Punter, 2007), Glasgow (Gomez, 1998), Edinburgh or Newcastle. The 2007-2008 ESRC seminar series *Urban Design and the British Renaissance* showed that the most favoured sites by the urban renaissance initiatives in cities across the UK were former industrial waterfronts and city centres. But how did the industrial waterfront, one of the most problematic legacies of the Industrial revolution, became "...an essential paradigm for the post-industrial city" (Bruttomesso, 2001)?

Its story is now fairly well documented. It is widely accepted that after having been the site of intense activities, bringing the largest wealth to cities that grew more and more powerful based on their industrial and shipping functions, the industrial port became a run down and obsolete part of the city. This was due to

advancements in container transport technologies, which in turn determined the re-location of the inner city harbour activities to areas with more available land and with higher competitive advantages. In consequence, many inner city ports were closed down in the 1960s that left large tracts of former industrial land lying derelict, often in close proximity to the city centres (Marshall, 2001a; Hoyle, 2000). Most cities were built close to a water body due to the obvious benefits of water supply, transport and communication routes and consequently ports are often located in the heart of the urban settlements. Even though this gives the waterfront a quasi-mythical image as the cradle of the city and endows it with a rich historical legacy, many of these sites have gained a negative image, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On one hand, this was a result of the disconnection of the urban dwellers with the water's edge by large transport infrastructures - expressways, railways and shipping canals – that often ran parallel to the water's edge and sharply delineated the industrial port area from the city. On the other hand, due to its industrial functions, the waterfront has become an area of contamination and pollution. After the industry and shipyards closed in the 1960s, many local authorities were unable to find suitable ways to deal with the vast tracts of derelict land and reconnect them physically, economically and socially with the city (Shaw, 2001). Apart from the existence of physical impediments: old infrastructure, often segregating the area from the urban fabric, derelict buildings and decaying harbour structures, other issues complicated the redevelopment of these sites. Among them, a large extent of brownfield land that needed large sums of money for decontamination, a divided ownership between different public authorities and private bodies, including traditional port authorities that were particularly resistant to change and the lack of both housing and public amenities such as schools, playground or hospitals to support the creation of a community (Marshall, 2001a).

The spark that ignited the global process of waterfront regeneration was Baltimore Harbour in the 1960s. The chief reason for its success, the good relationship between the public and private sectors, was based on the existence of a tight network of key city players that provided strong leadership, vision and continuity in the development process (DeJong, 1991). Whether or not it helped in regenerating the entire city is still a matter of debate in the literature (Millspaugh, 2001).

Nevertheless, Baltimore played a pioneering role in many waterfront projects in the 1980s, trying to simulate its experience, with examples like Boston, Sydney, Toronto or Cape Town (Shaw, 2001). One of the most innovative accomplishments in Baltimore was the creation of quasi – public or public –private institutions[1] to manage the regeneration process in a democratic but also market efficient manner. Being large-scale and complex undertakings, waterfront regeneration projects showed that no one actor, public or private can successfully manage the entire process and as such, public – private agencies were created in many post-Baltimore developments. Examples include the London Docklands Development Corporation in England, Cardiff Bay Development Corporation in Wales, the Darling Harbour Authority in Sydney or the Ria 2000 in Bilbao. These are typical examples of new forms of urban governance that have emerged in the last decades as a response to new forms of development, on a background of globalisation and urban competition (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004).

Waterfront regeneration differs from a typical mixed-use development in three key ways: it is more-time consuming, costly and risky (Millspaugh, 2001). Post-industrial waterfronts often occupy large portions of land, in various degrees of contamination and both land assembly and cleaning measures are time-consuming and costly processes. In addition, there is often more than one governmental authority responsible for the area and consensus among them as well as between them and the general public can take a long time. They are highly risky projects because they can span over decades, as a result of which they need to overcome both changes in the market and political leadership. Based on the experience of New York, Boston, London and Toronto, Gordon (1997a) shows that their success is tightly linked with first, the ability of local authorities to 'ride the market cycle" and second, the visionary qualities of financial planners to prepare for market downturns in the lengthy time – span of the project. In a paper published in the same year, he argues that equally important to the issue of financing waterfront development is the ability of the managing authority to by-pass changes in the political system:

---

[1] These were Charles Centre/Inner Harbour Management Inc., the Market Centre Development Corporation and the Baltimore Economic Development Corporation (DeJong, in Fox-Prezerworski, Goddard and de Jong, 1991).

> "...waterfront redevelopment projects take decades to complete and span several electoral cycles. It is inevitable that the original politicians who supported a project will eventually retire or be defeated, so a waterfront redevelopment authority must manage its changing political environment at several levels, particularly with the sponsoring government, local elected officials and nearby residents." (Gordon, 1997b; p. 61)

These types of projects are also risky because the sites are highly visible both on a physical level, as landmarks in the urban fabric and on a psychological level, as places associated by many locals with the cities' origins and fortunes. Experience shows that the involvement of the community, as in the case of San Francisco, is crucial to the successful redevelopment of a waterfront site (Cook, Marshall and Raine, 2001).

Apart from the issues discussed so far, there is another factor that needs to be mentioned as key for a successful waterfront renewal project – vision. In the final report of the Waterfront Communities Project (WCP), which looks at the waterfront redevelopment of nine North Sea city-ports, it is stated that:

> "Visioning processes, developing strong but consensual views on the future direction for the city and quality of life to be achieved, are key recommendations as starting points for urban regeneration. Big regeneration projects, like waterfronts, are a key opportunity to foster sustainable economic and social development and should not be lost to short-term thinking or solely commercial interests."(WCP, 2007; p. 2)

In order to achieve a good balance between conservation and new uses and structures, between private and public interests, between preserving identity and place re-branding, those who are in charge of the project need a comprehensive and innovative way of conceiving its future. In projects such as the "Anchors of the Ij", launched in 1995 in Amsterdam, vision came from a joint effort of city authorities (Marshall, 2001b). In other schemes, it came from the part of key individuals, whose drive and energy carried their projects forward:

> "Many of the early successes relied on a few farsighted individuals with the skills and tenacity to bring about their vision, such as Rose in Baltimore and Boston, or Wadsworth in London."(Shaw, 2001; p. 162)

Many times, this vision was encapsulated in a masterplan, considered by Millspaugh (2001) as one of the crucial 'lessons' that need to be learned so as to create successful waterfront redevelopments.

Whether there is a 'recipe' for successful waterfront regeneration or if this depends on local auspicious factors such as the Olympic Games in 1992 in Barcelona or the Loma Pietha Earthquake in San Francisco in 1989, it is still a matter of debate in the literature. Of importance here is that in many cases, waterfront regeneration has led to the creation of a landscape of public places – museums, arenas, concert halls, walkways, squares, cultural centres and so on (Figure 6.2):

> "Urban waterfronts have become key drawcards for foreign tourists, visitors from the suburbs, and new upmarket residents, they are the locus for a variety of cultural institutions, ranging from elitist (concert halls and art galleries) to populist (casinos, movie theatres and aquariums). They provide extensive new area of high – quality public open space in precisely those parts of the city where land values are highest and social life at its most dense. (Stevens, 2006; p.173)"

This can be seen as a reflection of the desire of many local development agencies to revitalise the image of their city which involved both rekindling the confidence and admiration of the local population and the attraction of more tourists, businesses or members of the new "creative class" (Florida, 2004). In addition, the world renowned Guggenheim museum's success in revitalising the Abandoibarra waterfront (Figure 6.3) in Bilbao and in driving the regeneration of the city (Marshall, 2001c; Gomez, 1998) has also contributed to the post-industrial waterfront becoming one of the main stages for what has been described a global phenomenon of 'cultural regeneration' (Garcia, 2004).

Several characteristics of the waterfront have influenced the creation of cultural amenities and new public places by the water's edge. These refer to the existence of large areas of land where such amenities could be accommodated, the presence of water as an aesthetic element and as a source of attraction, the visibility of the site and its centrality in the urban fabric and a rich historical legacy. The success of Baltimore and Bilbao showed investors and developers that quality public space can add to the profitability of a project and as a result the private sector started to support its creation.

Melbourne's waterfront. Left, Federation Square and right, SouthBank

Helsinki's waterfront

Newcastle's waterfront

Figure 6.2 Examples of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in three cities: Melbourne, Helsinki and Newcastle

Figure 6.3 The Abandoibarra project (left – 1992; right – 2005); an example of a regenerated waterfront and the resultant new public places (Source: www.skyscrapercity.com)

Although there has been a dramatic change in the landscape of many waterfronts around the world, resulting in the creation of a large number of public places, criticism has been directed towards the fact that there seems to be a growing phenomenon of standardization, the sense that 'if you've seen a waterfront, you have seen them all' (Stevens and Dovey, 2004). One of the main factors responsible for this is the fact that most waterfront developments have followed the Baltimore model. As waterfronts are large, expensive and risky projects, many local authorities tried to imitate this and not venture in any daring undertakings.

To conclude this part, many new public places have been created as a result of the broader phenomenon of urban regeneration, on post-industrial waterfronts. It was decided to apply the Star Model of Publicness on several new public places created because of this process and for reasons mentioned in the previous chapter, the case study city chosen was Glasgow and the case study area was the regenerated waterfront of its River Clyde. However, before the three case studies

could be investigated, the general historical background of the city's and the river's regeneration had to be understood. The next part of this chapter presents this in relation to the creation of new public space.

6.3 Glasgow's experience of waterfront regeneration and the creation of new public space

6.3.1 Glasgow – 'Scotland with style'?

Following a similar trend to other former industrial centres, Glasgow, the largest city in Scotland, has attempted to transform itself into a post-industrial, vibrant urban environment, marketed today as 'Scotland with Style'. From an economic point of view, the city's economy has changed from manufacturing and shipbuilding to retail, tourism and financial services. From a physical perspective, the smoke of the chimneys and the cranes of the shipyards have been replaced by shopping facilities, office towers, tourist attractions and new luxury flats (Figure 6.4). The city leaders promote Glasgow as the largest retail centre in UK outside London, with the second largest public transport network in the country and recently as the host of the 2014 Commonwealth Games. At a first glance, it seems that the legacy of dereliction and squalor has finally been overcome:

> "One of the world's pre-eminent centres of engineering and shipbuilding has transformed itself into a dynamic, stylish and ambitious city which is Scotland's commercial centre. Glasgow is a vibrant metropolis which is taking great strides forward. Scotland's largest city is a place where business, sport and international culture flourishes." (GCC, 2009a)

Since the turn of the century, the city has experienced the highest rate of growth in its post-war history. Glasgow's economic output of £13.5 bn. in 2004 was more than two thirds greater than in 1995, a higher growth rate than that of Scotland or of the UK. In the same period, the GVA per capita has risen by 77%, its value being £23.400 in 2004 for the city itself and of £15.800 for the city region (The Glasgow Economic Audit, 2007). The predominant growth services accounting for the largest number of jobs were the finance and public services, which employed 228 300 people, in 2007, out of the almost 391 000 as shown in Figure 6.5 (GCC, 2009b). Tourism became an important part of the city's economy, bringing around £670 m revenues in 2007 with Glasgow being ranked as the fourth city in the UK in terms of the numbers of overseas visitors (GCC, 2009b).

(A)
New residential development in the city centre, by the River Clyde

(B)
Buchanan Street – the retail core of Glasgow

(C)
The new 'media quarter' at Pacific Quay

Figure 6.4 A regenerated Glasgow

Employee Jobs by Sector	2007	2002
Energy/Water	4.0	4.1
Manufacturing	23.1	26.7
Construction	16.1	16.8
Distribution	79.4	80.7
Transport	21.7	23.5
Finance	103.0	88.5
Public Services	125.3	117.7
Other services	18.1	21.3
Total	390.7	379.3
(Thousands)		

Top Towns by Overseas Visitors 2007

Rank	Town	Visitors (000s)
1	London	15,340
2	Edinburgh	1,338
3	Manchester	871
4	Glasgow	755
5	Birmingham	700
6	Liverpool	544
7	Bristol	470
8	Oxford	460
9	Cambridge	376
10	Brighton/Hove	325

Private Investment Development Values (current basic prices)

- 2004/05: £2.8bn
- 2005/06: £3.5bn
- 2006/07: £4.2bn
- 2007/08: £4.3bn

Private Investment Sector Values (£m)	2007/08	2004/05
Residential	2,797	1,717
Office & Business	706	430
Industrial	60	72
Retail	543	470
Hotel & Leisure	213	81

Figure 6.5 Glasgow's post-industrial economy: employment structure, tourism and private investment (source: GCC, 2009b)

The value of private investment rose from £2.8 bn. in 2004/2005 to almost double in 2007/2008 and this was directed mainly in the residential sector; the only sector where investment was declining was the industrial one, an obvious outcome of the transition of Glasgow to a post-industrial urban centre (Figure 6.5) (GCC, 2009b). In terms of population, the official figure for 2006 is 581 000 people and for the first time after decades of losing population, the trend has been reversed and the city has gained a total of 4000 people in the period 2000 – 2006 (GEF, 2007). The current economic recession has undoubtedly affected the city's economic performance; nevertheless, the city leaders show optimism that a more diverse economic base, an established name in tourism, improved transport links and the hosting of the Commonwealth Games in 2014 are assets that make Glasgow more prepared to deal with the current economic downturn than in the previous crisis of the 1980s and 1990s (GCC, 2009b).

Glasgow's regeneration is a fairly recent phenomenon, anchored in the 1980s. The fast paced industrialisation in the nineteenth century led to a drastic increase of population from 77 000 people living in the city in 1801 to over a million in the 1930's (Keating, 1988). High-density, overcrowding and poor quality living conditions and the post-war shortage of houses made the local authorities determined to pursue in the 1950s a series of policies geared towards slum clearance coupled with the rebuilding of the housing stock. In addition, based on the Clyde Valley Plan of 1946, urban sprawl was promoted towards New Towns and the newly created outskirt housing estates (Pacione, 1995). The outcome was that by the 1970s Glasgow was one of the most deprived areas in the UK and with the losing of around half of its population, it seemed to have 'lost its soul' as well:

> "The outcome of Glasgow's urban renewal was not simply spatially divisive; it was also sterile...The resulting social and physical environment was devoid of the life and soul of Glasgow made famous by its tenemental history. The product of housing renewal policies in the 1950s and 1960s was quantitative rather than qualitative, physical rather than social, utilitarian rather than enriching."(Booth and Boyle, 1993; p. 28)

On this background marked by deindustrialization, depopulation, economic decline and social problems, the city changed its policies in the 1970s, towards attracting people back to the city, rehabilitation, development of derelict and vacant land and raising the quality of the built environment. In the context of accelerated industrial decline and mass unemployment, the GEAR project (Glasgow East Area Renewal Initiative) was one of the most important initiatives for beginning to transform the city from a declining industrial centre to a vibrant and attractive post-industrial metropolis (GCC, 1997). This transformation gained momentum in the 1980s and much of what has been happening in Glasgow in terms of regeneration for the last three decades is a consequence of the McKinsey and Co. report (1985), commissioned by the Scottish Development Agency (created in 1975, became Scottish Enterprise after 1992):

> "Away back in the 1980s Glasgow's leadership had McKinsey Consultants look at the city and they recommended that we develop retail, that we develop tourism, that we diversify into service industries etc. and despite all the changes of leadership since then, we've stuck with essentially the same strategy." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former leader of the GCC between 1999 – 2005)

After losing its traditional hold on the city in 1977 to the Conservative Party, the Labour Party regained control in 1980 and decided to pursue a more active role in regenerating Glasgow by tackling the high unemployment rates and correcting the past failures to attract the private sector's support for development (Boyle and Hughes, 1994). As a result, the McKinsey report, suggested that the city should focus on improving its image of crime, poverty and dilapidation through place-marketing campaigns and the creation of a coherent vision for its post-industrial future. Based on their recommendations, the Glasgow City Council (GCC) focused its efforts on creating an attractive environment for businesses and tourists alike through promoting the city's image in a series of campaigns and festivals; as such, culture was placed at the forefront of regeneration (Booth and Boyle, 1993; Garcia, 2005; Tucker, 2008; Tiesdell, 2010).

The 1983 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign was followed by the Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988, 'The City of Culture' in 1990, 'Glasgow's alive' in 1991, City of Architecture and Design in 1999 and European Capital of Sport in 2003. 'Scotland with style' (Figure 6.6) is the latest campaign to promote the city while the next important sporting event, The Commonwealth Games (2014) is seen as a catalyst to regenerate the eastern part of Glasgow, one of the most deprived areas in the city. As part of these efforts to transform and reinvent itself, a dynamic process of physical regeneration paralleled Glasgow's economic and cultural regeneration.

"Glasgow recognizes the need to develop and implement a brand strategy to position and differentiate the city. A positive and unique image is a key reason why tourists choose a city for a short break and a convention organiser selects one destination above another.

*The city brand, **Glasgow, Scotland with style,** is a holistic communication tool. From education to tourism, retail to transport, events to investment, the brand will continue to deliver a consistent and coherent message driving forward a range of different partner activities on the national and international stage."(Glasgow's Tourism Strategy to 2016, 2007)*

Figure 6.6 The latest promotion strategy in Glasgow (source: GCC, 2007)

The improvement of the built environment, which included the upgrading and creation of public places, was seen as key in attracting tourists and businesses alike but also in enhancing the quality of life of the local Glaswegians. As part of the cultural and touristic strategy of promoting the city, a series of new venues were built across Glasgow, such as the Burrell Gallery in 1983, the Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre in 1985, the New International Concert Hall in 1990, the Clyde Auditorium, an extension to the SECC in 1997 and the Glasgow Science Centre in 2007. The latest addition to this string of cultural venues is the Riverside Museum, hosting the relocated Museum of Transport into a new building by the River Clyde, designed by the famous architect Zaha Hadid; it is due to be opened in 2011.

Apart from these individual developments, a comprehensive framework for physical regeneration has been put in place since the 1980s, focused on two main areas: the city centre and the River Clyde. This followed the vision of the renowned urbanist Gordon Cullen who was commissioned, in relation to the above-mentioned McKinsey report, to offer a physical framework to support the economic regeneration of Glasgow (Garcia, 2005; Tiesdell, 2010). His ideas were promoted and developed by the consultant firm Gillespies in the report *Glasgow & The Clyde. Continuing the Renaissance* (1990) and have been the red thread for the re-engineering of the city's built environment until today. The city centre's regeneration was based on strengthening Buchanan Street seen as a development axis, flanked by the Merchant City to the East and Blythswood New Town to the West while the River's regeneration was seen as marked by a series of 'rooms' or 'pools' (Figure 6.7) (Gillespies, 1990). Following these recommendations, Buchanan Street is now the main commercial avenue in the city and in Scotland, aiming to rival Oxford Street in London; it is flanked at its south and north sides by two shopping centres, St Enoch Centre (opened in 1989) and Buchanan Galleries (opened in 1999), both now in a process of enlargement.

The upgrading of Buchanan Street was meant both to strengthen the retail function of the centre and to provide a successful public place at the core of the city, from where redevelopment could spread east and west. To the east, the Merchant City underwent two phases of redevelopment.
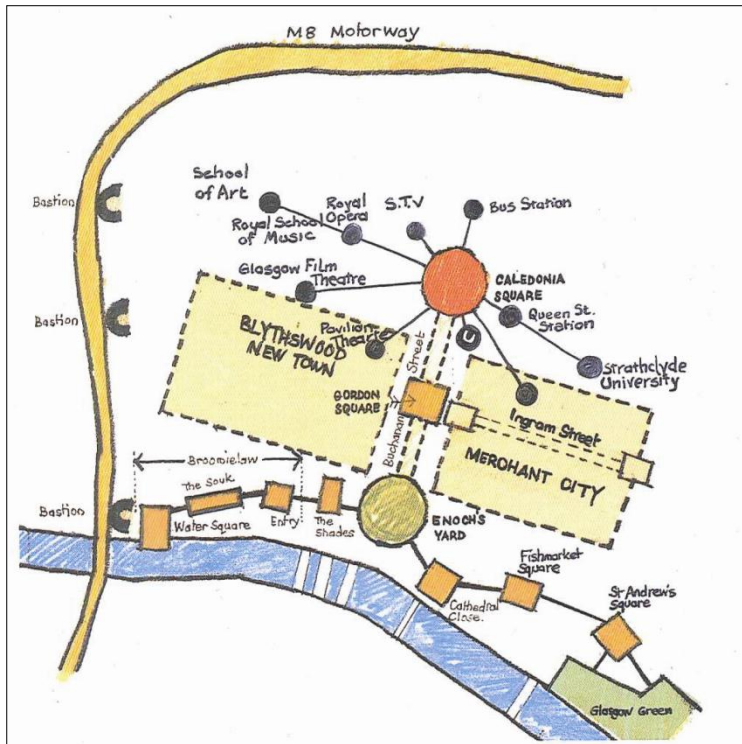
(A)
Gordon Cullen's proposed plan for the Glasgow City Centre redevelopment in *The McKinsey Report* (1985)

(B)
Gillespies' adaptation of Gordon Cullen's view in *Continuing the Renaissance* (1990)
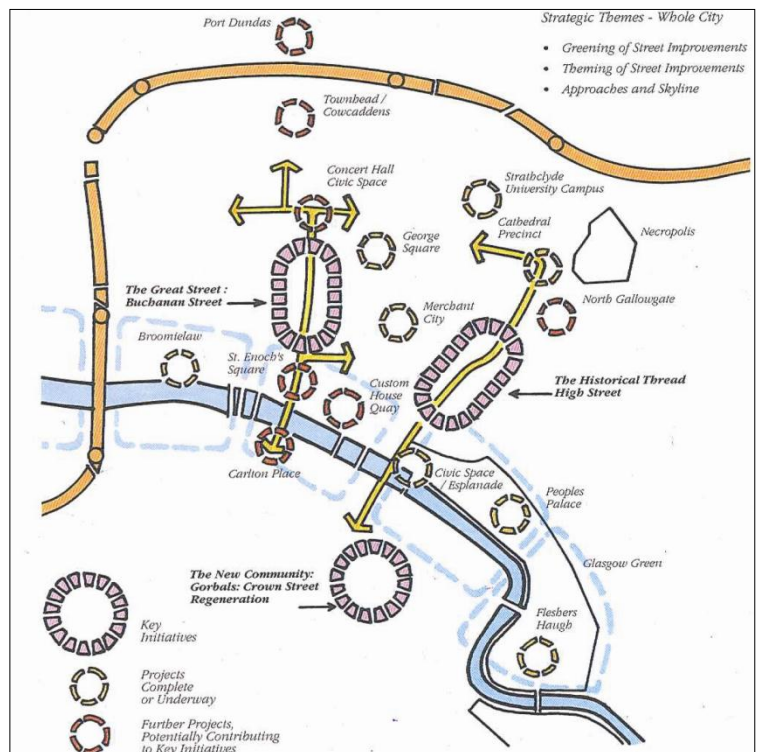
Figure 6.7 The vision that has framed the redevelopment of Glasgow's City Centre since the 1980's (adapted from Gillespies, 1995)

The first phase, in the 1980s was public-sector lead and focused on providing high quality housing while the second phase, following the 1990s recession was of a more private led nature and was concentrated on the creation of upper scale retail in the shape of pubs and restaurants (Tiesdell, 2010) (see Figure 6.8 for the location of the Merchant City). The redevelopment of the buildings was accompanied by the upgrading of the existing public realm and today the area is marketed as a "dynamic cultural heart of the city centre" (Godwin, 2009). To the west, the IFSD (International Financial Service District) was opened in the summer of 2001 and it is praised today as the beating heart of Glasgow's new serviced based economy (see Figure 6.8). The project is a joint public/private partnership consisting of a large array of office and business development. In 2009 it was stated that almost £1 bn. has been invested in the eight years since it was opened, over 15 000 jobs were created and 1.2 m ft² of Grade "A" space has been completed (GCC, 2009b). Its success has been recognized in the several awards won, such as *The UK's Best Commercial – Led Regeneration Project 2005*" and *The Best Public/Private Partnership Award – Association for Public Sector Excellence.*

Concerning public space, the same design practice Gillespies, was commissioned by Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Development Agency and Strathclyde Regional Council to deliver a strategy and guidelines for the delivery of the public realm in the city centre. The report *Glasgow City Centre. Public Realm* was published in 1995. It highlighted key issues such as the lack of open space in the city centre, the need for more connectivity with the surrounding parts of the city or the importance of maintaining the traditional street grid (Gillespies, 1995). The document provided a series of design guidelines focusing on key aspects of public space such as: maintenance, surfaces, soft landscaping, street furniture, lighting, or signage (Gillespies, 1995). The improvements in the public realm in the Merchant City and the IFSD were based on these guidelines. Figure 6.9 shows the extent of the works undertaken so far but at a first glance, the new public places in the city centre are not of a very high quality (Figure 6.10). A more in depth study needs to be undertaken to analyse the publicness of the new public places in the city centre, hoped to be the subject of a following research project.
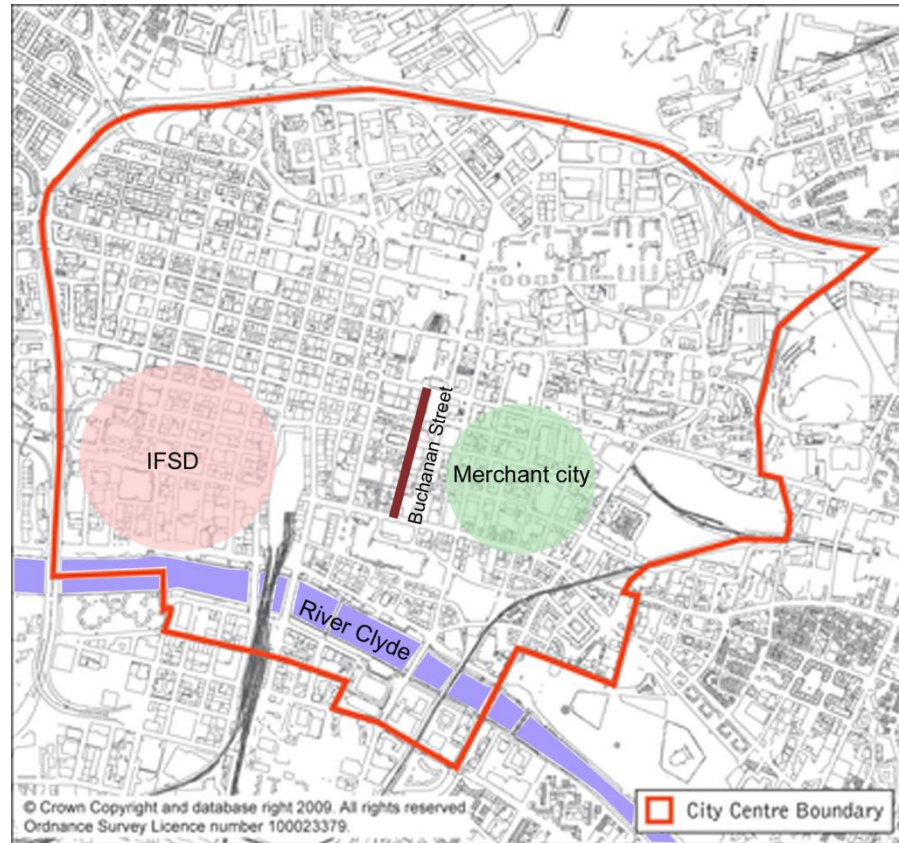
Figure 6.8 Glasgow City Centre boundary and main development areas (adapted from GCC, 2009, City Plan 2)
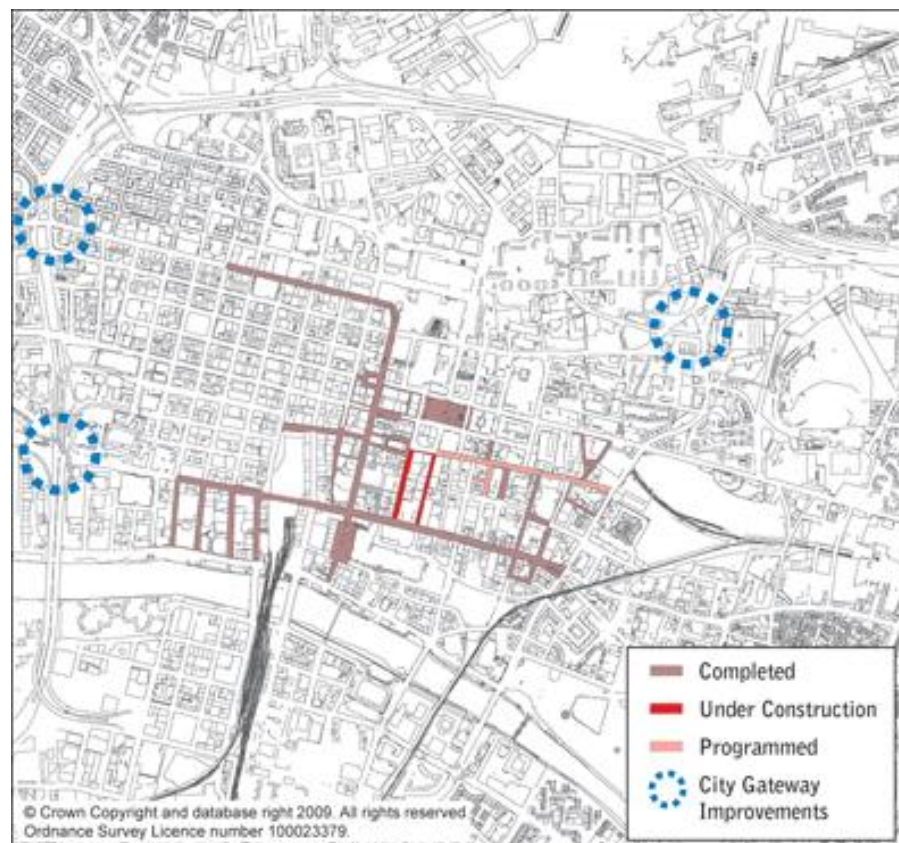
Figure 6.9 The state of public realm improvements in Glasgow City Centre in 2009 (Source: GCC, 2009, City Plan 2)

The aim in this thesis was to look at the new public places on the Clyde waterfront and these together with the general regeneration of the river will be detailed in the following section.

Figure 6.10 New public place in Glasgow City Centre

Although it seems that there has been concern with creating public places in the city centre for the past decades, the present extension of the two main shopping centres - Buchanan Galleries and St. Enoch Centre - will lead to the enclosure and privatization of two of the few public places in the city centre, the stairs in front of Buchanan Galleries and a large part of St Enoch Square. These developments are supported by the City Council due to the current shrinking of the retail function of the city centre, that has been the focus of economic regeneration strategies ever since the 1980s. This is due primarily to the competition with out of town shopping centres, such as Glasgow Fort and SIlverburn:

> "...mainly we want to try to strengthen the retail core of the City Centre. We're having to compete with Glasgow Fort, Silverburn which are decisions which have been taken by this council. We will probably have to pay the price in the City Centre for that in the next 10-15 years as they are having an impact in the City Centre. So, we want to strengthen what we have but the retail core will shrink and we have to start and think about how other streets are functioning."(Interview with Elaine Murray, principal planner for the city centre and the river)

The GCC's approach shows that in the current climate of economic downturn with fewer and fewer resources allocated to the Council, the need for development that brings secure and fast revenues seems to prevail over the provision of public

space, which is, as argued in Chapter 4, a public amenity that does not bring immediate flows of capital. The privatization of public space that has been discussed previously in Chapter 3 appears to be happening in Glasgow as well. This is part of a general trend, visible especially after 1999, where the GCC, in a permanent shortage of capital has sold land and allowed development that is not necessarily in accordance with design principles or which is 'for the greater good' but which brings rapid cash flows in the public purse as noted by Tiesdell (2010):

> "It is much easier for the public sector to sell sites to the private sector (albeit with a requirement to prepare a masterplan), avoiding any development risk and 'controlling' subsequent development through planning powers. But lack of resources, especially given the size of the task, also suggests a need to prioritise, which, in turn, means directing the market to certain places rather than adopting a scattergun approach to maximize annual receipts. " (Tiesdell, 2010; p. 278)

This is reflected in the words of Gerry Grams, the City Design Advisor:

> "I think Glasgow has been relatively successful in realising what it needs to do and actually the things that it has been successful is encouraging business and you need to get business in, you need to get money in order to do all the other things." (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor)

As such, the privatization of public space in Glasgow can be seen as a consequence of a starved for resources Council that would allow development of any type as long as it brings revenues. 'Glasgow is open for business' has been the fundamental strategy, especially under the last two leaders of the GCC: Charlie Gordon (1999-2005) and Steven Purcell (2005-2010). In relation to the latter, Nina Baker, councillor for the Green Party, has stated:

> "I have been to a public event where the leader of the city council was speaking to the commercial sector and he was saying: 'If you come to me with a planning application and tell me when you need the planning approval for I can guarantee to have it for you for that date.' I'm sure from some directions it seems to work very nicely but I don t think we ask for half enough." (Interview with Nina Baker, Green councillor for Anderston/City Centre)

In her opinion for a successful regeneration in general and the creation of highly public, public space in particular, political leadership is a key element and in Glasgow. in the past decades, this has only been orientated towards economic gains:

"The political leadership has for three generations been a monolith with no variant and the past two leaders of the council have been focused on business at all costs with no critical analysis of what the business might bring so if somebody's willing to put money into something, more or less that's it, that's the political leadership finished and ended." (Interview with Nina Baker, Green councillor for Anderston/City Centre)

Apart from this criticism addressed towards entrepreneurial policies and privatization of space, other voices have criticized Glasgow's re-emergence as a post-industrial city of pavement cafés, fashionable bars, restaurants and luxury flats as a reflection of gentrification and revanchist policies. This is another trend visible in the public space of many of the Western world's cities as discussed in Chapter 3. Referring to the creation of the upscale Buchanan Galleries and the fashionable Merchant City paralleled by the introduction of a large number of CCTV cameras in the city centre (The CityWatch project) and the closing down of many hostels, MacLeod (2002) expresses his opinion that:

"This is the reimagined, pristine, entrepreneurial Glasgow. And the procession of luxury and performance automobiles that now glide through the city streets is further testimony to the fact that a sizeable bourgeoisie has accumulated considerable wealth out of this transformation."(MacLeod, 2002; p. 612)

This argument can be seen in the context of the city's slow progress in terms of social regeneration. The *Breakthrough Glasgow* report published by the Centre for Social Justice in 2008 shows that in 2006 a quarter of the city's population lived in the most deprived 5% of the neighbourhoods in Scotland and in 2005 the city was rating first in the country in terms of the mortality rate (CSJ,2008). Drug problems and crime are higher in Glasgow than anywhere else in Scotland. Glasgow City Council has the highest overall crime rate compared to all other council areas, more than 50% of the knives found in Scotland are seized in Glasgow and in 2006 the city accounted for 43% of total number of the country's methadone users (CSJ, 2008). These issues came across when interviewing several members of the City Council who embraced the position that the creation and maintenance of public space, although on the GCC's agenda, gains less importance in comparison with the more severe and pressing social concerns. Fotula Adrimi, area planner for the city centre, supports the view that in order to have safe and attractive

environments it is not enough to look at the physical environment but also at the social problems:

> "We illuminated 20 of the worst back lanes in the city centre where we have had lots of violence. Violence cleared from these lanes but it goes somewhere else. The thing is we are not addressing the problem. The problem is that we have lots of people in social deprivation in Glasgow. We have women who are 70% of them sexually abused children who work as prostitutes. That's the reality. We have children who live below the poverty level and they have huge level of hopelessness so they feel they have no future. We can't sit here and say well we'll just light the violent people, the bad people away. We'll just put CCTV cameras everywhere, photograph them 300 times a day. Protect all the lovely tourists who come and spend money in the city centre." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, area planner for Glasgow City Centre)

To conclude this section, Glasgow has experienced an intense regeneration process, especially from the mid-1980s, marked both by successes and failures. The city markets itself today as a thriving urban centre, with a post-industrial economy based on financial services, tourism and retail but severe social problems still need to be tackled. New public places have been created but overall, the GCC seems to place financial gains on top of the agenda, over 'the public good'. This has led to the development of only a few public places in the City Centre, the most notable one being Buchanan Street, and to a creeping phenomenon of privatization and control of public space. Although the subject begs a much more in depth analysis, the aim here has been only to provide a general background for the regeneration of the River Clyde and the creation of new public places on its waterfront. This will be dealt with in the next part.

6.3.2 The regeneration of the Clyde

General historical background

The evolution of Glasgow is deeply intertwined with the River Clyde, which flows east – west through its centre (see Figure 6.8). Alongside the ingenuity of local businessmen and the rich local iron and coal resources that fuelled the factories of the industrial age, it is undisputable that the Clyde was pivotal in the creation of modern Glasgow. The river was first dredged and channelled in the eighteenth century, a key factor for the expansion of the tobacco and cotton trade, especially with the American colonies, that brought an unprecedented level of wealth to the

city and led to the birth of the so called 'Tobacco Lords' (Keating, 1988; Garcia, 1998). These skilled merchants triggered the growth of the city but it was the following large scale and fast paced process of industrialisation that brought the most profound changes in the river's landscape and made Glasgow world-renowned. A wide series of industries rapidly developed, with goods such as chemicals, optical instruments, carpets or sewing machines being produced. However, most writers agree that it was the heavy industries and shipbuilding in particular that made Glasgow 'the second city of the Empire' (Dick, 1986; Keating, 1988, Booth and Boyle, 1993). The brand 'Clyde Built' became internationally renowned, with almost one fifth of the world ships being built here from the 1870s until the start of the First World War (www.glasgow.gov.uk). The need for shipping these goods led to large-scale engineering works that radically changed the layout of the Clyde. The river was considerably widened and dredged and a series of docks were excavated at the turn of the century, such as Kingston Dock, Princes Dock or Queen's Dock (Figure 6.11). In half a century, Glasgow has become the third port in Britain, after London and Liverpool, with tonnage rising ten times in the period from 1860 to 1910 (Keating, 1988).

The Clyde's success story was short lived. On the local level, the diminishing resources of iron and coal, which fuelled the heavy industries and on a global level, the previously mentioned introduction of new methods of cargo handling and containerisation led to the closing down of the shipyards and the decline of the city as a whole. Dick (1986) points out that apart from these, another factor that contributed to the fall of the Clyde, as a world industrial river, was Westminster's decision to concentrate the Australasian and Far Eastern trade in ports in Southern England. In 1966 Glasgow's cargo trade with Australia was around 100 000 tones, 10 years later this was non-existent (Dick, 1986). The closing down and subsequent in filling of the docks led to an empty river with a landscape of dereliction and disuse on its waterfront (Figure 6.12). In the 1960's, a focus on transportation in a climate of rising car use determined the building of the Clyde Tunnel and Kingston Bridge, to better connect the northern and southern sides of the city, but little was done for pedestrian access to and across the river.
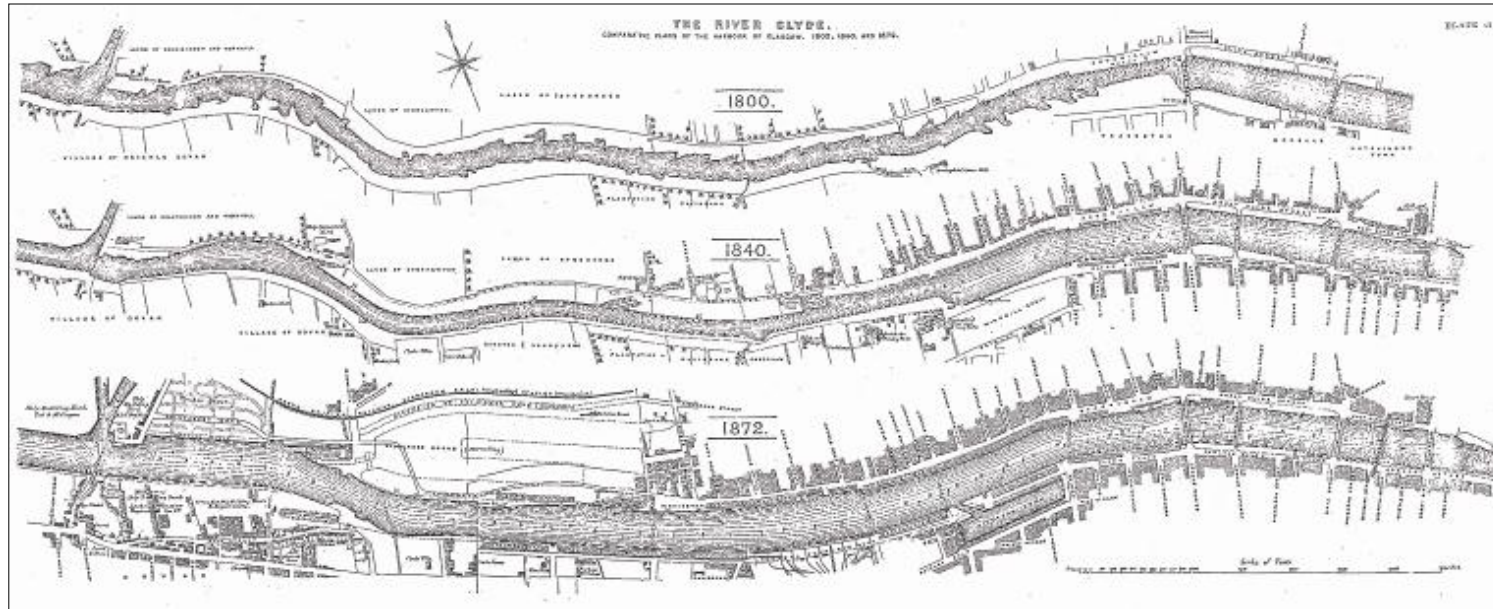
Figure 6.11 The enlargement of the Clyde in the nineteenth century from a narrow canal to a large industrial river (source GCC, 1996)

Figure 6.12 The closing down of the industrial Clyde; left image shows Prince's Dock, Queen's Dock and Upper Harbour in 1960; right image shows Queen's Dock in 1983 in the last stages of infilling (source: Dick, 1986)

 In the 1970s with more pressing problems related to the diminishing industrial functions, depopulation, unemployment, housing conditions and a high level of crime, the local authorities did little for the regeneration of the river. The most important accomplishment was the creation of a river walkway, started in 1973 at Custom House Quay Gardens and then extended until Kingston Bridge in1976 (GCC, 1996).

In the 1980s, the more focused approach towards the regeneration of the city, discussed in the previous section, brought only two significant improvements to the waterfront. First, the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre) was built on the site of the former Queen's Dock and was opened in 1985. Although it became a single development in a sea of car parks (Figure 6.13), it marked a turning point in understanding the river's potential for the improvement of the city's image. Second, the site chosen for the 1988 Garden Festival was the former Princess Dock, across the river from the new SECC building (Dick, 1986).

Figure 6.13 The SECC development shortly after its completion (Source: Dick, 1986)

Bell's Bridge was built to connect the two former docks, and the festival was aimed at attracting people back to the river and to show the city leaders' commitment to transform the bleak, industrial landscape of the Clyde into a green and pleasant environment. These physical improvements were paralleled by the creation of a first coherent vision for the redevelopment of the river, by the urbanist Gordon Cullen in the context of the McKinsey Report (1985). He saw the waterfront developing as a series of 'rooms', different areas offering a different experience of place (Figure 6.14.A).

During the 1990s, the Glasgow City Council's focus was laid on regenerating the city centre before any other part of the city.
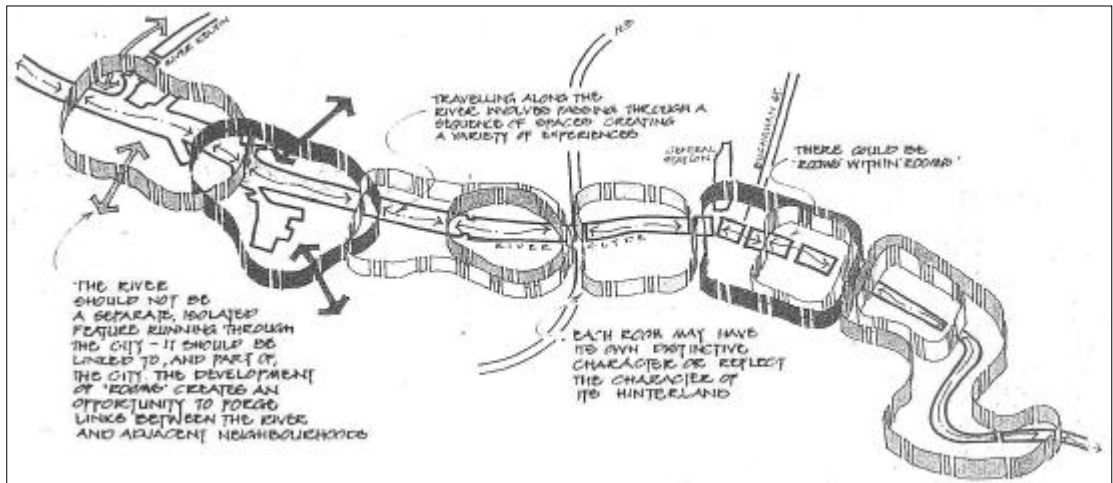
(A)
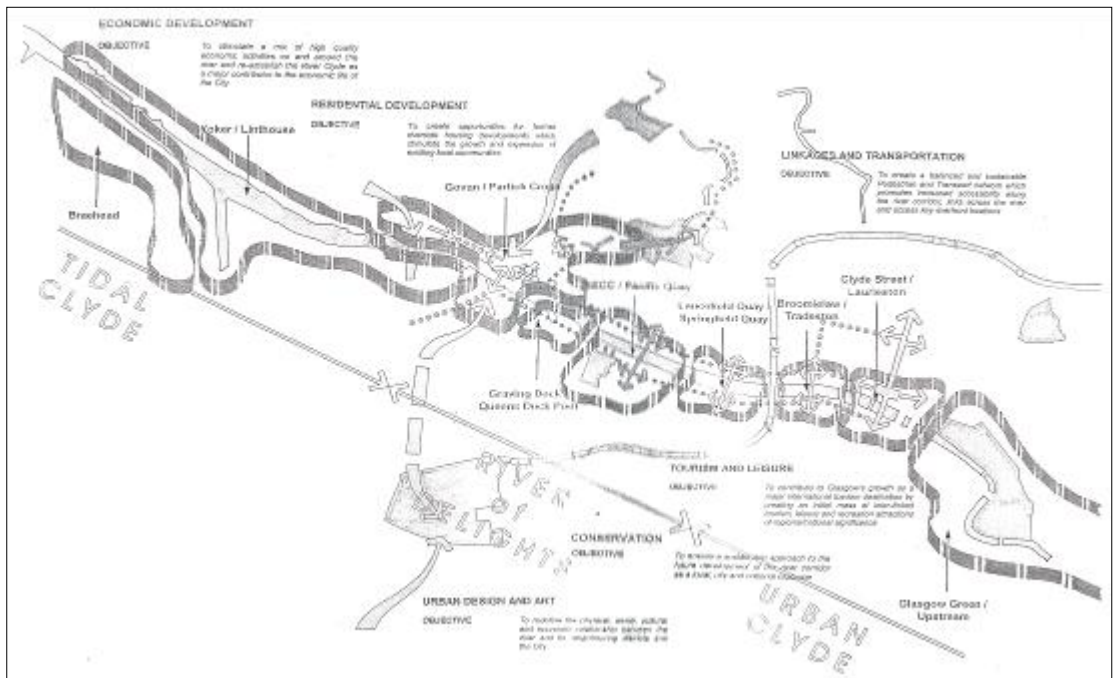
(B)
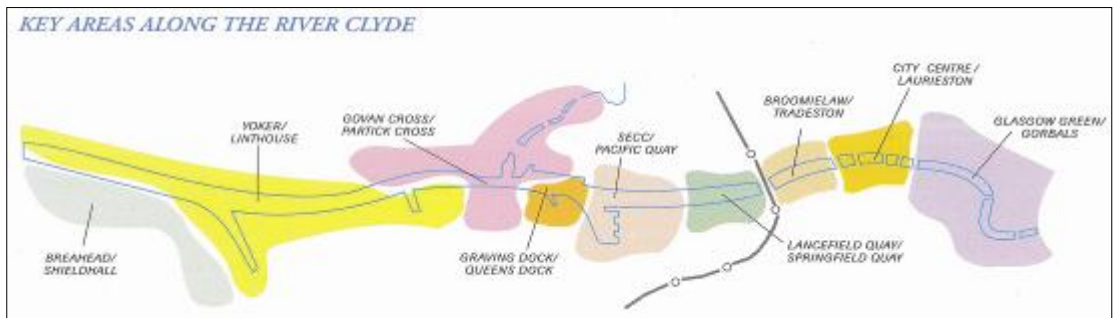
(C)

Figure 6.14 The development of the Clyde as a series of rooms. (A) Gordon Cullen's vision in the 1980s (adapted from Gillespies, 1990); (B) and (C) GCC's vision in the 1990s (adapted from GCC, 1996 and GCC, 1997)

As such, not much happened along the banks of the Clyde. Nonetheless, Cullen's 'rooms vision' was kept by the Council in its documents but it was not put in practice (Figure 6.14). A SWOT analysis for the river was carried out, and among the key weaknesses, the existence of dilapidated and collapsing quay walls, the presence of large tracks of underutilized land and the lack of a coordinating body for the river's regeneration were identified (GCC, 1996). These are issues still present today as it will be discussed in the last part of this chapter. The river was considered as able to contribute to the city's growing tourism industry and as a favourable environment for many 'key development' opportunities (Figure 6.15) but the only notable project in the 1990s was the building of the Clyde Auditorium or 'The Armadillo' In the vicinity of the SECC, in 1997. Designed by Norman Foster and Partners as a series of upside down ship hulls to relate to the shipbuilding history of the river, it has become one of the 'iconic' buildings associated with the contemporary image of Glasgow.
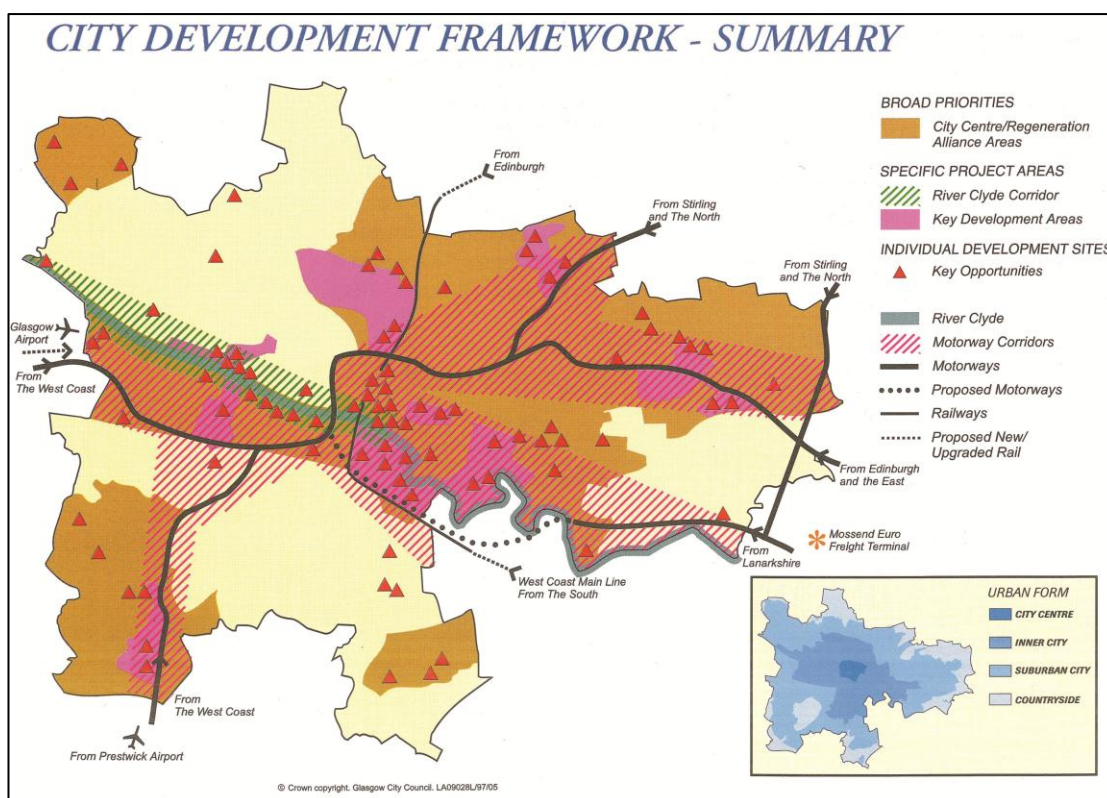
Figure 6.15 Glasgow's development framework in 1997; many key opportunities are placed along the waterfront (source: GCC, 1997)

In a similar way that the 1980s marked a dramatic change in the city's regeneration, the turn of the 21st century was the point when the most significant transformations started happening on the Clyde' waterfront. The appointment of Charlie Gordon as leader of the GCC in 1999 turned the river's fortunes as he provided the much-needed leadership to tackle the complex task of transforming the Clyde from an industrial, derelict river to a post-industrial attractive waterfront:

> "When I became leader in the summer of 1999, the council had only recently secured the future of the city centre as our main retail and cultural destination with the advent of Buchanan Galleries in spite of out-of-town shopping centres such as Braehead. So we could see that we had secured the future of the city centre, so we began to look elsewhere for, you know, the next big project. And I decided as leader that I wanted a big project of my own that I would be taking the lead on. The logical one was the river because the river is in the city centre, is part of the city centre, and links parts of the city and the level of activity on the river and beside the river had reached an absolute rock-bottom." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former GCC leader)

His approach, similar to what has been happening in the city centre and generally across Glasgow, was to 'prime pump' development:

> "I thought that the City Council should 'prime-the-pump' as I call it of ten per cent of the development costs. But most of it should come from private investment. The City Council is not in the business of building apartments. Or the City Council certainly isn't in the business of running restaurants or running water buses. So we've got to create the conditions where people see the opportunity and they invest." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former GCC leader)

As a result, the Council started to invest in infrastructure works, by repairing the quay walls and providing pontoons (five are in place so far) to stimulate both development on the banks of the river and activity on the water's surface. Although progress has been made for the past decade, this has been fairly slow as these are very expensive endeavours and the Council has been in a permanent shortage of funds. In relation to this, Blair Greenock, planner for the GCC, has stated when interviewed for the present research that the river's regeneration

> "…is about preparing for development, it's about dealing with issues of infrastructure in a sustainable long term way. That's the river, sewers, drainage and very often getting the infrastructure links. I think we've perhaps been guilty of not being able to put infrastructure in place and

development has come incrementally and kind of piecemeal in certain sections." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

Apart from succeeding getting both the public and private actors to focus their efforts on the river's regeneration with the creation of a much more articulated vision than the previous ones (Figure 6.16), Charlie's Gordon legacy consists of other several different projects. He was instrumental in the creation of the largest public-private partnership project on the Clyde – Glasgow Harbour, discussed in Chapter 8. As a part of this controversial development, the idea of a Riverside Museum was first put forward: a new leisure amenity by the Clyde aimed at hosting the exhibits of the Museum of Transport (needing relocation because of the failing of the existent buildings). In addition to this, the former Council leader proposed the Fastlink, a Light Transit System that would link Glasgow Harbour to the City Centre in a first phase and that will then be expanded to cover the entire central Clyde waterfront area and better connect the various developments that were starting to take place in the 2000s. Because of this public transport proposal, many subsequent developments on the Clyde waterfront since then (e.g. the Clyde Arc bridge or the Broomielaw new public place) have made provisions consisting of a separated lane, so that the Fastlink would not be competing on the major roads with the other bus companies. Sadly, although this proposal is more than a decade old, it has not been yet realized. The reasons for this will be discussed later in this chapter.

In relation to the public realm on the waterfront, in 2003 a *River Design Framework* was published by the GCC, almost a decade later than the public realm strategy for the city centre, by Gillespies (1995), mentioned previously. This brought into discussion key issues for the high publicness of public places such as such as materials, pavements, lighting, furniture, green space, connectivity and visibility. The framework has never been put in place, as pointed out by Ethel May Abel, the city's planner in charge with the river (interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner). She argued that developers who do not want to follow the design principles set in this document will apply for planning permission only for an area excluding the river walkway river (interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner).

Chapter 6 – Setting the scene. Glasgow's experience in waterfront regeneration and the creation of new public space

204
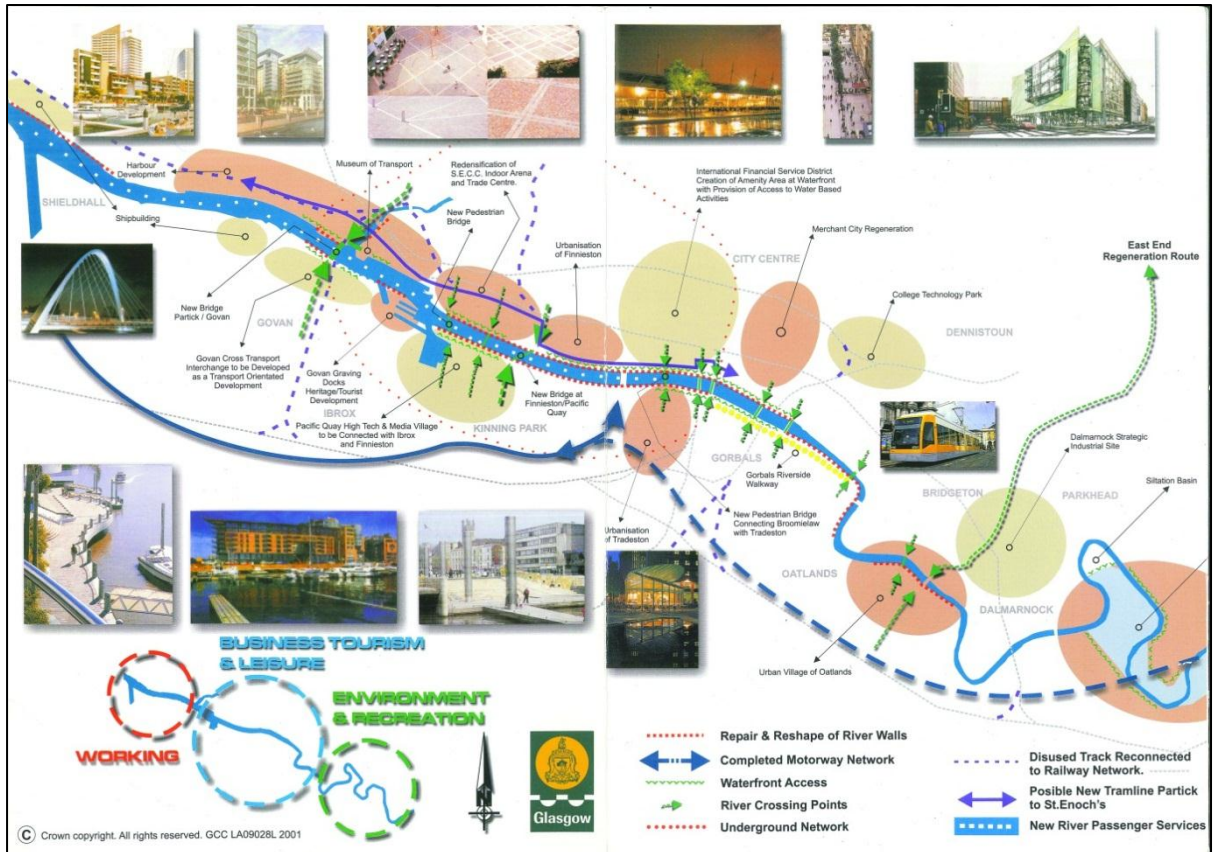
Figure 6.16 The vision for the river's regeneration proposed by the GCC during the lead of Charlie Gordon (Source: GCC, 2002)
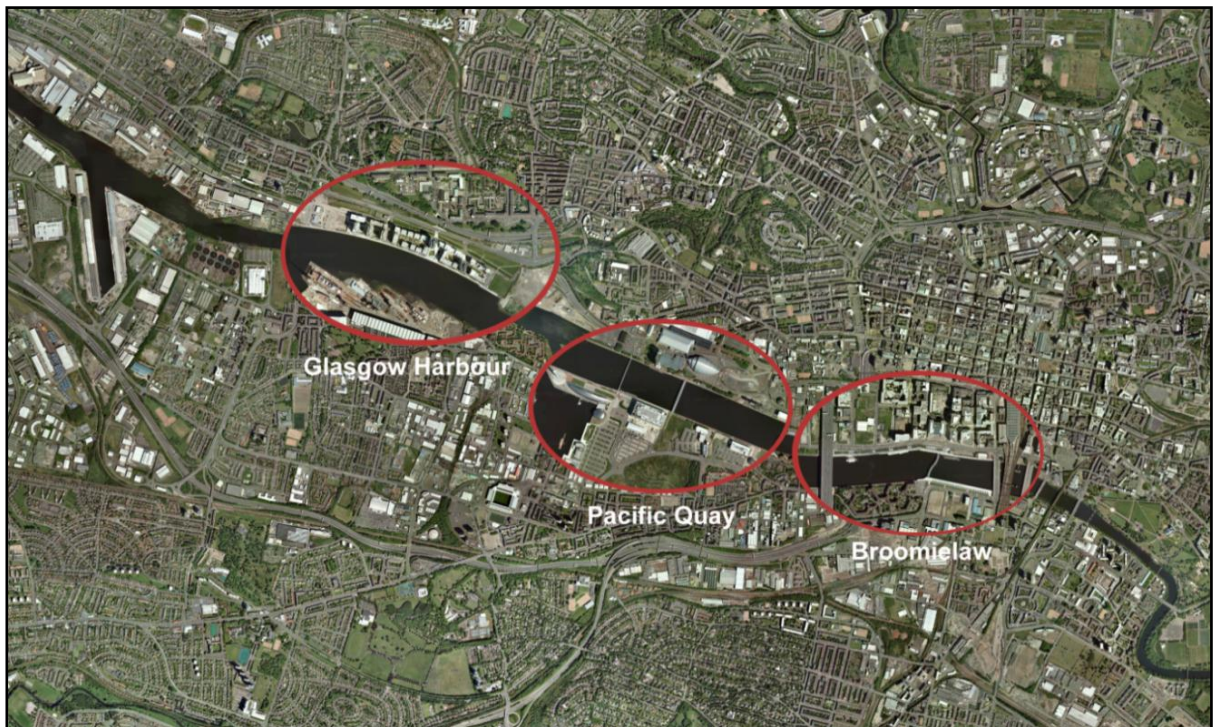
Figure 6.17 The location of the three developments chosen as case studies for this research (Source: adapted from Google Maps)

In this respect, the Council has not been strong enough to make the private actors take on the responsibility for public space provision and maintenance. Another contribution from Mr Gordon's time was the Council taking on a more active approach towards marketing the river and attracting activity and users back to the Clyde. This was translated in the launching of the River Festival in 2004, continued as a tradition in the following years although the 2010 event did not take place.

At the turn of the 21st century, in parallel with the leadership and drive of Charlie Gordon on a local level, another major factor that influenced the river's regeneration happened on a national level. This was related to the devolution of powers to Scotland in which context, the newly created Scottish Executive (Scottish Government, after 2007) designated the river's regeneration as a national priority (National Planning Framework, 2002). This gave the GCC better opportunities to lobby for funds for the river's transformation. In addition, this increased attention towards the river, was translated in the formation of the Clyde Waterfront strategic partnership in 2002, composed by:

- three council bodies: Glasgow City Council, Renfrewshire Council and West Dunbartonshire Council;
- Scottish Enterprise (including Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and Glasgow);
- and former Scottish Executive, now Scottish Government (CWWG, 2002).

Its aim was to take the lead in co-ordinating the main public bodies involved in the regeneration of thirteen miles of the Clyde, from Glasgow City Centre to Dumbarton and provide a much-needed overarching body to control and promote development. Although this partnership seemed as a strong body in its beginning years, it did not provide the needed leadership and its position has diluted over time to a more promotional role. Unfortunately, it did not have a real power in the regeneration of the Clyde.

> "When I first joined the Council a couple of years ago[2] the main person, the director of Clyde Waterfront was a chap called Peter Kearns[3] who has now moved on, he's no longer there, and it seemed at that time, it did feel like a robust organisation, an organisation that had a part to play in managing, if you like, and controlling. (...) I think their role was mainly a coordinating

---

[2] Gerry Grams was appointed City Design Advisor in 2005

[3] The researcher has contacted him repeatedly for an interview but without success

Chapter 6 – Setting the scene. Glasgow's experience in waterfront regeneration and the creation of new public space

206

role, to get people around the table and talk about waterfront issues, which is fine and great but it doesn't seem to exist anymore. I don't get the feeling that it's an organisation that has gravity to it, that has a power base to say: this is what we should be doing which is unfortunate and it is a big riverfront and there's a lot of people involved in this." (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor)

The river has undergone significant transformation, since the beginning of the new millennium, although Charlie Gordon stepped down from leading the Council in 2005 and the Clyde Waterfront partnership slowly diminished. A number of new developments appeared on the river and new public places were created. To better connect the river and increase pedestrian flow, three new bridges have been built: The Millennium Bridge (2002), The Clyde Arc or 'The Squinty Bridge' (2006) and The Broomielaw – Tradeston Bridge or 'The Squiggly Bridge' (2009). The most high-profile projects were the completion of Glasgow Harbour (Phase 1 and 2), the development of the Pacific Quay Media Quarter and the Broomielaw. The new public places that are part of these developments have been chosen in this thesis as case studies for testing the Star Model of Publicness (Figure 6.17). After providing this broad historical view on the regeneration of the Clyde, the next part will present the current policy context that governs the waterfront's regeneration.

The policy context for the Clyde's regeneration

It took quite a long time for the river to be considered a priority for regeneration, as one of the developers interviewed stated "Glasgow is one of the last cities in the world to actually make use of its waterfront" (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, Capella Group). Nevertheless, the regeneration of the Clyde is considered today a priority on a national, regional and local level with a series of policy documents framing this process as shown opposite.

THE POLICY CONTEXT FOR THE REGENERATION OF THE CLYDE
NATIONAL
Scottish Planning Policy (SPP)
National Planning Framework (NPF)
Circulars, Planning Advice Notes (PANs) and Design Guidance
REGIONAL
Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan
LOCAL
City Plan 2

Figure 6.18 The main policy documents that frame the Clyde's regeneration

Simultaneously public space is also on the Scottish policy agenda, in the context of the wider UK trend of regenerating cities and creating better places.

On a national level, following the 1999 devolution, the new formed Scottish Executive gained among other responsibilities, planning powers. The latest policy document that describes the general context for development and the role of planning in Scotland is the Scottish Planning Policy (SPP), published in February 2010. Reflecting the changes introduced by the Planning etc. (Scotland) Act in 2006, the new SPP describes the ambitions of the Scottish Government towards a modernised planning system, based on 'visionary development strategies', transparency in decision making, the engagement of all interested parties and the delivery of quality outcomes (SPP, 2010). A strong commitment is shown for sustainable and high quality place creation, in accordance with the principles of the urban renaissance proposed by the Urban Task Force (1999). However, the document uses several different terms referring to 'public space' such as 'the spaces in between buildings' or 'open space' (Figure 6.19).

> The planning system should be outcome focused, supporting the creation of high quality, accessible and sustainable places through new development, regeneration, and the protection and enhancement of natural heritage and historic environment assets. (SPP, 255)
>
> Planning authorities should be clear about the standard of development that is required. These expectations should be informed by an understanding of the quality of their places and the underlying economics of development. ... Quality of place is not just determined by buildings, but by how they work together and how the streets and spaces between buildings work. (SPP, 256)
>
> The planning system should be judged by the extent to which it maintains and creates places where people want to live, work and spend time. This is a major challenge which will require permission for inappropriate development to be refused, conditions imposed to regulate development and agreements reached on actions to mitigate impacts on amenity, natural heritage, historic environments and communities. Efficient and inclusive planning are important elements of the modernised planning system, but it is through the maintenance and creation of high quality sustainable places that the most significant contribution to increasing sustainable economic growth can be made. (SPP, 257)

Figure 6.19 The focus on place making at a national level in the Scottish Planning System

The National Planning Framework for Scotland 2 (NPF 2) published in June 2009 refers to the Clyde Waterfront as one of the key spatial perspectives and states that £5.6 bn. of both public and private money have been invested with the result of "creating new residential areas and a variety of business and leisure facilities on the riverside" (NPF 2, 194). The document makes recommendations towards improving the access to the waterfront and the river, giving as good examples the creation of the two bridges Clyde Arc (opened in 2005) and Broomielaw – Tradeston (opened in 2009). Consistent with a national focus on increasing the tourist industry of Scotland, the document also underlines the potential of the river to add to this due to its rich heritage and "outstanding environmental assets" (NPF 2, 196).

On a regional level Glasgow's Clyde Waterfront is part of the larger Clyde Valley which covers 3.376 km², with a 1.75 million people and under the jurisdiction of eight councils: South Lanarkshire, North Lanarkshire, East Dunbartonshire and West Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and East Renfrewshire, Glasgow City and Inverclyde (Figure 6.20).

Figure 6.20 The regional context of the Clyde Valley (source: Glasgow and Clyde Valley Structure Plan, 2006)

To link the eight councils in the area working together towards the rehabilitation of the Clyde Valley as a whole, the *Glasgow and Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan Committee* (GCVJSPC) was formed in 1995, as a result from a directive from the Secretary of State for Scotland. The latest policy document that frames the vision of the entire catchment area of the River Clyde, including the city of Glasgow, is *The Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan* (GCVJSP), published in

2006 and operative since April 2008. In this document, four aims for the regeneration of this large area are set:

- increasing economic competitiveness;

- promoting greater social inclusion and integration;

- sustaining and enhancing the natural and built environment and

- increasing the integration of land use and transportation (GCVJSP, 2006).

In this broad context, the Clyde Waterfront is considered as one of the three Metropolitan Flagship Initiatives, next to the Clyde Gateway and Ravenscraig/Motherwell. Although there is no specific reference to public space or public realm, walking and cycling is encouraged as part of Strategic Policy 3 - Strategic Management of Travel Demands and the provision of 'open space' (note again the use of this term instead of 'public space') is encouraged in relation to sport and recreation facilities as part of Strategic Policy 4 - Quality of Life and Health of Local Communities.

On a local level, the City Plan 2 was adopted in 2009 and work is underway now towards City Plan 3. In this document, the Clyde Waterfront is considered as one of the "key regeneration areas" and the current vision for its development is presented in Figure 6.21. The City Council's current aims in relation to the river are focused on the creation of sustainable communities, the attraction of businesses and job creation and the improvement of infrastructure related to flooding and drainage. In relation to public space, there is a general theme related to better connectivity across and along the river with an emphasis on the development of public walkways and cycleways in the detriment of car use.

Although proposals are not gathered under a holistic theme entitled 'public space', several related issues are tackled under the broader themes 'Environment' and 'Infrastructure'. These include:

- the provision and increasing of public access to the river side and the improvement of connectivity between the river and the adjacent areas by tackling barriers such as railway lines or expressways;

- the connectivity and integration of new schemes into the existing physical layout;

- the need for the 'greening' of the waterfront with the creation of opportunities for leisure and sport activities while preserving the wild habitats;

- the development of the Clyde Walkway "in the form of a series of spaces, linked by walkway/cycleways, and designed within a framework that promotes consistent design quality and landscape treatment" (GCC, 2009c). The aim of having a continuous walkway has always been one of the main objectives of the GCC as mentioned before but this has still not been achieved.
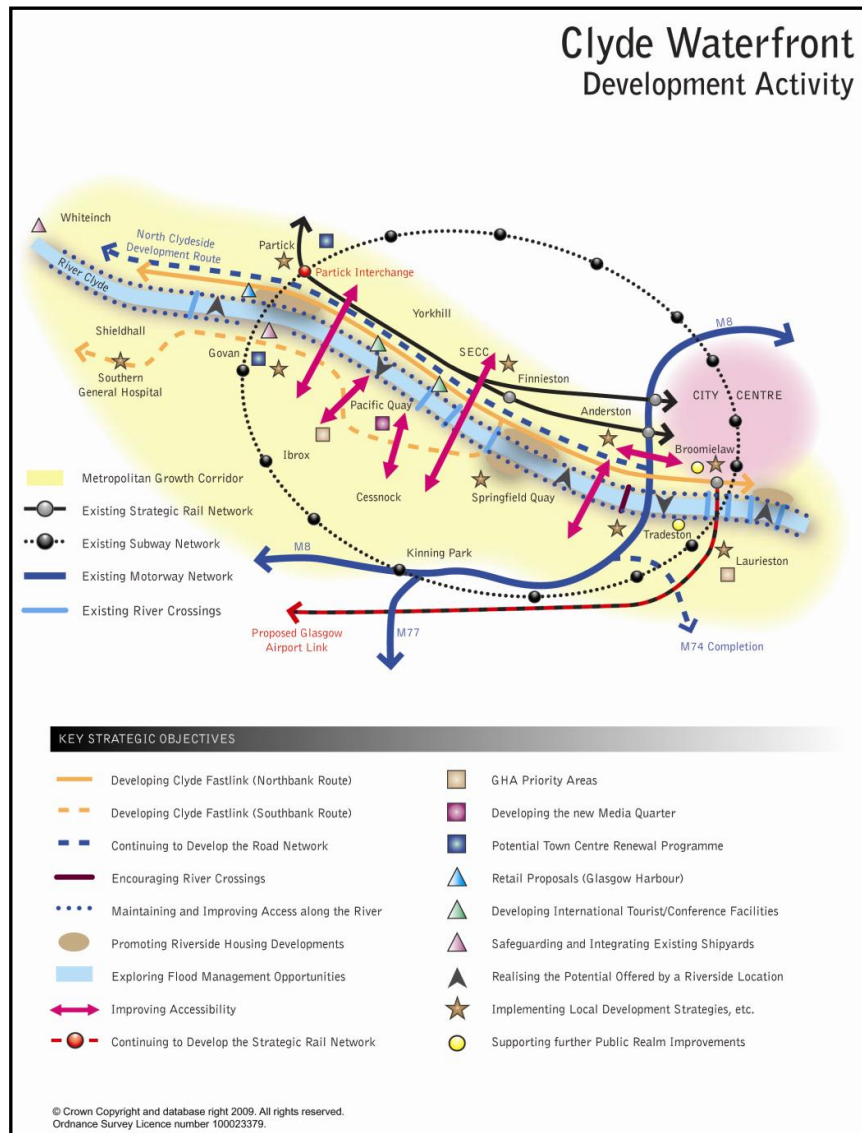
Figure 6.21 The current GCC's vision for the redevelopment of Clyde's waterfront (Source: GCC, 2009c)

Although these aspirations exist, the document states that in order for these aims to be delivered, contributions from the developers are needed as the redevelopment of the river needs a large amount of funds:

> "It is likely that considerable resources will be required to deliver the infrastructural change necessary to secure the long-term attractiveness of the Clyde Waterfront as an area in which to live, work and spend leisure time. Where appropriate, the Council will expect developers of sites in the Clyde Waterfront to make a positive contribution to infrastructural works that may be required."(GCC, 2009c)

In other words, the Council recognizes that there is an acute lack of public funds to deliver the regeneration of the Clyde and the new Broomielaw public space improvement is given as an example of the Council's commitment for changing the river's image and creating public space.

As it has been shown so far, there is a great amount of emphasis placed on a national, regional and local level, both on the Clyde's regeneration and public space. From a 'no go area in the 1970's', the Clyde has undergone a great transformation and the commitment and focus on its regeneration is shown also in many of the council's publications which bear today images from the new waterfront developments (Figure 6.22). Nevertheless, a walk along the river today shows that there are still many gaps where development has not yet happened; there are no continuous walkways and cycleways and there is not much activity happening on water.
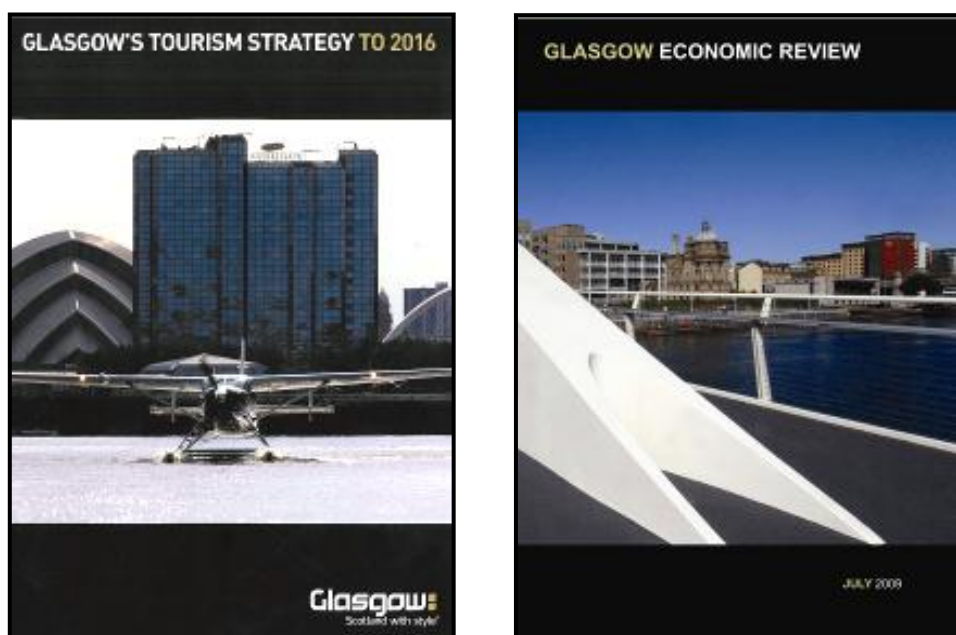
Figure 6.22 GCC's publications showing the regenerated Clyde

At the same time, the existent public places seem at a first glance not to be highly used and lacking a vibrant atmosphere (Figure 6.23). This is in contrast to the state of the river and its waterfront during the River Festival (Figure 6.24), which shows that there is potential for a more vibrant and lively waterfront. Before a more in depth study is taken to assess the publicness of the three examples of case study public places chosen, the next part will describe several of the factors identified in this research that have affected and continue to influence the river's redevelopment in general and the publicness of public space in particular.

Factors frustrating the physical regeneration of the Clyde and the provision of public space

The permanently empty Glasgow's City Council public purse

As already intimated, the GCC does not have enough funds for the river's regeneration. This is a highly costly process due on one hand to the legacy of large infrastructure works inherited from the industrialisation and canalisation of the river and on another hand, to the considerable scale of the waterfront. Its approach has been to prime pump development, as it was stated by the former leader, Charlie Gordon. This meant that the few resources were part spent in several infrastructure works and part in advertising and promoting the area for the private sector to come and invest. This is expressed also in the City Plan 2, as it was shown above and is due to the many problems that the city is faced with now. Among them, high levels of deprivation, drug and alcohol abuse, health inequalities, insufficient public housing and the presence of large tracks of undeveloped brownfield land, all requiring high levels of investment. In relation to the waterfront, one of the outcomes of a severe lack of public funds has been the delay of the Fastlink project, dependent now on the contributions that the various developers involved along its proposed route should make towards its budget. With the downturn in the market, the majority of the interviewees have expressed their doubts that the project will happen because in order to be implemented, all the developments along its route need to be completed first. This shows that due to the large involvement of the private sector in the Clyde's regeneration, made necessary by the lack of sufficient funds from the public purse, the project is highly susceptible to market fluctuations.

The Eastern connection, towards the city centre of the Pacific Quay site is an underdeveloped walkway

The Northern connection of the Clyde Arc to the City Centre is closed due to a collapsed quay wall

Custom House Quay Gardens upgraded in the 1970's still await development at the heart of the city centre waterfront

On a sunny day, there is no activity either on the river or on the waterfront next to the SECC and 'The Armadillo'

Figure 6.23 Examples of 'forgotten' public places on the Clyde's waterfront
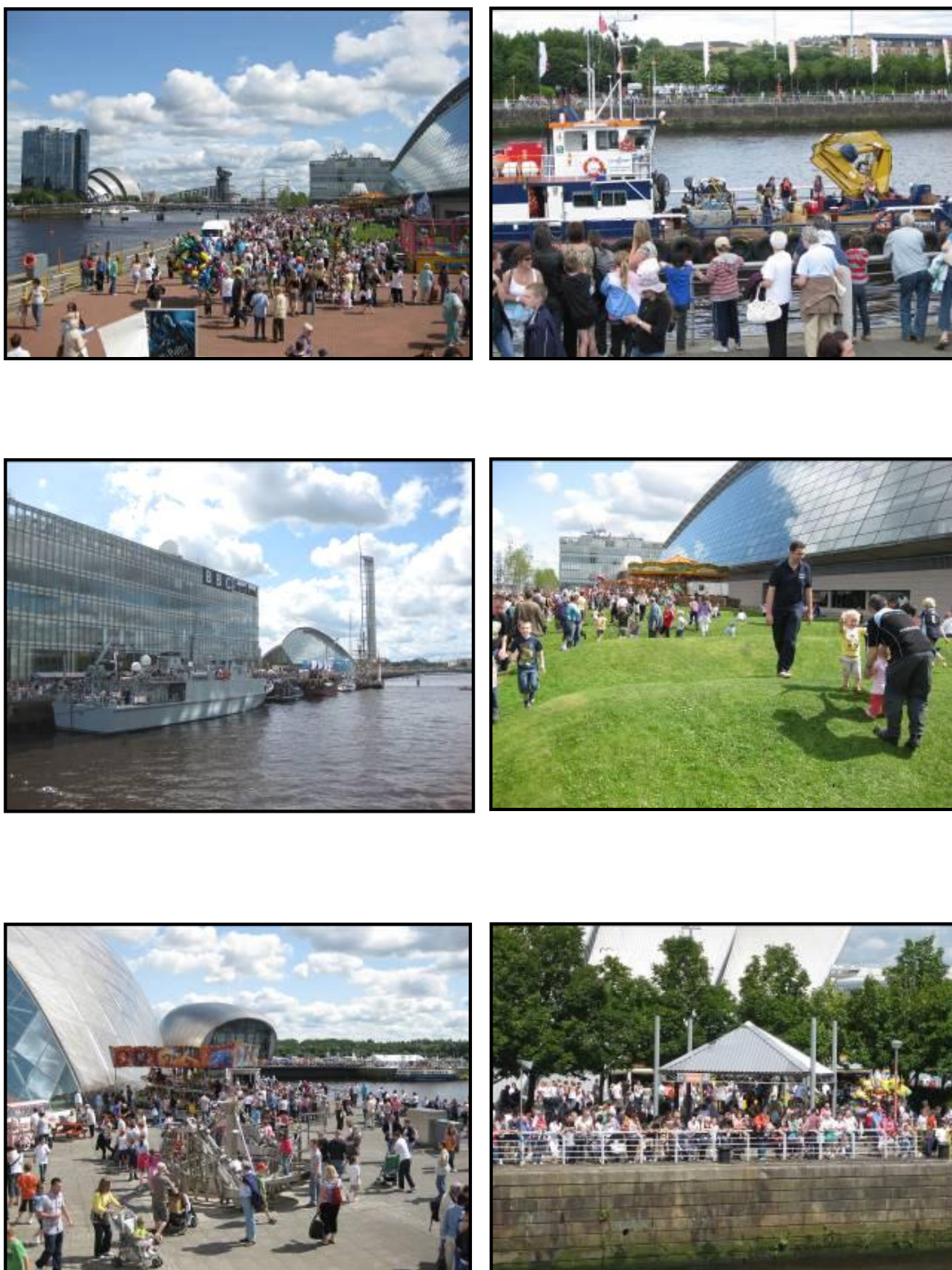
Figure 6.24 The River Festival (2009) held at the Pacific Quay and SECC sites

This is a not a specific phenomenon for Glasgow but a characteristic of waterfront developments in general, as it was mentioned in the first part of this chapter. In order that these fluctuations are bypassed, the local authority needs to show a strong vision and commitment to carry it through. These seem to have been lacking in Glasgow after Charlie Gordon stepped down as the leader of the GCC.

Ethel May Abel, the GCC planner in charge with the river, has expressed her opinion that two main elements frustrate the river's development and the public space creation on its banks: lack of funding and no political buy in (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner). She argued that even though the Scottish Government has made the river a national priority there have been no funds especially dedicated to the Clyde's regeneration. There is no specific budget for the Clyde Walkway and as a result, this has not been coherently developed and satisfactorily maintained. Without extra financial support from the national level, the general impression is that the GCC can do little to foster development on the river with its permanently empty purse. Moreover, in order to create public places, large, expensive infrastructure works need to be done first which require a lot of resources:

> "We have a working river which is very long with lots of decay, quay walls… Some of the sections on the north side are not open just because it's so dangerous that there is a big public liability if you open those sections. We have to find the money to do these sections up before people can go there and restore quay walls, put all the infrastructure that sometime nobody will see, you know just building the quay walls again, which is an infrastructure project it's not an environmental enhancement project. Then you've got to find the money for resurfacing it and the public realm and creating the green space" (Interview with Fotula Adrimi, area planner for the City Centre)

In the current economic climate with even more pressure on the Council's already tight budget, the Broomielaw development is argued to be the last major project funded with public money (Interview with Bill Douglas, GCC Land and Environmental Services project manager for Broomielaw). It is forecasted that the GCC has to save £113 million between 2011 and 2013 (McIvor, 2010) which means that there will be even less funds for the Clyde's regeneration in general and public space creation on the waterfront in particular.

Divided ownership and power struggles on the banks of the Clyde

One of the fundamental issues that prevented the GCC to create a more comprehensive development of the waterfront is the fact that they are not the major landowner, nor the only public authority with development interests on the banks of the river. Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (SEG), the local branch of Scottish Enterprise (former Scottish Development Agency) – is the Government's body in charge with supporting development, innovation and business and plays the role of the other major public body that owns land and facilitates development on the riverbanks. As discussed before (in Chapter 4), the issue of power relations is fundamental for the successful outcomes of a development project. In Glasgow, the relationship between GCC and SEG has not always been one of fruitful collaboration (Tiesdell, 2010). It can be argued that the Government has not entrusted the Council with a special budget for the river because it can implement its own vision and goals for the development of the Clyde through its representative organisation, SEG. But maybe of a greater importance than the power play between these public bodies, is the power struggle and divided ownership between the public and the private sectors. Apart from the existence of a series of small individual private actors, the main property owner on the waterfront *and* the public authority in charge with the river is Clydeport. This is the former Clyde Port Authority[4], privatised in 1992 as a result of Thatcherist policies, which became a subsidiary branch of Peel Holdings in 2003. From the interviews conducted, there is a consensus that this privatisation was a mistake and that the GCC should be the body in charge of the river:

> "... I mean, the sad fact of life and I know I speak to openly against Clydeport but Clydeport was a public agency. You would argue that they should never been privatised and their land should have been handed to the City Council but the City Council made such a mess of so many projects..."(Interview with Tom McInally, spokesman for Clydeport and planner)

> "...maybe it would be good if the City Council became the harbour authority instead of Clydeport - a private company - and maybe the City Council should have stronger powers of compulsory purchase, well I think that when

---

[4] created in the 1960's when the industrial age and the shipyards were closing down from the merger of the Clyde Navigation Trust, the Greenock Harbour Trust and the Clyde Lighthouses Trust

you consider that we didn't own most of the land, and we didn't have statutory powers and we didn't have a lot of money, the way that we managed to get partnership working on this was quite good."(Interview with Charlie Gordon, former GCC leader)

Nevertheless, the GCC and Clydeport did cooperate in creating development by the river's side and the most striking example is the Glasgow Harbour project, discussed in Chapter 8. Apart from this singular project, there is an obvious lack of cooperation between the public sector and Clydeport. This can be seen in the major issue of lack of activity on the river. Most waterfront development projects show revitalised rivers filled with boats, yachts, water taxis and other water activities. The Clyde is devoid of activity for most part of a year, except for one weekend in the summer when the River Festival takes place. The GCC holds the view that Clydeport does not promote activity on the river and has stopped dredging upstream, in the city centre area. Clydeport argues that they do not find it commercially viable to dredge upstream because of lack of demand from vessels and a very slow activity in the central part of the river (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport property director). They also believe that a public water based transport system would not be economically viable. This lack of support from Clydeport for river activity stems from the peculiar position of Clydeport as both a private company, driven by profit and able to secure large amounts of funds from the commercial use of the river downstream, *and* the public port authority, in which role they should support the reactivation of the Clyde as a public amenity and a gain for the city. Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's property director declared that it is not by lack of their will that the river is not a more vibrant place but because of the GCC's lack of a coherent and consistent vision combined with a lack of dynamism:

> "I wrote to the Council on this, four years ago, saying you know 'We all want more leisure and activity in most of the river, how do we do this? We need to properly resource it.' So what happens now is Ethel tends to meet a lot of mad cat people with daft schemes and that what happens and none of them work. And a lot of time gets taken up and eventually the Harbour Master, and this has happened recently, gets fed up and says 'You know, I've got a job to do.'"(Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport property director)

The frictions between Clydeport and the Council have led also to a lack of infrastructure that could support more water activity. The Council is upset that Clydeport has still not placed the pontoon promised at the Glasgow Harbour site;

their response was that this would happen once the new Transport Museum will be finished. Because of no private infrastructure provision, the GCC, with lack of sufficient funds, could supply only an incipient amount of works – quay wall repairs in a few places and five pontoons. The Council's employees agree that the lack of appropriate and sufficient water infrastructure is the key element determining that very few boats come up the Clyde; it is believed that this will happen at a later stage:

> "To me you go to a waterfront for activity – there's activity on the water or there's places to be and sit and watch things go by and neither of those things are there yet that's something that I think it will happen and will come the difficulty for Glasgow has been that a huge amount of money has gone into reconstructing waterfront which has been incredibly expensive there's millions and millions that have been spent to actually make the waterfront safe and accessible and I think that's the first stage of it so things like the Broomielaw – that's the first stage to me and things will come around." (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor)

> "...we got the River Festival coming up, in the next few weeks, where you'll see lots of boats and things like that…but, it's trying to get people to come up from the west coast and have the facilities. If you don't have the facilities, if there are no pontoons and there's not a marina and there's no changing rooms, then they're not going to come. So, it's quite a huge amount of infrastructure to put in…" (Interview with Elaine Murray, principal planner for the city centre and the river)

In terms of public transport on the river, this could be made possible with subsidised funds from the Council but the little amount of money available is preferred to be used for the more traditional mainland public transport (Interview with Ethel May Abel,

Related to the idea of a marina, Scottish Enterprise, the other major public body is advertising for the creation of the first development of this kind in Glasgow, at the Pacific Quay site, but again Clydeport does not share this vision. Their view is that the traditional Scottish sailing grounds are at Largs, close to where the Clyde flows into the Atlantic ocean, and as such they do not see the project viable upstream:

> "I wish good luck to them but I don't think it would work. The reason is I think they'll end up with a lot of permanently moored house boat type things that I think they'll be very difficult to manage. The traditional sailing grounds in Scotland are Largs…how long does it take to drive or get the train to Largs? Half an hour and you're in another world in there. Why would you

want to then spend two and a half hours sailing slowly?" (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's managing director)

More activity on the water would lead to a more animated public space on the waterfront; this seems to be lacking due to a combination of factors among which, the lack of public funding from the GCC, the absence of initiative and support from Clydeport and the existence of a strained relationship between the public and the private sectors pursuing different objectives:

> "So, the fact is the partnership is not effective because the private sector wants to make a profit and the public sector are now maybe allowing them too much to make a profit and there's no partnership. There's a distrust. The public sector don't trust the private sector and vice versa. There's no coming together of direction." (Interview with Tom McInally, planner and spokesman for Clydeport)

It has been noted previously in this chapter that successful waterfront regeneration projects, including the pivotal Baltimore Harbour, have relied on a good cooperation between the public and the private sectors. In Glasgow, this seems to have existed to a certain extent, only during the leadership of Charlie Gordon and has slowly become problematic in the past years. This can be considered as one of the main reasons for the slow paced and disjointed regeneration of the Clyde. At the same time, whenever the partnership worked, it appears that the Council have not enforced certain standards for the creation and quality maintaining of public space and have generally given too much power to the private sector in shaping development. An example is the previously mentioned lack of enforcement of the *River Design Framework* (GCC, 2003). This is discussed in the following part.

The City Council's lack of leadership, vision and courageous decisions

The major reason that Clydeport has given for their lack of supporting more activity on the river is the City Council's lack of a coherent and consistent vision for the river's regeneration, as shown above (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's managing director. This is a view shared by the interviewees that work for the council:

> "We don't even have a strategy for the spaces. We're just saying we want to leave this space for the private developer, we don't even have in our head: 'Why are we leaving that space? Do we want to have soft amenity, do

we want to have amenity or do we want it big enough to hold a concert out there?' Nobody is actually thinking 'Well maybe now and then we need a node that will do this or a space that will do that.' Nobody is thinking at all..." (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner for the river)

"What maybe there isn't is the whole long vision" (Interview with Elaine Murray, principal planner for the city centre and the river)

"In term of the river...it probably does need a change in political leadership; it needs somebody who is within whichever party that is currently leading the council to be really interested in the river because I can go to officers with my ideas but they're only ideas if the leader of the council goes than that's a policy and they have to do it" (Interview with Nina Baker, Green councillor for Anderston/City Centre)

It looks like in the case of Glasgow, in a similar way to other waterfront cities, leadership and vision are key for successful waterfront regeneration, a process that generally spans over two or three decades and covers several political mandates; it is felt that once Charlie Gordon left the GCC, there was no more support for the river's regeneration from the top tiers of the organisation:

"Charlie was very much putting the focus on development, regeneration and the river and then he walked away from that job and now the focus is gone again but nonetheless he led on and showed the need for the Museum of Transport, for the River Corridor and the Fastlink; the river service was never considered maybe he thought well it would come anyway because of development but the point is it doesn't come" (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner for the river)

"Charlie Gordon was a very good partner and that's where that kind of leadership and vision came in the beginning." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's managing director)

In order to bypass political changes and offer the needed leadership and vision, several of the interviewees expressed their view that in Glasgow, a politically independent, properly resourced organisation has always been needed to be placed in charge with the river's regeneration. This never happened because it was not politically supported and as was discussed above, the Clyde Waterfront partnership was not strong enough to fulfil this role:

"...one of the tensions is … what ought to be the delivery vehicle. If you have an up to date robust planning framework then how do you deliver that? You're going to deliver that, yes, in partnership with the private sector, deliver it on the basis of partnership working, but you're then into the politics of the city. I think what the city has been reluctant to embrace, if I'm

being honest, is some idea of a multipurpose vehicle, sort of autonomous...In other words an urban development cooperation, which is the model that most British cities adopted. Particularly with regard to the regeneration of dock areas or former… We didn't have the political appetite for that." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

"…you look at properly promoting this and have a… set up a body which is a partnership between the Council, or Councils because you would probably use Renfrew and Clydebank as well, but Glasgow in particular, Scottish Enterprise I suppose, and our Harbour Master. And you properly resource it." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's managing director)

This lack of vision and strong leadership has been translated in the piecemeal approach to development, mentioned before; in this respect several interviewees expressed their view that the GCC should be more 'sacrificial for the greater public good' (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor) in its initiatives. There seems to be an overwhelming view that the tough decisions in terms of regeneration will happen 'sometime in the future' but nobody seems to take a clear and determined stand today:

"Sometime in the future we will have to make very difficult decisions. I think there will come a point and we'll have to just grab the bull by the horns." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

One example is the existent barrier of buildings blocking the access to the river in the central part of the city; from Buchanan Street or Argyle Street, five minute walk distance to the Clyde, one does not know the river is in proximity. In the interview with Ethel May Abel, the city's river planner has explained that what has been done in Barcelona, where one of the houses where Picasso lived, was demolished to create Picasso Square could never happen in Glasgow. In relation to this, it is felt by several interviewees that the placing of the new Museum of Transport at Glasgow Harbour was a missed opportunity to create a major river attraction in the City Centre and open the city centre to the river:

"You had an opportunity with the Transport Museum, in my view, to say 'let's build something right in the middle of the city', Bilbao did it, all these places, built it right in the middle of the city. Glasgow hasn't done that, it's tucked it away down at Glasgow Harbour. You can't walk to it, you need to get a bus – it's disjointed...They should just knock all that down and create a public realm that goes right to the waterfront, close the road so people

> can just walk down, they should be building that there, right on the waterfront. (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer)

In particular relation to public space, apart from the issues mentioned above there are two other factors that frustrate the publicness of waterfront public places on the Clyde. First, the research showed that there is a multitude of agencies that deal with public space issues in the City Council and they have often overlapping and confusing roles. This can be seen as a result of the existence of various dimensions of publicness. Although public space was treated here as a unitary concept, in reality one organisation will deal with control, another with green space, another with cleaning, another with planning and design and so on. The key imperative "… is to get everyone in a place where they discuss and understand the issues that are there" (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor). In the case of Glasgow City Council, there are fourteen separate services (Figure 6.25). Out of these, the most influential in public space production and maintenance are Glasgow Development and Regeneration Services (DRS) in charge of planning, property and transport, Glasgow Land and Environmental Services concerned with the maintenance of open space and also Community and Safety Services dealing with issues of security and control.

GLASGOW CITY COUNCIL'S INSTITUTIONAL COMPOSITION	
Services	**ALEOs (Arms – length organisations)**
Chief Executive's Office	City Building (Glasgow) LLP
Development and Regeneration Services	City Markets (Glasgow) LLP
Corporate Services	City Parking (Glasgow) LLP
Education Services	Cordia (Services) LLP
Financial Services	Glasgow Life
Land & Environmental Services	Glasgow Community and Safety Services
Social Work Services	City Property (Glasgow) LLP

Figure 6.25 Glasgow City Council's services and organisations

In addition to this complex institutional framework, there is not one team or one person in charge with the river and its public space, except the already mentioned Ethel May Abel. She expressed her dismay that she has no authority but only a coordinating role among the four different area officers that have the river among their responsibilities (out of the total five in the city from a previous number of twelve). The problems arise as they might not all have budgets for the waterfront public space at the same time and as such development can never happen in a coherent manner:

> "There's lots of reasons but I would say the main reason this doesn't work, cause if you go to any city, people are not looking for something that is pristine all the time, they just wasn't to know it's there and that is walkable and I think we're a long way off of making it comfortable because we don't manage it at all as a single unit. (…) There's nobody, one single person and one single budget. I am the only one single person contact but I have no control over everybody at all; there is nobody leading on a strategic level." (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner in charge with the river

Apart from the existence of many institutions, organisations and actors in the GCC, that do not necessarily always work together in the provision of public space, a second factor which frustrates the publicness of the resultant public places is related to terminology and meaning. It was shown in Chapter 2 how in the literature on the subject, there is a lot of confusion in the field of public space research due to the existence of both a variety of terms and of a variety of meanings attached to the concept of 'public space'. The fieldwork undertaken here showed that this is paralleled in the actual practice of building public places (Figure 6.26). This was assumed in Chapter 1 when the publicness of public space was described as varying on a subjective level and the interviews undertaken here show that different actors, both from the public and the private sectors, use various terms such as 'open space', 'public space', 'public realm' and with slightly different meanings.

	Figure 6.26 The subjective definitions on public space of professionals involved in the creation of the three case study public places (note: three of the interviewees did not offer a definition of public space)

Gerry Grams, Architect, City Design Advisor	"…public space is basically the space that is part of generally urban areas that are designed and used by the people, the citizens of that city and they are areas they feel they have ownership of. "…the point about public space is that it has to deal with lots of different things; there are so many layers of management that go to make public space. It's traffic, its cleansing, its lighting, its surfacing, its parks, its trees..."
Elaine Murray, planner GCC, Development and Regeneration Services	"We actually had that problem in terms of trying to identify public spaces across the city and trying to bring together all sorts of documents because some people call them active spaces', 'green spaces' you know, everybody's got different terms for a space and also how they're actually used and utilised, so open spaces could be all sorts of things to a city and be used at different times for different things; it could be green, it could be hard landscaping, it could be absolutely anything; it really is the space between buildings which hopefully everybody can use."
Jim Fitzsimons, developer, Capella Group	"…public realm is the gel, if you like, which holds areas together. And you can either do it piecemeal or you can do it kind of randomly, or you can actually say, y'know, over time you will create interesting places and by that you add a dynamic to that location which you can't do if you just do it piecemeal."
Euan Jamieson, Clydeport managing director	"public space is a space that is open and available to the public and it falls into a number of categories…You know, you've got roads which are adopted or private and pathways, cycle paths, you've got more calm, leisure space, where people will sit in a park, and you got more active, leisure space, skating and stuff like that." "public open space to me also includes water, which is frequently ignored…in terms of development, density calculations but if you put any development next to an area of water, you immediately give it a large amount of open space which is public at the end of the day."
Nina Baker, politician, councillor for Anderston/ Glasgow City Centre	"…somewhere that any member of the public can go to without having to ask or pay. "
Bill Love, operations manager for Glasgow Community and Safety services	"I think public space must be not a green desert or a grey desert ...public space should be some place where you experience things and you enjoy things (…) some place where you can enjoy it and feel safe"
Bill Douglas, project manager GCC, Land and Environmental Services	"I don't know that we actually do know the true definition of the word 'public realm'" "any space which is being accessed by the public rather than a private space, it is there for the good of the public and the general good for the area in which the space is located. I imagine that's probably my definition of a piece of public realm"

Charlie Gordon, politician, former leader of GCC	"...we used to call it the public realm. In my administration we meant all the space between the buildings"
Tom McInally, planner, Tom McInally Associates and spokesman for Clydeport	"There's a lot of jargon about public spaces and public realm. There's a sort of lack of clarity still going on what they are because fundamentally you've got different types of open space, you've got recreational open space, the passive amenity open space, the functional open space…" "…public space is the space that the public have access to for recreational and enjoyment, basically. I think that's where you got to say that, that's the domain; it's where people can use the space for walking or for enjoyment of their life within the city."
Craig Millar, spokesman for Scottish Enterprise	"It's any space that's open to the public and that the public can use. It can be quite informal space like public parks, it can be more formal like public realm schemes that have already taken place in the city centre and you're now beginning to see it along the waterfront as well. I just kind of think of public realm as a public space, anyone can go and use that space."
Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies	"Public space obviously, is space which the public use. That could be anything from a footpath, to a street, to a square, to an alleyway between buildings."
Fotula Adrimi, planner GCC, Development and Regeneration Services	"…we have a broad definition of the public space in the city centre because of the nature of the city centre, you know we have separate squares, like Glasgow square which is quite green, could say that's probably more of a park, George square, royal exchange square, we have different spaces but we also view the streets as public space because it's a very important space, a lot of people use the streets rather than the squares themselves."
Blair Greenock, planner GCC, Development and Regeneration Services	"On a macro level is the space part of the morphology of the city, it's the space between buildings, the streets, public footways and parks, kind of a legacy of the way the city evolved. It's a thought process, anything from Victorian parks right through to …. I guess we've tried to retrofit the city centre to an extent, retrofit a framework to meet a changing attitude to public realm, public space. I guess we see this as supporting our cultural and retail functions of the metropolitan courts."
Ethel May Abel, planner, GCC, in charge with the river	"People have to feel it's their space (...) Architecture and ownership don't necessarily make a space, but management, once you create a space, does make the space and if you can provide the extra things like: '' Can I buy flowers here?', 'Can I get a drink?', 'Can I do more than sit in this space?'"
Willie Miller, freelance urban designer	"I guess you're talking about what other people might call 'public realm', you're talking about spaces between buildings, footpaths, squares, places, piazzas, plazas whatever...where I guess there's prevalent pedestrians..."

Looking more closely at the various ways in which the interviewees defined the term 'public space', it can be seen though that there are similarities. There is a consensus that it is 'the space between buildings', open to the public, where people can enjoy themselves and which enhances an area's attractiveness. Several times the interviewees defined 'public space' by naming the various types of physical places, such as plazas, parks, footpaths, streets etc. that are reflections of the concept and that do not explain its meaning. Several of the interviewees have supported the view that there are many different terms in relation to public space and that is a complex concept involving many 'layers'. It was also shown above that in the main Scottish planning documents there is also a variety of terms in relation to the concept of 'public space'.

This varied terminology and multitude of meanings influence the production of public places because there is no unified, coherent definition of the concept and no standards for publicness. This finding, which confirms the initial hypothesis, has given the researcher confidence as it shows that there is a need on a practical level, just as on a theoretical level (Chapter 2) for a unified definition of public space and a clear representation of its publicness.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that waterfront regeneration is a worldwide phenomenon, part of the broader process of transformation of many Western cities from industrial centres of production to post-industrial centres of consumption. Glasgow, the largest city in Scotland and the general case study city in this research, has experienced a similar transformation but although progress has been made in terms of economic, cultural and physical regeneration, a great challenge lies ahead in terms of social regeneration.

Apart from the City Centre, the other major part of the city that became the focus for redevelopment is the former industrial waterfront of the River Clyde. An analysis of this area has shown that although recent developments have appeared and new public places have been created, factors such as tight public budgets, divided ownership and power struggles among major stakeholders and a lack of consistency

and strength in vision and leadership from the part of the public authorities, have determined the apparition of a series of disjointed developments and a lack of overall activity both on the water's surface and on the riverfront. They have also influenced the publicness of the public space by the water's edge. In addition, this has been frustrated by first, a lack of coordination among the different public agencies and services of the Glasgow City Council and second, by the existence of a variety of terms and understandings in relation to the concept of 'public space' held by the various actors involved in the regeneration process.

The next chapters will look in more detail at three new public places on the regenerated post-industrial waterfront of the Clyde. Their publicness will be measured by using the Star Model coined in this research and the rating explained by unpicking the development story of each site. This will show how public, new public places created in post-industrial Glasgow, really are and will provide the opportunity to test the Star Model of Publicness in practice.

CHAPTER 7

THE FIRST CASE STUDY PUBLIC PLACE:

PACIFIC QUAY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the publicness of the first case study public place, created as part of the broader regeneration project on the Clyde's waterfront, named Pacific Quay. First, the story of this site's evolution is described with a particular emphasis on the creation of the public place under analysis. The different stages and actors in the development process are identified and key decisions that have influenced the publicness of the resulting public place are discussed. After setting this general historical background, the chapter moves on to present and explain the rating for each indicator, under the five meta-themes of publicness. Following this, the Star Diagram of Publicness is drawn and the overall publicness of the site, as it results from the interaction of the different meta-themes, is reflected upon. The chapter ends by making several concluding remarks about the publicness of the public place at Pacific Quay and about the key factors that have influenced the rating obtained.

7.2 The history of the site's development

The Pacific Quay site lies on the south bank of the River Clyde, approximately one mile southwest from the city centre of Glasgow. It covers an area of approximately twenty-five hectares, on the former site of Prince's Dock, closed down and partly infilled in the 1970s when the Clyde and Glasgow overall were experiencing the industrial decline (Figure 7.1). The site includes the Canting Basin, a five-hectare water surface, the last remaining large pocket of water on the Clyde. Part of the site, the public place along the river and the central square were chosen for the testing of the Star Model (Figure 7.2. A, B and C).
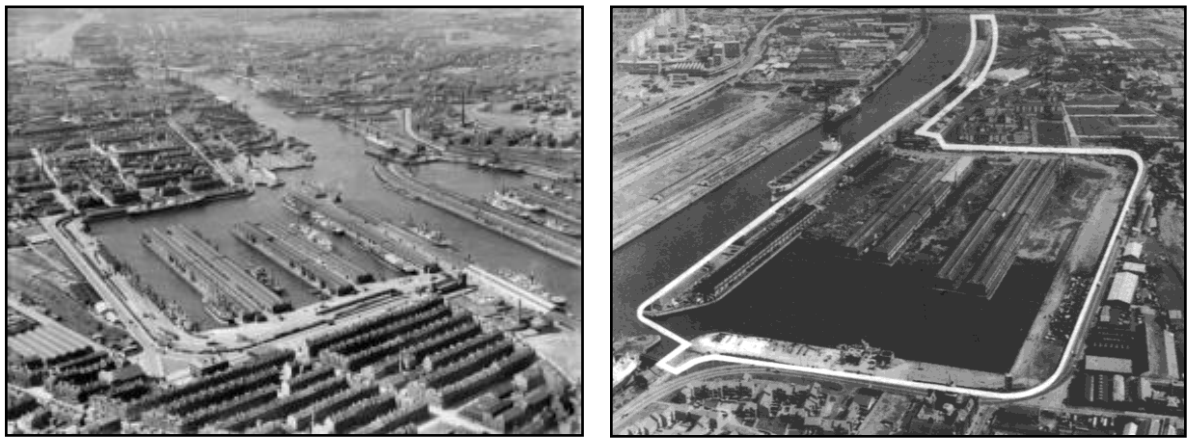
Figure 7.1 Historical views of Prince's Dock. Left: a thriving industrial area in 1936 (Source: http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk). Right: a derelict closed down dock, partly being infilled in 1982; the white outline delineates the area designated for redevelopment (Source: Dick, 1986)

Five different stages can be identified in the regeneration of Pacific Quay, which will be explained in the next paragraphs (for a chronology of events see Figure 7.3):

- The Garden Festival which took place here in the late 1980s;

- The formation of a major private owner on the site - Pacific Quay Developments - in the mid -1990s;

- The building of the Science Centre at the turn of the 21st century;

- The relocation of the BBC Scotland headquarters on site in the mid-2000s;

- The development of the Digital Media Quarter and the activation of the Canting Basin at the end of 2000's.

A) The position of Pacific Quay in the wider urban grid of Glasgow (Source: adapted from Google maps)
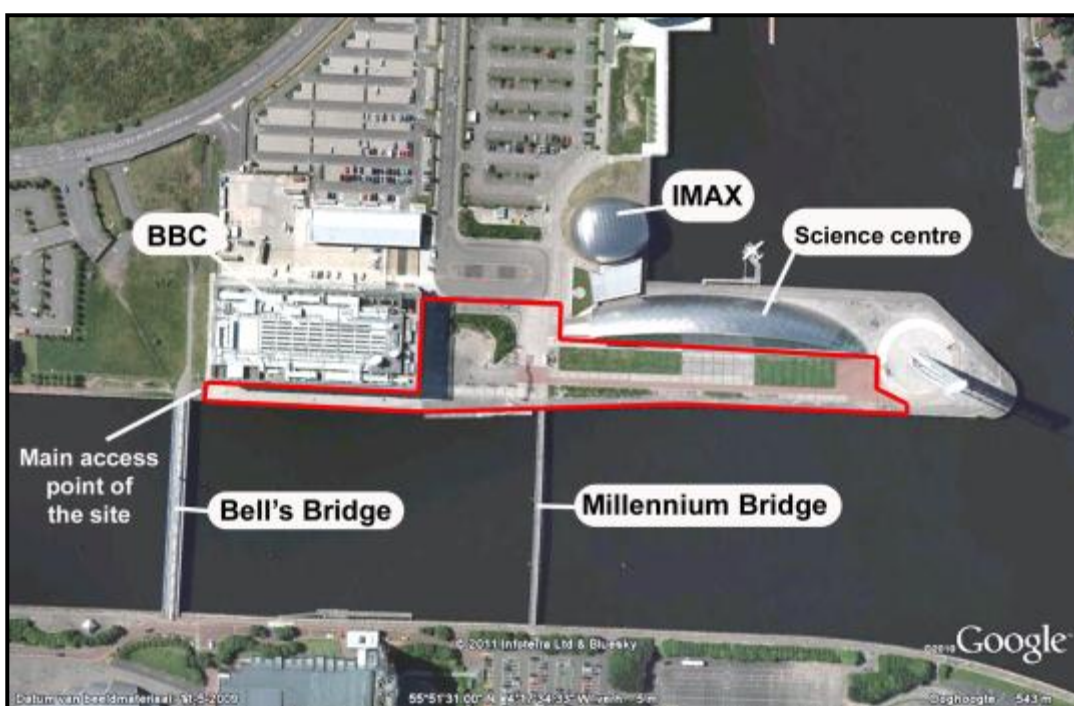
B) The public place under analysis (delineated with a red line) in relation to the other main elements of the Pacific Quay site – view from north to south (Source: adapted from Google maps)

Figure 7.2 A and B The location and physical layout of Pacific Quay
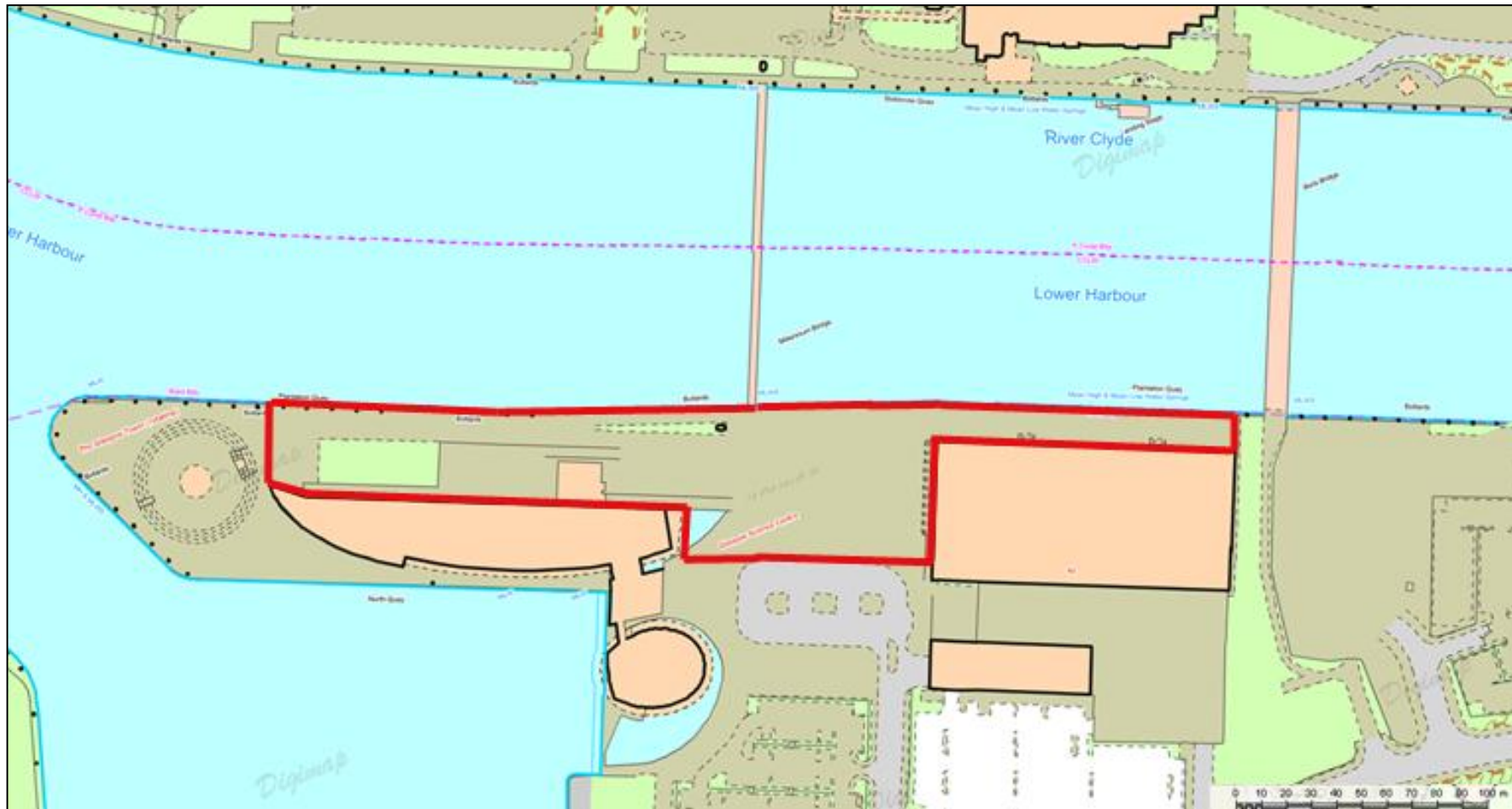
Figure 7.2.C The detailed view of the public place created at Pacific Quay - the red line delineates the public place under analysis (Source: adapted from Ordinance Survey/Edina)

The Garden Festival

The first attempt to regenerate this area took place in the late 1980s, when Pacific Quay was chosen as the site for the 1988 Garden Festival (Figure 7.4). This was one of the first attempts from a string of cultural events, continuing to the present day, aimed at changing the image of Glasgow and contributing to its regeneration (as mentioned in the previous chapter). The festival was organised by the SDA (Scottish Development Agency), which leased the land from Laing Homes, the main owner on site at that date. It was deemed a great success; over 3 million people are said to have visited the festival and revenues of £100 million flowed into the local economy (www.glasgow.gov.uk). In relation to the event, Craig Millar, from Scottish Enterprise stated that:

1970's	Prince's Dock is closed and infilled
1988	Glasgow Garden Festival takes place; Bell's Bridge is built
1995	PQDL (Pacific Quay Developments) is formed and becomes main private landowner on site
2001	The Science Centre is constructed; Millennium Bridge is built
2006	The Clyde Arc bridge is built at the north eastern part of the site
2007	The BBC Scotland Headquarters are opened
2008	The start of the 'Digital Media Quarter' project
2009	Science Centre and SEG bring improvements to the public place
2010	The 'floating village' application for the Canting Basin is submitted; SEG regains the ownership of the central part of the site

Figure 7.3 Chronology of events in the development of the Pacific Quay site

> "In 1988, the site sort of underwent a bit of a renaissance in as much as it was used for the Garden Festival. So all of this huge public realm space was put onto the site and that was open to the public from I think April through to October 1988, and that was a huge success in terms of helping Glasgow's profile…" (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

As part of the Festival, the pedestrian Bell's Bridge was build, creating a key link to the north bank of the river, where the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre
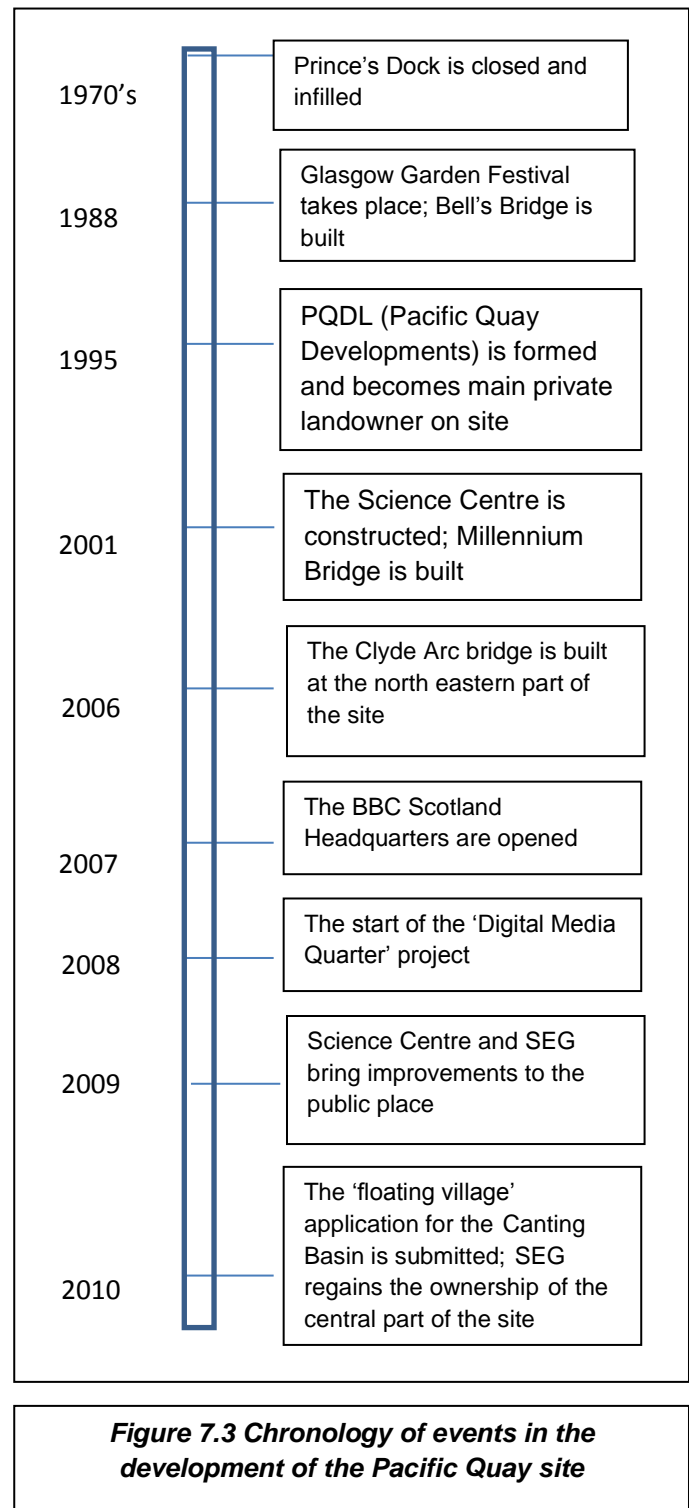
(SECC) was previously constructed in 1985. As a result, pedestrian connectivity with the nearby city centre was ensured for the first time in the site's history. Although the event drew Glaswegians back to the forgotten Clyde for the first time in decades, it did not have a large impact on igniting the area's regeneration in the following period, due mainly to the recession at the beginning of the 1990s.

Figure 7.4 The 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival masterplan (Source: www.skyscrapercity.com)

The main owner, Laing Homes, who had previously acquired the site from the Port Authority (present day Clydeport), had plans to transform it into a residential development (Figure 7.5). Due to the economic downturn at the beginning of the 1990s, this was no longer considered viable and as a result, they decided to sell their property.
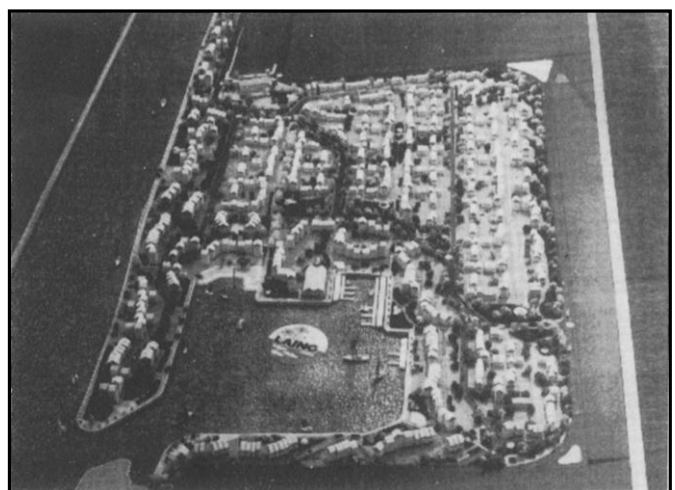
Figure 7.5 Laing's Homes proposal to develop the site into a residential area (Source: Dick, 1986)

During the Garden Festival, SDA (Scottish Enterprise, after 1992) saw the site's potential and decided to acquire the land; by mid -1990s they had become the major stakeholder in Pacific Quay sharing the ownership of the area with two other actors: GCC and Grosvenor Developments (Figure 7.6.A). GCC owned Festival Park, bordering the site to the south (parcel 4 in Figure 7.6.A). The park remained on site as a result of the Garden Festival; it was required that after the event, a green area was to be retained at Pacific Quay. Grosvenor Developments, an international property development company based in London, owned the area between the park and the main access road (parcel 3 in Figure 7.6.A), having previously acquired it from the Port Authority as well, at the beginning of the 1990s.

SEG assimilated the main area in Pacific Quay, between 1990 and 1995, because it was considered a strategic site, due to the close proximity to the city centre and the visibility of its waterfront position. The acquisition was meant to complement the agency's portfolio of land in Glasgow, which would be favourable for redevelopment, in particular for businesses and industry (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise). The clearing of the debris from the festival and more favourable market conditions, combined with the ownership of the site by SEG gave hopes in the mid-1990s that the site will finally undergo the regeneration anticipated at the end of the 1980s. However, the SEG saw themselves more as facilitators than developers and did not take a strong leadership in coherently developing the site. This led to a key decision made in 1995 to sell part of their land (parcel 2 in Figure 7.6.A) to the private sector, which had a very large impact on the subsequent development of Pacific Quay. This will be discussed in the following part.

The formation of a major private owner on the site - Pacific Quay Developments

After having acquired the majority of the land by 1995, SEG drew a broad masterplan, illustrating their vision that the area should be a mixed development of businesses and tourism. Craig Millar said that their objective was to create "…a fairly large-scale open business park, with a mix of business space, commercial leisure space and also a major tourism attraction on this site as well "(Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise).
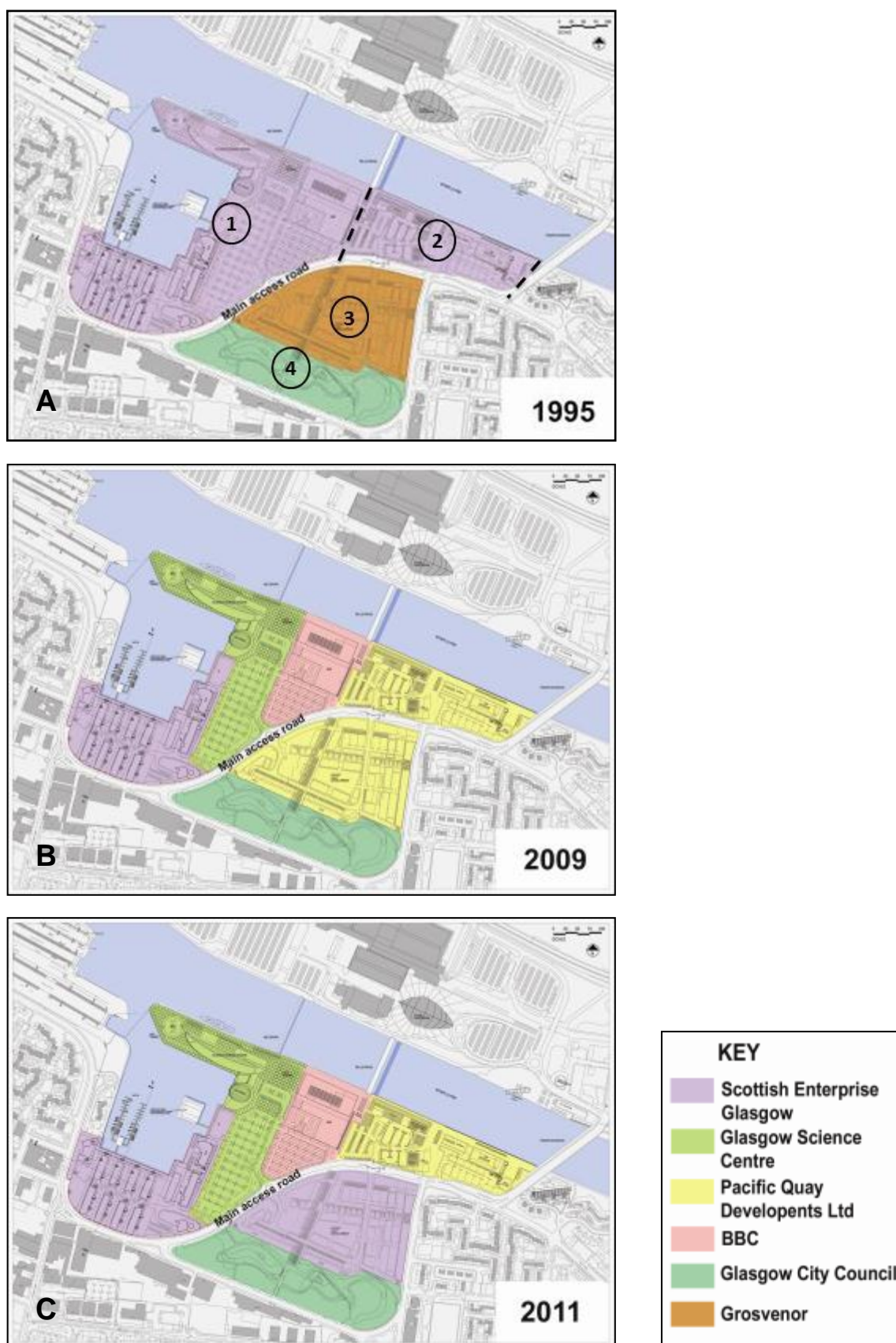
Figure 7.6 Evolution of land ownership in Pacific Quay from the1990s until present day (Source: adapted from Scottish Enterprise)

The key element of the masterplan was the construction of a multiplex cinema, which was seen as the driver of the entire regeneration process. In consequence, SEG started marketing the northeastern part of the site to the private sector (parcel 2 in Figure 7.6.A) and this resulted in a development competition, organised in 1995. SEG decided that the winning bid was a joint application from Miller Developments, based in Edinburgh and C.T.P. Ltd, a commercial leisure developer based in Manchester. To ensure a coherent development of the site, SEG tried to facilitate an agreement between the winners and Grosvenor Developments and were holding the land in the southern part of the area and who had also bided for the site. The three private developers, Miller Developments, Grosevenor and C.T.P. Ltd, reached an agreement and as a result, a tripartite joint venture was created - Pacific Quay Developments (PQDL). Soon after, the development of the multiplex cinema fell through because a parallel development at Springfield Quay secured this faster, and Virgin, who wanted to deliver the cinema, abandoned the deal. They considered that there was not enough potential for two similar developments in such close proximity. With the main engine for the site's regeneration gone, in order to give the developers an incentive to carry on with the development plans, SEG sold PQDL the site and as a result, the private consortium became the other major landowner in Pacific Quay (Figure 7.6.B). Their ownership and control over a large area of the site has delayed the regeneration process of Pacific Quay on the whole. The decision of transferring ownership to PQDL is regretted by Craig Millar today:

> "I think as a whole, once ownership has become fragmented, the people...the owners tend to go off and do their own thing and we've made various attempts over the years to try to bring a bit of cohesion to the stakeholder group and we had proposals for a common infrastructure approach which we'd look at the central boulevard, look at upgrading the park, we'd also be looking at upgrading the public utilities servicing in the area so that when we are ready to start delivering the scale of development that it's proposed, there are no restraints in that sense, and that's an area that hasn't worked quite as well as we would have liked but it tends to be driven by the economic cycle as well." (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

It can be grasped that the relationship between PQDL and SEG over the years has not been particularly successful. Although approached repeatedly by SEG, until the present day, a large tract of the private owners' land has not been developed. Only two notable developments were created in the past fifteen years: the headquarters of Scottish Media Group (SMG) and of the Scottish Criminal

Records (Figure 7.7 and Figure 7.8). PDQL, being large scale, national and international developers, were not particularly interested in speculative development on the site and have repeatedly argued the slow progress in relation to unfavourable market conditions.

> "We're constantly knocking on their door and ask them what's happening and they turn that around and say "well, where's the demand?" and this particular developer, or consortium has not had a track record of doing a lot of speculative development; they are national developers so this is not their only project, they've got concerns and big projects elsewhere, they prioritise things (...) but we're continuing to have a dialogue with them about their sites and in this particular economic climate, we're saying if there is anything we can do to help stimulate a bit of activity, then our door is open."(Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

The lack of development on the site owned by PQDL has indirectly influenced the publicness of the public place under analysis, in terms of the physical configuration and animation meta-themes. This will be explained in the second part of the chapter, when the Star Model Analysis will be undertaken.

During the last stages of the latest market boom, PQDL was about to finally start development acquiring planning permission for a 46 500 sq. m mixed use residential, commercial and business development illustrated in the masterplan presented in Figure 7.8. This did not materialise though due to the following market downturn when Grosvenor pulled out from the consortium (in 2010) and sold the site they were holding since the 1990's (parcel 3 in Figure 7.6.A) to SEG at a value of £3 million (Hatcher, 2010). It remains to be seen how SEG will tackle the redevelopment of Pacific Quay in the future, now that they have regained the position of main landowner in the area, although PQDL still own part of the site (parcel 2 in Figure 7.6.A).

The building of the Science Centre at the turn of the century

In the mid-1990s, in parallel with the events described above, SEG focused their efforts on the creation of a tourist attraction, which was part of their initial vision for the area. This time SEG took ownership over the project and secured the funding through the Lottery Fund, created in 1997. BDP (Building Design Partnership), the largest multidisciplinary practice in the UK, was nominated to undertake the task and the result was the Scottish Science Centre, opened in 2001.

Figure 7.7 Aerial view of Pacific Quay today (in the forefront one can see the North side of the river with the 'Armadillo' building).The large undeveloped area in the middle of the site was owned until recently by Pacific Quay Development. It is bordered to the south by Festival Park. The first building on the southern waterfront, from left to right is the SMG building, the second one is the Scottish Criminal Record Office, the third is the BBC and to the right one can see the Science Centre Complex. Behind these, along the Canting Basin, lies the new Digital Media Quarter. (Source: www.clydewaterfront.com)
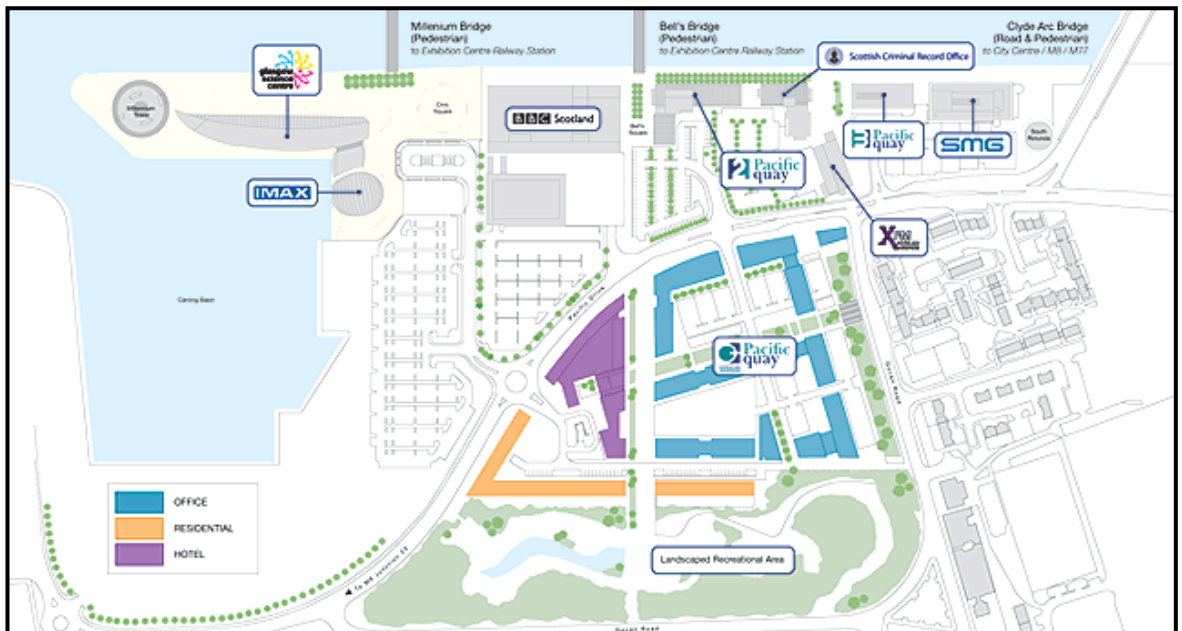
Figure 7.8 The proposed development by Pacific Quay Developments Ltd (Source: www. pacific – quay.co.uk)

The venue was designed as a complex made up by three separate buildings – the IMAX, the Science Centre main building and the Tower; one key addition was the construction of Millennium Bridge, a pedestrian, opening bridge which enhanced the connectivity of Pacific Quay to the north and reinforced its link to the city centre (Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9 Millennium Bridge and to the left, the two buildings part of the Science Centre – the main exhibit building and the tower (River Festival 2009)

The Science Centre became a charitable trust and a subsidiary company of Scottish Enterprise who still retain a certain degree of influence in its affairs; they now own the land, which includes the largest part of the public place under analysis. The main building of the complex was envisaged as an upside down ship, a 'container ship' for the subsequent exhibitions, tied to the water's edge to reflect the history of the Clyde. In contrast to Norman Foster's 'Armadillo' building on the north bank, built in 1997, which has turned its back to the river without addressing the waterfront (Figure 7.10), the Science Centre was designed to enhance the adjacent public place, between the building and the water's edge.

Figure 7.10 The 'Armadillo', view northeast from the civic square at Pacific Quay – the building does not address the river (also in the picture, Bell's Bridge)

Alin Collin described this as following:

> "...what we wanted to do is to respond to the river very positively, visually, giving it space, taking the water inside the building, from the Clyde, but not turning our backs to the potential of the Canting Basin."(Interview with Alin Collin, BDP architect)

BDP proposed an alteration to the masterplan, with the re-creation of the old fingers of water that have previously been infilled. This was aimed at generating more prime value land by the water's edge and at re-creating the historical context and atmosphere of the site but it was not approved. As a result, the main building of the complex was positioned parallel to the water's edge. Apart from the provision of several wavy green beds adjacent to the building, there was not a lot of emphasis placed on the public place along the waterfront or the civic square in front of the building. The Science Centre was envisaged as an internal venue and the lack of general activity in the area when it opened in 2001, led to no special consideration for the adjacent public place (Interview with Alin Collin, BDP architect). Several improvements were made later on, in 2009 when the Science Centre in collaboration with SEG added more greenery and several benches to enliven the 'forgotten' public place:

> "What certainly they (Science Centre) have been doing in conjunction with the Scottish Enterprise is looking at their existing public realm, which if you take those green beds out of the equation; it was fairly sort of bleak and sterile particularly. I mean it is great on sunny day like that but if you've got no greenery, nothing to break up these spaces, nowhere for people to really interact with the public realm, just sit on one of those and have a rest for five minutes when you are walking along, then the space just becomes sort of a bit barren. The civic square between the BBC and the Science Centre is kind of a case in point because that's just been newly re-sculpted with the grass embankment which again people can sit on and it's going to be used as a performance space whereas previously it was just a big, empty square."(Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

The lack of particular attention to the public place at Pacific Quay reflects one of the main issues found in this research as key in the provision of highly public, public places. The providers (Science Centre, SEG and BDP, in this case) would not invest in high quality public place arguing there is a general lack of activity in an area but to attract activity, provisions need to be made. It seems that in regards to the public place under analysis, part of the Pacific Quay site, there is a general view that there will be more focus on physical improvements, once the area will be fully developed and more activity will be generated on site.

(A) The first part of the public place – the walkway between the BBC building and the river

(B) The second part of the public place – the square between the BBC and the Science Centre

(C) The third part of the public place – the walkway between the Science Centre building and the river

Figure 7.11 The public place under analysis at Pacific Quay, a walk from the main entrance point to the site, Bell's Bridge, West along the waterfront (during the observation)

The relocation of the BBC Scotland headquarters on site in the mid 2000's

The Science Centre was the first major building on site but it remained a single development in a generally run down area until the construction of the BBC headquarters, in 2007. In parallel with the creation of the Science Centre and the development of a touristic destination at Pacific Quay, SEG decided that the site should be developed as a Media Quarter, to host the city's growing digital media industries. They succeeded in securing the relocation of BBC Scotland, who agreed to move here if SEG would provide a new road and pedestrian bridge in close proximity to their building. As a result, Finnieston Bridge, known better as the Clyde Arc or 'The Squinty' bridge, designed by Richard Rogers, was built at the most eastern point of the site. It was estimated to cost £9 million and it was opened in September 2006 (Figure 7.12). The relocation of BBC into the new glass box 330 000 ft² building opened to the public (Figure 7.13) has been considered a success in terms of restating BBC's commitment to Scotland (in the context of the 1999 devolution) and in attracting over 90 000 visitors (Kane, 2010).

Figure 7.12 The Clyde Arc bridge (view East from Bell's Bridge)

Figure 7.13 The BBC building (view South from the opposite river bank)

However, the building was positioned with its side to the river, creating a large passive frontage, to the public place adjacent to it (See Figure 7.11.A). The argument for positioning the BBC with its front towards the Science Centre and its side to the river was to create a dialogue between the two major developments on site (Interview with Ethel May Abel, planner GCC). This resulted in the shadowing of the public place for entire afternoon, which today it has the appearance of a completely empty space (Figure 7.11.A) due to two main reasons. On one hand,

the BBC is an office building with a limited interest to develop the outside public place and on another hand, there are disagreements in the City Council if and how this should be improved. In Blair Greenock's view:

> "We can't get common agreement. Some people for example feel that when you view it from the north bank it should simply read as this glass box, sat on the river edge, free from any incumbent landscape. It should be the river and the glass box. The idea of introducing it along the river edge, people have a problem with and others don't. You get that different view on what… I think there's an issue of the quality of the surfacing. It could be a lot better. We weren't really allowed to pursue that when we got the application for the building. I think there was an issue around cost. I think the footprint of the building and the car park was what we really pushed for." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

In 2004, as part of the preparations for moving the media headquarters at Pacific Quay, a new masterplan was commissioned for the site by the BBC and the GCC. Gareth Hoskins Architects' vision (Figure 7.14) is focused on the development of two main public routes, across the site to link the waterfront with the other major public amenity, Festival Park. They also propose to increase the connectivity of the waterfront towards the west of the site, by creating a crossing point over the Canting Basin. A similar approach is seen in the current masterplan proposed by the GCC who is attempting to activate the highly unused Festival Park by improving its connectivity through two green corridors to the waterfront (Figure 7.14).

Figure 7.14 Proposed visions for the development of Pacific Quay. Left: Gareth Hoskins' masterplan from 2004 (Source: www.garethhoskinsarchitects.co.uk). Right: the current view of the GCC to develop the connectivity towards Festival Park (Source: www.clydewaterfront.com)

For this to be realised, a new multi-storey car park is proposed in the central area of the site to free up the large space occupied at present by the Science Centre and the BBC car parks (Figure 7.14 and for an aerial view see Figure 7.7). These suggestions would increase the publicness of the site under observation in terms of its connectivity. It remains to be seen if the recent acquisition of the land in the central part of the site by SEG together with the future proposals discussed in the following part will lead to the realisation of these plans and will result in creating an overall more coherent development at Pacific Quay.

The development of the Digital Media Quarter and the activation of the Canting Basin at the end of 2000's

The creation of a Digital Media Quarter along the banks of the Canting Basin was a common view, shared by both BDP and SEG, since the end of the 1990s, when they worked together towards the creation of the Science Centre. The vision for this area was of a mixed development of small, flexible office units, of moderate prices to attract especially creative industries, linking with the BBC and SMG headquarters on site (Interview with Alin Collin, BDP architect). Similarly, with other projects at Pacific Quay, it took almost a decade for this idea to be developed in practice. In 2008, SEG had finished a first phase of infrastructure works, which realigned the quay walls of the Canting Basin and plotted the area into small development parcels. Two buildings have been completed since then: 'Medius', opened in 2008, a three storey office business and 'The Hub', opened in 2009, home to the Glasgow School of Art Digital Design Studio (Figure 7.15).

Figure 7.15 New developments in the Digital Media Quarter; left – 'The Hub' and right - 'Medius' (Source: courtesy of BDP)

These are much smaller building units than the previous BBC and Science Centre and have provisions for ground floor facilities such as bars and restaurants creating the potential for more active frontages towards their adjacent public place. A first phase of temporary public realm was put in place, according to a design framework created by BDP[1] but it was not considered for the analysis, as it is still a very early stage development. The economic downturn has slowed down the project by a couple of years (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise) but once this is completed, it will most likely bring more vibrancy and activity in the entire public place at Pacific Quay.

Another development idea shared by BDP and SEG in the late1990s was the activation of the Canting Basin. A large marina was not possible due to the high amount of parking space that such a project needs, conflicting with the development of the Digital Media Quarter. Instead, a small marina was envisaged, complemented by houseboats and a floating stage or a floating park that could host events and which would be linked by floating walkways to the mainland (Interview with Alin Collin, BDP architect). In 2009, when the interviews were carried out, SEG was at the stage when they were marketing the area to the private sector. In 2010, Floating Concepts Ltd, a developer company based near Manchester, has agreed to undertake the scheme with an investment of £30 million (www.scotish-enterprise.presscentre.com). Now, a planning application has been submitted to the GCC awaiting approval. The proposal is a reflection of SEG's vision for the Canting Basin comprised by a 'floating community' of offices, restaurants, shops, and houses, plus a small marina and a concert stage (Figure 7.16).

This will help bring the much-needed activity on the Clyde, which was discussed in the previous chapter and will also add to the animation of the entire area at Pacific Quay, including the public place under analysis. In addition, this development could bring the needed physical connection to the western side, proposed in the masterplans presented above in Figure 7.14.

---

[1] The researcher had the opportunity to see this during the interview with BDP architect Allin Collin but could not get a copy

Figure 7.16 The proposed redevelopment for the Canting Basin (Source: www.scotish-enterprise.presscentre.com)

Without doubt, Pacific Quay has radically changed its landscape during the last decades since its closing down as an industrial dock, but progress has been extremely slow (Figure 7.17). Its story has been marked by fragmented ownership and a lack of cooperation among the main stakeholders in the area, particularly Pacific Quay Developments and SEG. In addition, there was no strong cooperation between the SEG and the GCC – the two main public bodies - largely due to the general lack of involvement of the GCC in the area. In Blair Greenock's words:

> "I think Pacific Quay is really a loose alliance of different stakeholders. At the end of the day, these different parties are largely in competition with each other. Possibly, it requires a more robust master plan than we have been previously in a position to prepare. At the end of the day we have our own priorities as an authority. We don't have a huge amount of land on Pacific Quay apart from Festival Park." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner for the area)

During the leadership of Charlie Gordon, when a large amount of projects started on the river, as discussed in Chapter 6, there was no particular fruitful collaboration between GCC and SEG. The former leader of the council sees the lack of a coherent vision from SEG as the main reason for the slow paced regeneration:

> "Pacific Quay was in a way the first regeneration project because it was the Garden Festival in 1988, but now it has become the last and I'm still not clear what the master plan is for Pacific Quay. What you have to understand about Pacific Quay is that the lead developer there has always been Scottish Enterprise. And I think that they have chopped and changed their plans so often. I know the area well. When you are at Pacific Quay,

you feel far from the city, you feel isolated. (...) Don't get me wrong, I believe that Pacific Quay could be a great location, it's just that I think that Scottish Enterprise's leadership has been poor." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former leader of GCC)

Alin Collin, from BDP, shares the view that there has been a lack of agreement and strong leadership from the public sectors:

"...if you could start again, with someone in real control but also have the money to put in the proper infrastructure – you'd have to do that. Scottish Enterprise weren't up for that, they couldn't get the City Council to agree with them, so if the two biggest contributors, two big players have funding to say: 'Ýeah, we're really going to do this well', set it up and then allow the developers to move in and at the back of that you create this fantastic place." (Interview with Alin Collin, architect, BDP)

Although a new public place has been created on the Clyde's waterfront at Pacific Quay, so far, this has not been a priority on the agenda of Scottish Enterprise who concentrated their efforts on attracting development and creating first a certain mass of buildings and people. Although the area has been marketed as a touristic destination, apart from the internal attraction of the Science Centre, there are very few opportunities for visitors or locals as a matter of fact, to engage with the public place outside the building. After the creation of the BBC headquarters, leading to the articulation of a coherent public place formed by the river walkway and the main square, SEG in collaboration with the Science Centre have put some effort into upgrading the public places in terms of furniture and green areas. There seems to be a consensus among the main stakeholders that these will be further improved when more activity comes on site as a result of the development of the Digital Media Quarter and the Canting Basin and once the central area of the site is activated through development. Craig Millar sees the public space as "the golden thread" that will connect all the projects and give the site its much-needed coherence (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise).

Having so far presented the general historical development of Pacific Quay and its main public place, the next part will be concerned with the more in depth analysis of its publicness, by applying the Star Model developed in this thesis.

Figure 7.17 Aerial view of the Pacific Quay site today (Source: courtesy of Scottish Enterprise)

7.3 The Star Model analysis of publicness

The next paragraphs will present the assessment of the publicness of the new public place constructed as part of the larger Pacific Quay site. Publicness will be measured by applying the Star Model and the rating calculated will be explained through the various decisions made in the development process. All the five meta-theme of publicness will be described, the measurements obtained for each of the indicators will be presented and explanations for each rating offered. This part of the chapter will be concluded with the drawing of the Star Diagram of Publicness, and a reflection on the results obtained, in relation to the defined standard.

7.3.1 Ownership

In terms of the first meta-theme, ownership, there is only one indicator *Ownership status*. The rating for the public place under analysis was calculated as an aggregate score, because there are two main owners on site: BBC and the Science Centre (See Figure 7.6.C). The rating obtained was **4.0** (Figure 7.18).

The river walkway parallel to the **BBC** is in the ownership of the media company[2]. This is a public corporation, responsible to the central British government, functioning under a Royal Charter. As a result, this area was rated **4**. The second part of the site, composed by the central square and the walkway parallel to the Science Centre is under the ownership of the Science Centre. It was therefore rated **4** as this is a subsidiary company of Scottish Enterprise, the Scottish government's arms-length organisation in charge with development.
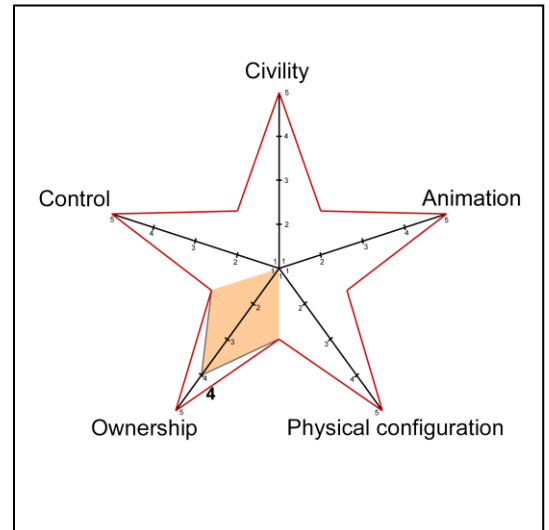
Figure 7.18 Rating and representing Ownership

Because there is more than one type of owner in the area, the aggregate indicator for ownership was calculated. The walkway adjacent to the BBC, owned by the media company, represents 8.85% of the area under analysis while the site in the ownership of the Science Centre represents 91.15% with the aggregate rating being:

$$(0.0885 \times 4) + (0.915 \times 4) = 4.0$$

A higher rating for publicness in terms of ownership would be obtained in the situation when this public place would have been owned by the Glasgow City Council, the local democratically elected authority. As it was presented in the development story of the site, the Council has never been highly interested in the development of Pacific Quay on the whole or in obtaining the ownership of the public place here. This was due mainly to the site's development being led by Scottish Enterprise, the main public body landowner on site and to the lack of fruitful cooperation between the two public bodies.

---

[2] A specifc financial arrangement has been secured for the completion of the BBC buiding witha cost of £129 million. A special purpose vehicle (SPV) was created made up by two companies Pacific Quay Nominees No 1 Ltd. and Pacific Quay Trustees No 1 Ltd. who hold a lease for 150 years for the building and the land adjacent to it. The BBC signed a 30 years lease with the investment vehicle. It appears therefore that the BBC is the righteous owner and the sublesse from these two companies.

7.3.2 Physical configuration

Regarding the second meta-theme, physical configuration, the total rating calculated was **2.5** (Figure 7.19). This will be explained in the following paragraphs by taking into discussion first the indicators for macro - design and second, the indicators for micro - design.

Physical Configuration		
Macro-design	Crossings	3
	Public walkways	2
	Cycle routes	2
	Fences	5
Micro-design	Active frontages	1
	Sitting opportunities	2
	Walking opportunities	3
	Opportunities for active engagement and discovery	2
Total rating		**2.5**
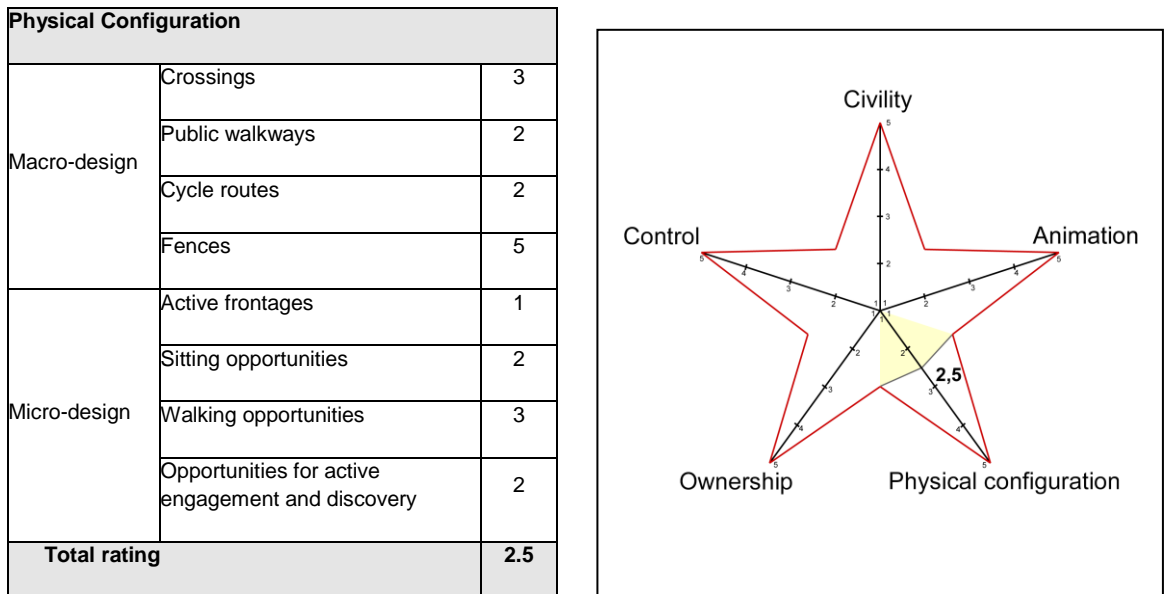
Figure 7.19 Rating and representing Physical Configuration

In terms of macro-design, the first indicator, *Crossings* was rated **3**, because there are crossing points, allowing easy access to the site from two cardinal directions (see Figure 7.2.C for the map of the area and Figure 7.7 for the aerial view):

- to the <u>northern direction</u>, the river can be crossed on either of the two footbridges, Bell's Bridge and Millennium Bridge. Their presence shows that there was a particular concern to connect the site with the opposite bank of the river during its development process. Bell's Bridge was built in 1988 as part of the Garden Festival and although it was proposed as a temporary crossing, it has remained on site due to its importance of connecting Pacific Quay to the northern the city centre (see Figure 7.8). Millennium Bridge is an opening bridge, built in 2002 to facilitate the connection between the newly built Science Centre and the north bank (See Figure 7.9).

- to the <u>southern direction</u>, immediately adjacent to the public place under observation, there is a large area of car parking, composed by the two car parks of the BBC and respectively, the Science Centre. There is no actual

delineated public walkway through this area. Beyond this, the severance effect is enhanced by the presence of the main access road and further south by the large undeveloped area in the centre of the site, until recently in the ownership of PQDL. It was therefore considered that there is no actual crossing point in this cardinal direction. The weak connectivity of the site towards its southern part was acknowledged by Craig Millar, from Scottish Enterprise as one of the failings caused by a lack of agreement between the main stakeholders, as presented earlier in the chapter (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise). A public walkway connecting this public place was proposed in both masterplans presented in Figure 7.14, but its implementation was frustrated by the large sea of car parking and by the ownership of the large area in the centre of the site by PQDL. Now the site has been transferred in the ownership of SEG, hopefully this pedestrian route will be created and the link to the southern direction realised. In terms of the car parks, Blair Greenock, from GCC has declared that the Council is now in discussions with the BBC for the creation of a multi storey car park that would free up a significant amount of space and allow for the creation of a pedestrian link to the south (see Figure 7.14) (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC).

-   <u>to the eastern direction</u> – there is a possibility to access the site on foot but there is no clearly delineated walkway for a distinctive portion of the riverfront (Figure 7.20). This is due to the site having been owned since the mid-1990s by PQDL, who have delayed its development.

-   <u>to the western direction</u> – there is no connection due to the physical characteristics of the landscape represented by the presence of the Canting Basin. This lack of a physical link to the west is an issue that appeared in the interviews as considered by both the SEG and the GCC and is also present on the proposed masterplans (Figure 7.14). The realisation of this connection has been dependent on the activation of the Canting Basin, which is now finally starting to be developed. This would have to be an opening bridge though that could allow the passing of the vessels from and to the new marina.

The second indicator for macro-design, *Public Walkways* was rated **2** as these continue the site in only one cardinal direction, north, in the shape of the two pedestrian bridges. Towards the south, there is no public route as described in relation to the previous indicator and towards the west, there is no crossing point and as such, no walkway is possible. To the east, although it is possible to walk along the river, there is no public walkway created but only open, undeveloped land, due to the delayed development of the site (Figure 7.20).

Figure 7.20 The connectivity of the site towards east. The left image shows the view from the BBC building towards east and the right image shows the view of the same site but from the opposite direction west – east, towards the BBC building

The third indicator for macro-design, *Cycle routes* was rated **2** as there is a cycle way connection only in one cardinal direction, north, through Bell's Bridge (Figure 7.21). This is the start of the Clyde and Loch Lomond Cycleway, a 20-mile route running parallel to the north bank of the Clyde, from Bell's Bridge until Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park. In addition, the pedestrian Millennium Bridge can also function as a cycle route towards the northern direction. There are no cycle routes connections in the other cardinal directions; to the west this is not possible because there is no crossing point, while to the east and south, as described above, there are no developed cycle routes. There was no particular interest of providing these during the development process.

The fourth indicator for macro-design, *Fences* was rated **5** as there are no fences surrounding the site to control access. There is a temporary open fence towards the east due to the area being still a construction site, under development by PQDL but it has not been placed to restrict access (Figure 7.20). There is a balustrade by the river edge, which has been reinforced due to Health and Safety regulations (Figure 7.22). Both the main occupiers on site, the Science Centre and

the BBC are quasi-public institutions and there was no desire to fence the outside public places around them.

Figure 7.21 The only cycle route connection across Bell's Bridge

Figure 7.22 The reinforced river balustrade (picture taken during the River Festival)

In terms of micro-design, the first indicator, *Active Frontages* was rated **1** due to the fact that there is a severe lack of active frontages. There are only two large buildings on site, both of a single occupation, the BBC and the Science Centre, which offer passive facades although the buildings are clad in glass, allowing for a certain degree of visibility inside them. Their main entrances are towards the central square and these are the only doors open to the entire public place under analysis. Although there is a café inside the Science Centre and a visitors' shop these have not been designed so that they opened towards the river walkway. The placing of only two large occupiers on site was decided by SEG who wanted to bring development to the area as fast as possible and without any particular regard to the effects on the public place along the river. The Science Centre was considered a necessary development to put Pacific Quay on the touristic map of the city and the BBC to act as a catalyst for the development of the Media Quarter. A different type of development with shops, cafes, bars and restaurants would have created much more activity on the public place by the waterfront. It is a question for future research if the development of the Digital Media Quarter, with smaller units and a wider variety of ground uses together with the Canting Basin floating village will lead to more animation in the public place under analysis.

The second indicator for micro-design, *Sitting opportunities* was rated **2**. There are only a few, not very high quality benches on site, clustered together in front of the Science Centre but they are not directed towards the main viewing landscape, the river (Figure 7.23. B). Due to its being mainly an indoor attraction, there was no particular preoccupation from the Science Centre to create high quality street furniture for the space outside. Although attempts have been made to improve the situation, there was not a lot of consideration and investment into comfortable and quality street furniture:

> "Science Centre just put those benches out so that people that were visiting and having a picnic would just have somewhere to sit, they're not ideal (...) but is just it's been driven by the budget." (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

There are several informal sitting opportunities, such as the grass beds and their edges in the space between the Science Centre and the river, all heavily used during the River Festival in the summer of 2009 (Figure 7.23.A). There are no sitting opportunities in the space between the BBC and the river (Figure 7.23.E) apart from the stairs that connect the BBC's two fire doors to the ground. In the square between the BBC and the Science Centre, (Figure 7.23.C) users could potentially be able to sit on the raised grass area but there are no benches. It was shown in the development story that the public place between the BBC building and the river has not been upgraded due to disagreements in the City Council. The square and the space between the Science Centre and the river has only recently been improved (but only marginally). Overall, there is a general lack of provision of sitting opportunities which was evident during the River Festival (Figure 7.23.A), reflecting the low priority of the outdoor public place on the stakeholders 'agenda.

The third indicator for micro-design, *Walking opportunities* was rated **5** as the site is covered in easily walkable, even pavements. Although there is a patchwork of materials (Figure 7.23), there are no uneven areas that would make users uncomfortable when strolling. In front of the BBC building there is an easily walkable pavement of tiles while in the square and in front of the Science Centre there is a combination of slabs, cobblestones and red gravel.

A) Benches and informal sitting opportunities in front of the Science Centre, heavily used during the River Festival in the summer of 2009)

B) The space between the Science Centre and the river

C) The Square between the BBC and the Science Centre

D) The space between the square and the river

E) The river walkway next to the BBC building

Figure 7.23 Sitting and walking opportunities on the observation site Pacific Quay, during the River Festival (A) and during the observation period (B, C, D and E)

The fourth indicator for micro-design, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated **2**. There is only one element on site, placed by the Science Centre, a 6 kW wind turbine that was intended to raise awareness about the sustainability agenda but also to offset the carbon footprint of the museum (Figure 7.24). Although this provides the opportunity for users to engage with the environment as it was noticed during the structured observation of the site (Figure 7.23.D), generally there is a lack of this type of elements. There are no opportunities for children to play, no fountains, no public art resulting in the public place having the look of a barren and uninteresting area.

Figure 7.24 The wind turbine at Pacific Quay – the only opportunity for active engagement and discovery

Overall, in terms of macro-design, although there are no fences to deter physical access and block the visibility into the site, the public place at Pacific Quay is fairly poorly connected with the surrounding urban fabric. Its publicness would rate higher if crossings would be provided towards the southern and the western directions, over the car parks and the main access road and respectively, over the Canting Basin. They would need to be reinforced by public walkways and cycle routes, missing also towards the eastern direction, along the river. In terms of the micro-design indicators, a higher publicness would be obtained if there were a large variety of active frontages, a higher number of and better quality sitting opportunities and more elements that would provide the opportunity for users to actively engage with and discover the physical environment. As a result, the physical configuration meta-theme rates fairly low. This can be explained by a combination of factors such as the lack of a coherent vision and focus on public place creation from the part of the lead developer, SEG in a climate of fragmented ownership and disagreements between the public and the private sectors towards the overall development of Pacific Quay.

7.3.3 Animation

In terms of the meta-theme animation, the overall rating obtained was **1.5** (Figure 7.25).This was calculated by averaging the two indicators that illustrate this meta-theme: *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers*, rated **1** and *Diversity of activities* was rated **2**. The next paragraphs will explain these ratings and will provide additional information on the type and number of users and patterns of use that could not be captured by the indicators.
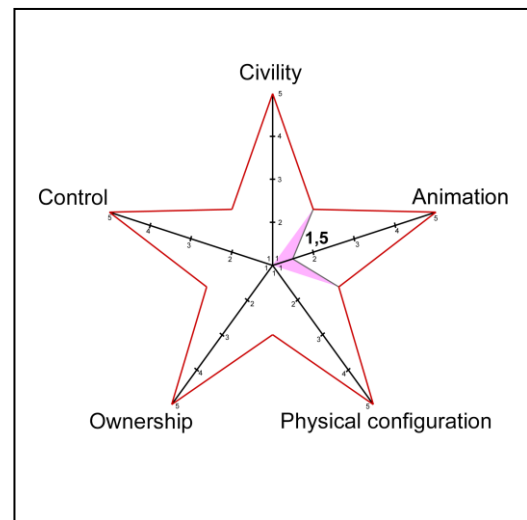
Figure 7.25 Rating and representing Animation

The first indicator, *Street vendors and /or entertainers*, is a Type 2 indicator and as such, it was measured in each of the observation days. As there were no street vendors and entertainers on site in either of the three days, the rating for each day was **1** and on average, this indicator rated **1**. This shows that there aren't sufficient users on site yet, to make these micro-economic activities viable; it is hoped by Craig Millar that this will improve in the future:

> "BBC is kind of relatively new onto the site, they've only been here since 2007 and then you get a bit of demand which will follow them. There may be an opportunity for some sort of amenity vendors to put little serving boxes into there. (...) These things will come with time but again if you were operating one of those things yourself, you wouldn't necessarily set it up there and then you sell four coffees a day and you think 'Nah, waste of my time'. It's really not going to be demand for it."(Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)

The second indicator, *Diversity of activities* is a Type 3 indicator and as such, measurements were done throughout each of the three observation days, at certain pre-determined times, with the site divided in two observation areas (see Figure 7.27). The first observation area comprises the walkway along the Science Centre and the space between the building's main entrance and Millennium Bridge while the second observation area comprises the square between the museum and the BBC and the walkway between the BBC and the river. It was measured

that, on average, there are approximately 3 (3.2) activities happening at the same time (in a short 5 minute interval) which means that the rating for this indicator is **2.** The highest number of activities was recorded on Monday and the lowest on Sunday, which shows that Pacific Quay is not particularly a weekend destination (Figure 7.26 and see Annexe 6).

Observation day	Average number of activities/5 minutes interval	Total number of activities during the day
Monday 28.09.2009	4.2	9
Friday 23.10.2009	2.2	5
Sunday 11.10. 2009	3.2	7
Average	**3.2**	**7**

Figure 7.26 The average and total number of activities recorded during observation in the public place at Pacific Quay

In terms of the actual activities performed, Figure 7.28 shows that overall, the most common uses of the public place under observation were *Strolling*, *Cycling* and *Standing*, which account for more than two-thirds of the total number of users. During the least animated observation day, Friday, approximately 98% of the users were engaged in these three activities. Out of the total number of 121 people observed in this day, only three persons were performing two other activities: two people were sitting down on the ledges of the planted areas by the Science Centre and one person was jogging.

The usual movement pattern for strollers (the most popular activity at Pacific Quay) was formed by people coming from the north bank on Millennium Bridge, walking along the river and then going back to the north bank through Bell's Bridge. There were very few people venturing north of Millennium Bridge, towards the Science Centre tower. This is explained by the fact that only the two bridges provide strong pedestrian connections to the surrounding urban grid, as presented when the physical configuration meta-theme was discussed. It could be grasped from the observation that a large part of the strollers were mostly visitors on site as they were seen occasionally taking pictures and looking around at the buildings and the river.
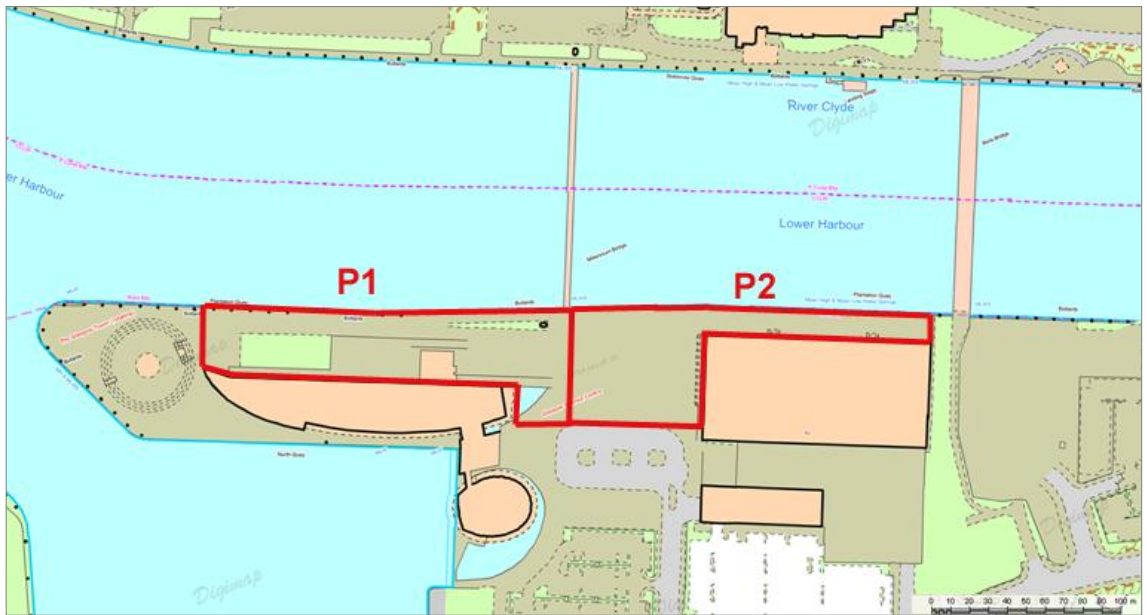
Figure 7.27 The two observation areas for the Animation dimension at Pacific Quay (Source: adapted from Ordinance Survey/Edina)
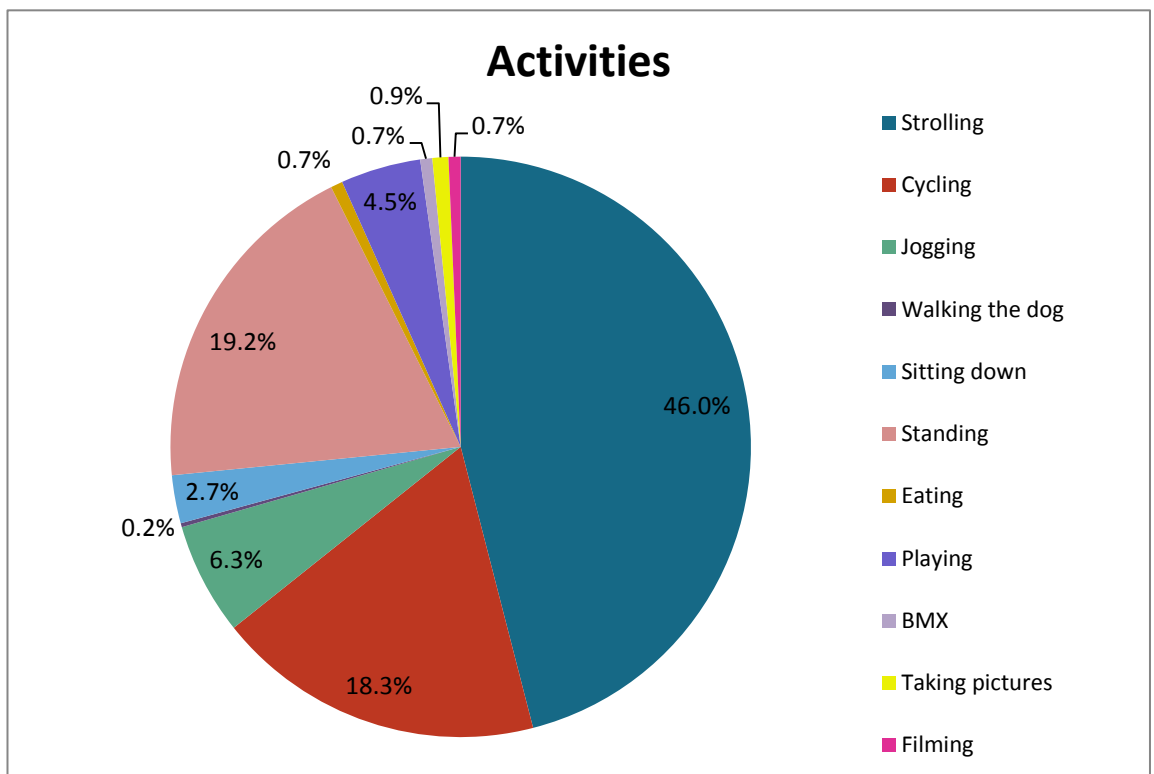
Figure 7.28 The types and distribution of activities among the total number of users performed in the public place under observation in Pacific Quay

Regarding the activity *Cycling*, the most common pattern noticed was formed by cyclists coming from the northern bank of the river, on either of the two bridges and going south. This can be explained by the fact that there is only one cycleway connection, in the northern part, across Bell's Bridge, with no cycle routes continuing the site towards east and west, which would encourage cyclists along the river. Concerning the activity *Standing*, a significant part of the users were recorded grouped by the BBC building, smoking, most likely employees of the media company. It can be stated that smoking is a necessary activity (Gehl, 1996) and that it would happen irrespective of the quality of the outdoor public place. Another pattern in the *Standing* activity was formed by people standing by the water's edge or throughout the square, looking at the river and the surrounding landscape, occasionally taking pictures; they appeared to be also visitors on site.

Apart from these three main uses, smaller percentages of people were recorded performing occasional activities such as sitting down, jogging, walking the dog, eating, playing, taking pictures and filming (Figure 7.28). The activity *Sitting down* was performed by a very low number of people, twelve in total, representing 2.7% of the total number of users. This can be explained by the general lack of provision of benches and the poor quality of the ones that are present in front of the Science Centre. Overall, there were only four people seen during the observation days using the available benches. The rest of the users in the *Sitting down* category were employees from the Science Centre using the informal sitting opportunities provided by the ledges of the green areas next to their workplace. The activity *Taking pictures* refers also to a very small number of users, four in total, who were observed using professional photographic equipment near the Science Centre Tower. A very small percentage of people, 0.7%, were observed engaged in the activity *Eating*. This is represented by three people in total and is explained by the lack of food vendors, restaurants or cafés in the vicinity of the public place (apart from the indoor café of the Science Centre but which does not open onto the site).There were very few joggers and only one person walking a dog which can be explained by the absence of a community living close by to the public place. Although PQDL (Pacific Quay Developments) had plans to build a residential development on site, these never materialised.

Although the majority of users were young and middle - aged, overall, during the three observation days, there were 11% children observed on site (Figure 7.29).

These were engaged mainly in the activity of *Playing*, which was taking place in the main square or on the grass beds adjacent to the Science Centre. The other two activities children were performing were strolling and cycling. The most underrepresented age group was teenagers. There were twenty teenagers overall present on site during the three observation days, who were either strolling or doing stunts on BMX bikes.

The results of the observation show that there is a low diversity in terms of ethnicity with almost 90% of users being White. Regarding the gender distribution, the high percentage of male users, 65% can indicate that this is not a very high quality public place. As studies have shown (Whyte, 1980; Franck and Paxon, 1989), the higher the percentage of women, the more successful a public place is. This is due to the fact that on one hand, generally women are more selective of the outdoor environment where they chose to spend their time and on the other hand, that a high percentage of women indicates a safer public place.
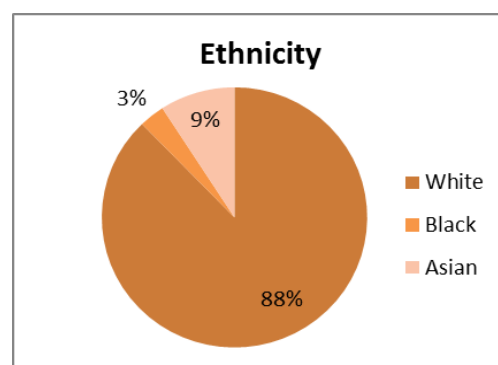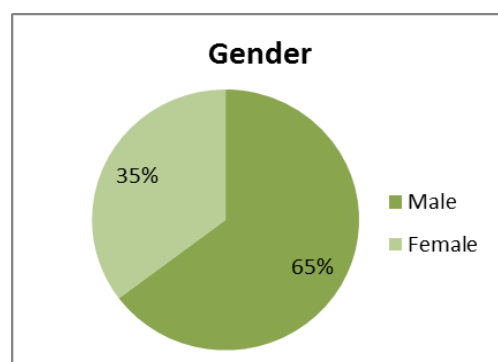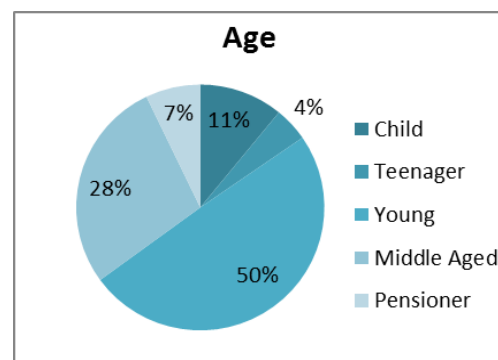
Figure 7.29 The diversity of the total number of users according to Age, Gender and Ethnicity recorded in the public place under analysis at Pacific Quay

Concerning the number of users, there were in total 448 people counted during the three observation days with an average number of approximately 16 people present on the entire site in a five-minute interval (Figure 7.30). It can be grasped that the most animated part of the public place was the second observation area where most activity happened in the square between the BBC and the Science Centre. The first observation area was on average less animated with most people and activities happening between the Science Centre entrance and Millennium Bridge; the walkway between the Science Centre and the river was the least animated part of the public place.

	Observation area 1 (P1)	Observation area 2 (P2)	The entire site
Monday	7.5	11.8	19 (19.3)
Friday	4.9	7.2	12 (12.1)
Sunday	5.1	9.8	15 (14.9)
Average	**6 (5.8)**	**10 (9.6)**	**16**

Figure 7.30 The average number of people present in the public place at Pacific Quay in a 5 minute time interval

In terms of the daily rhythm of the site's animation no clear pattern emerged apart from the vibrancy decreases in the evening hours with no one present on site after 7 p.m. (6 p.m. on Friday) (see Annexe 6).

Overall, it can be stated that the animation of the public place created at Pacific Quay is very low. On average three main activities are performed at the same time, by a relative small number of people. There is very little diversity in terms of ethnicity and although all age groups are represented, 50% of the users are young people. One of the main factors that have influenced this reduced and monotonous use of the site is the lack of opportunities for people to engage more actively with the environment. There are no shops, pubs or restaurants, no vendors, no outdoor exhibits or public art that would encourage more people to use the space in more diverse ways. Another factor is the poor connectivity with the surrounding urban grid. Although the site has the potential to become a vibrant and busy location, as seen during the River Festival, the observation showed that on a day-to-day basis, the place is fairly empty and there is little variety in the general activities taking place. It remains to be seen in the future if the animation of this public place will increase once the adjacent developments – the Canting Basin and the Digital Media Quarter – will be completed and the rest of the site will be developed.

7.3.4 Control

The fourth meta-theme, control was overall rated **4** (Figure 7.31). Each of the four indicators comprised in this meta-theme are explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Control technology: CCTV cameras	1
Control presence: Police/ guards presence	5
Control by design: Sadistic street furniture	5
Control signage	5
Average	**4**
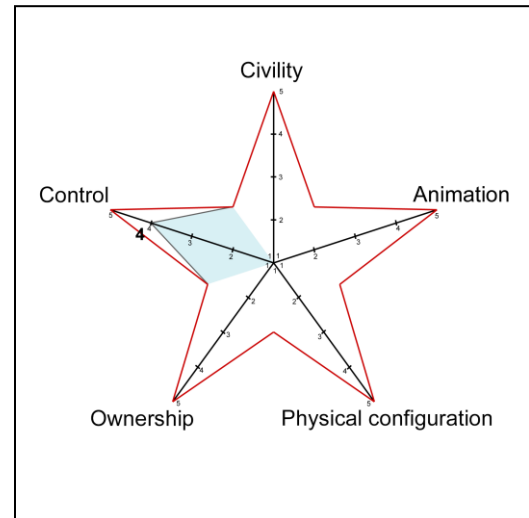
Figure 7.31 Rating and representing Control

In terms of the first indicator*, Control technology: CCTV cameras*, this was rated **1** as more than half of the entire site is under the surveillance of visible cameras. These are placed either on the BBC building or in the central area adjacent to the Science Centre (Figure 7.32). Although the creation of a CCTV system to control the public place was not considered by SEG and the other stakeholders during the development process (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise), both the BBC and the Science Centre considered this necessary to protect the area adjacent to their buildings.

Figure 7.32 CCTV cameras at Pacific Quay

The second indicator *Control presence: Police/ guards presence* is also a Type 2 indicator and as such it was measured during each observation day. This was rated **5** because there were no police patrols or private guards observed in the public place in any of the observation days. The third and fourth indicators, *Control by design: Sadistic street furniture* and *Control signage* were also rated **5** as there are no elements of sadistic street furniture or any signs deterring behaviours. Overall, apart from the presence of CCTV cameras, it can be asserted that there is no oppressive control at Pacific Quay, allowing for a free use of the public place.

7.3.5 Civility

The fifth meta-theme, Civility, was overall rated **3.25** (Figure 7.33). The ratings for the indicators reflecting this meta-theme are explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture	4
Physical maintenance and provision of green areas	4
Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets	1
Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting	4
Average	**3.25**
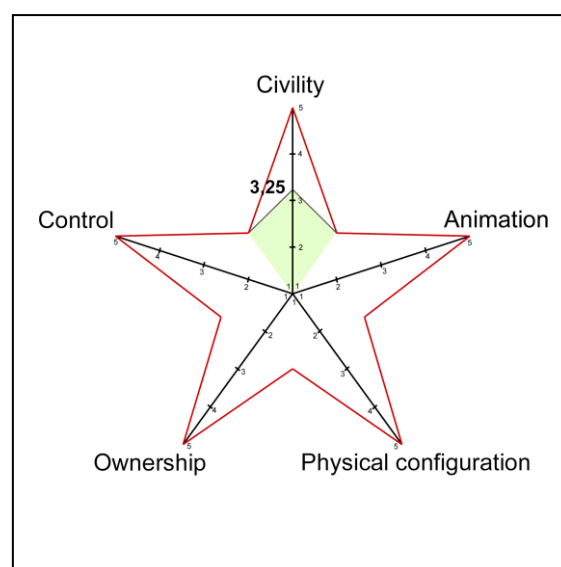
Figure 7.33 Rating and representing Civility

The first indicator, *Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture* was rated **4**.The area looks generally clean and tidy (as it can be seen from the pictures presented so far) and cleaners were seen during the observation taking care of the public place (Figure 7.34). There are several bins present in the area between the Science Centre and the river; they are standard council bins, are in a good state, not broken and tidy (Figure 7.34). The pavements look worn out in several places but generally, the area is maintained in a satisfactory condition. This is related mainly to the Science Centre being a touristic attraction and as such, it maintains the public place in its vicinity in a good state.

Figure 7.34 Tidiness and cleanliness of area; above image – cleaners and slightly worn out pavements; image to the right, bins and general tidiness of area

(A)

(B)

(C)

Figure 7.35 Green space at Pacific Quay. A) the green beds used during the River Festival ; B) and C) the recently planted greenery along the Science Centre and in the main square during observation

The second indicator, *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas* was also rated **4**. The first green area that was placed on site were the grass wavy beds, parallel to the Science Centre main building, which are in a good condition and highly used by children during the River Festival in the summer of 2009 (Figure 7.35). In addition, the green area comprises a row of trees and grass beds parallel to the Science Centre and a green embankment in the main square. These have been recently put in place by the SEG in collaboration with the Science Centre to make the public place more attractive (as presented in the first part of the chapter). As a result, the green areas still need time to mature but overall it was considered they look healthy and well maintained.

The third indicator, *Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets* was rated **1** because there are no public toilets on site. This is related to the City Council's policy of closing down its public toilets in the recent years due to maintenance costs and shrinking public budgets. In particular related to Pacific Quay, it was considered that the majority of people coming here would be going to the Science Centre which provides such facilities (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner for the river). These are not public toilets though as the venue charges an entrance fee and can stop certain categories of users from accessing their facilities.

The fourth and last indicator for civility is *Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting*, which was rated **4**. The public place is well lit with only very few areas of shadow. Although the lighting poles are standard, there is a friendly atmosphere created by the lights from the adjacent buildings, especially from the BBC (Figure 7.36).

Figure 7.36 Lighting at Pacific Quay

7.3.6 The Star Diagram of Publicness

By combining the ratings for all the five meta-themes for the first case study public place, a fairly distorted star diagram of publicness was obtained (Figure 7.37). The averaging of the measurements for the five dimensions results in a value of **3.05**, a medium level of publicness.

The highest publicness is achieved in terms of the control and ownership meta-themes. In relation to the first, there has not been the desire to enforce oppressive control in the public place – there is no overt police presence, no private guards, no sadistic street furniture and no signs to deter behaviours. Nevertheless, CCTV cameras observe the public place, but they have not been placed with the aim of impeding the free use of the place but to protect the areas surrounding the two important buildings on site: the BBC and the Science Centre.
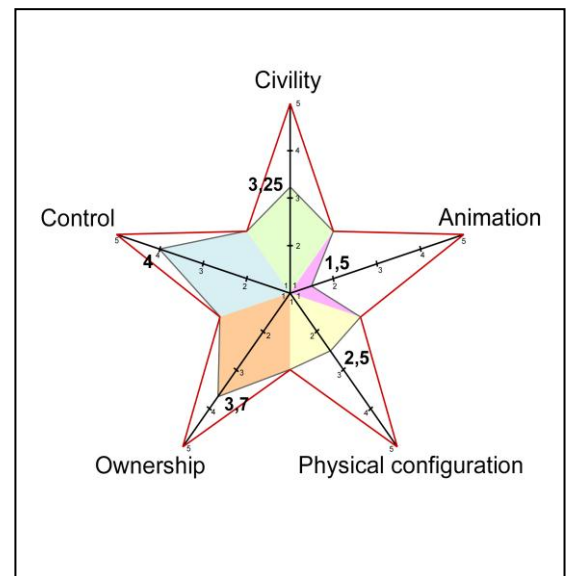
Figure 7.37 Rating and representing the publicness of the public place created at Pacific Quay

In terms of ownership, the fairly high rating is due mainly to the entire Pacific Quay site being led in its development process by a governmental arm's length agency, Scottish Enterprise. This still retains a degree of control over the largest part of the public place through its subsidiary company, the Science Centre. A small part of the public place is in the ownership of the BBC, which is a public organisation.

Medium values of publicness have been obtained in terms of the civility and physical configuration meta-themes. The place is clean and tidy with some signs of wear and tear, the green areas albeit recently created are well maintained and the site is fairly well lit at night with only very few dark areas. Although there are no fences surrounding the site, the area is poorly connected with the adjoining urban fabric, a result of the delayed and piecemeal development of the Pacific Quay site. The strongest connection is towards the northern bank of the river and the city centre, through the two pedestrian bridges but there is an acute need of improving

connectivity and creating public walkways and cycle routes connections in the other cardinal points. In terms of micro-design, although there is a good provision of pavements to support walking, there are no active frontages, no variety of opportunities for engagement with the environment and very few and poor quality sitting opportunities.

The lowest degree of publicness has been measured in terms of the animation meta-theme, where a negative leg of the star has been obtained. There are no street vendors and entertainers reflecting the low number of people that are present in the public place which perform on average only three activities in a short time snapshot. With no night-time economy to support an active use during late hours, the public place becomes an empty landscape in the evening which can lead to it being perceived as an unsafe environment.

7.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the practical application of conceptualising publicness as both a historical and a cultural reality on the first case study public place, part of the site called Pacific Quay. First, the development story of this area was described with an emphasis on the creation of the new public place. It was understood that this was not generated as a result of a clear strategy and focus from the part of the main stakeholders but it resulted as space surrounding the two large buildings that were developed on site: the BBC Scotland HQ and the Science Centre museum. In the second part of the chapter, each of the five meta-themes of publicness was measured and analysed. The distorted Star Diagram of Publicness obtained, with relative medium and low ratings for the five meta-themes, illustrates the fact that there was not a lot of concern and effort put in creating a highly public, public place at Pacific Quay. Although there is no clear tendency towards privatisation and increased control, the public place is very poorly integrated in the surrounding urban fabric and there is an acute lack of design opportunities for the place to be a well-used and vibrant area, reflected in a very low level of animation on site. The overall fairly low value of publicness obtained can be explained by the fact that the site on the whole has developed extremely slowly in the past decades due to fragmented ownership, a lack of cooperation between the main actors and high dependence on market fluctuations. The priority of the main actor leading the regeneration process, SEG,

was to bring development on site and not necessarily to create an attractive, vibrant and high quality public place on the Clyde waterfront.

CHAPTER 8

THE SECOND CASE STUDY PUBLIC PLACE: GLASGOW HARBOUR

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the publicness of the second case study public place chosen in this research, part of the construction of the first phases of the Glasgow Harbour regeneration project. In a similar manner with the previous chapter, first, the story of this site's evolution is described with a particular emphasis on the creation of the public place under analysis. The different stages and actors in the development process are identified and key decisions that have influenced the publicness of the resulting public place are discussed. Second, after describing publicness as a historical reality, the chapter moves on to present and explain the rating for each indicator, under the five meta-themes of publicness. Third, the Star Diagram of Publicness is drawn and the rating for the publicness of the site is reflected upon. The chapter ends with several concluding remarks on the obtained rating in relation to the overall development story of the public place.

8.2 The history of the site's development

The second case study new public place in this research has been created as part of the Glasgow Harbour regeneration project, one of the largest projects of its kind in Scotland, situated west of the city centre of Glasgow (Figure 8.3). The scheme is a fifty-two hectares development, twice the size of Pacific Quay, totalling over £1 bn. investment to date and stretching on the north bank of the river Clyde, between the Clyde Tunnel and the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre).

Two of the historical working class neighbourhoods of Glasgow lie in the close proximity of the site: to the north, Partick and to the south, on the opposite bank of the river, Govan, home to one of the last two remaining shipyards on the Clyde, Fairfields (Figure 8.1). During the industrial heyday, this was the heart of the city's harbour activities, part of which of great significance was the import of maize and wheat from North America for the local mills and distilleries.

Figure 8.1 The Fairfields shipyards in Govan, view from the new Glasgow Harbour river walkway

The entire Glasgow Harbour industrial complex comprised five areas: Merklands Quay, Meadowside Quay, Castlebank, Pointhouse Quay and Yorkhill Quay (Figure 8.1). In order to accommodate the heavy grain shipments, four large brick granaries were constructed on Meadowside Quay, between 1914 and 1968, each known by the different year it has been built in (Figure 8.2).
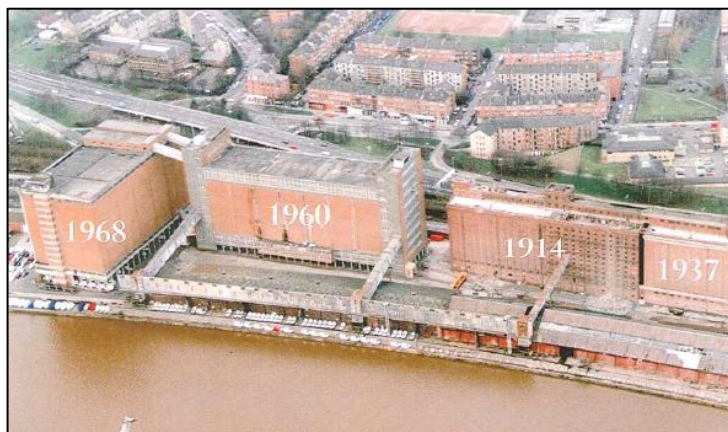
Figure 8.2 The former Meadowside Granaries (Source: courtesy of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)
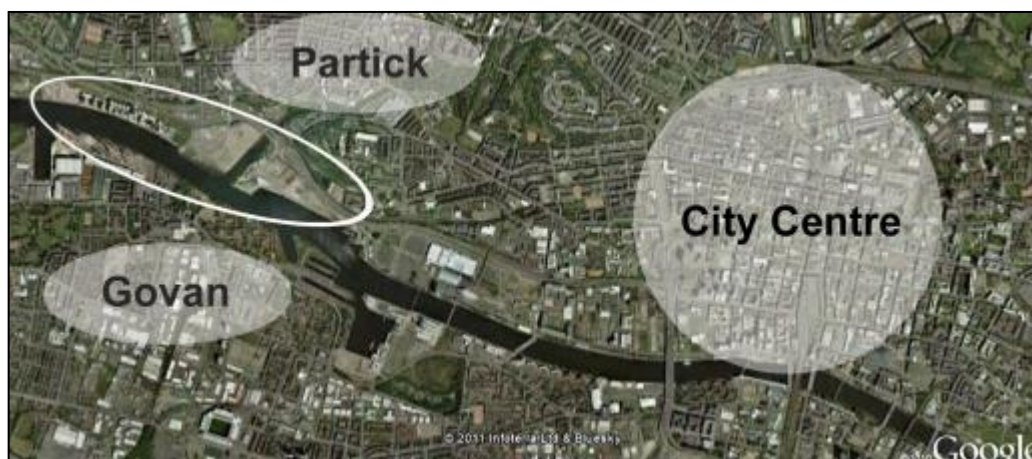
Figure 8.3.A The physical layout of the Glasgow Harbour site - the red line delineates the public place under analysis (Source: adapted from Google maps)

Figure 8.3.B The detailed view of the public place created as part of the Glasgow Harbour project (Source: adapted from Ordinance survey/Edina; the red line indicates the public place under analysis)

On the background of the general deindustrialisation that took place in the post 1960s, the shipyards were closed one by one and by the late 1990s, Meadowside Quay was used mostly for small aggregate cargos and car parking (Glasgow Harbour, n.d.). In search of new economic uses for the large derelict site, the owner, Clydeport (former Clyde Port Authority privatised in 1992) decided to demolish the iconic granaries and redevelop the entire former harbour area, arguing that surveys found the buildings "impossible to convert to other uses" (Glasgow Harbour, n.d.) (Figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4 Aerial image of the proposed site for redevelopment, view west - photo by KPF (Source: www.cabe.co.uk)

The decision to knock down the Granaries sparked a wave of dissatisfaction among Glaswegians, especially in the local community of Partick, where these buildings were seen as a familiar landmark, a historical link to the former industrial glory days (http://partick.eveningtimes.co.uk/area/particks-past-1.html). In order to carry through the redevelopment, in 1999, Glasgow Harbour Limited was created to deliver the project intended to be finished in the following decade but progress overall has been very slow (for a chronology of events see Figure 8.5). The company was initially a joint venture between Clydeport and the Bank of Scotland but later on it became a wholly owned subsidiary of Clydeport. To redevelop such a large area of the waterfront, Clydeport needed to work in partnership with the GCC, whose leader at the time was Charlie Gordon:

> "...my recollection is that they approached us and said that they had been operating the port, but a lot of the land – former docks and former shipyards were being used for very low level usage such as storage or not being used at all. The granaries were not getting used and really, they wanted to talk to us about getting mixed-use development on quite a large scale. And quite soon after, they got into bed with a bank – The Bank of Scotland – and they set up a joint venture company: Glasgow Harbour. They offered the Council an opportunity to take a share in the venture and we considered doing that. We

considered putting not cash for a share of the equity but putting land in because much of the land adjacent to their land was owned by the Council.... So we gave them a lot of encouragement at the start." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former GCC leader)

Year	Event
1988	Meadowside Granaries cease operation
1999	Glasgow Harbour Ltd is formed
2000	KPF (Kohn Pederson Fox) is appointed to design the masterplan
2001	Outline planning consent granted for masterplan; demolition of granaries begins
2003	Residential Phase 1 construction begins; Clydeport becomes part of Peel Holdings
2004	Riverside walkway and park opened to the public
2005	Residential Phase 2 construction begins; Meadow Road underpass improved; major road works begin
2007	The New Riverside Museum construction begins; Residential Phase 1 is completed
2009	Stages 1 and 2 of Residential Phase 2 are completed

Figure 8.5 Chronology of events in the Glasgow Harbour project

In 2000, Kohn Pederson Fox Associates (KPF), an international architectural and urban design company based in the USA, was commissioned to design the masterplan for which outline consent was granted in 2001 (Figures 8.6). The document reflected the vision shared by both Clydeport and the GCC that this would become a revitalised, commercially sustainable waterfront, a vibrant new location within the city of Glasgow (KPF, 2000). A mixed-use development was envisaged with residential, commercial and leisure facilities that would become an extension of the neighbouring affluent West End area (Figure 8.7).
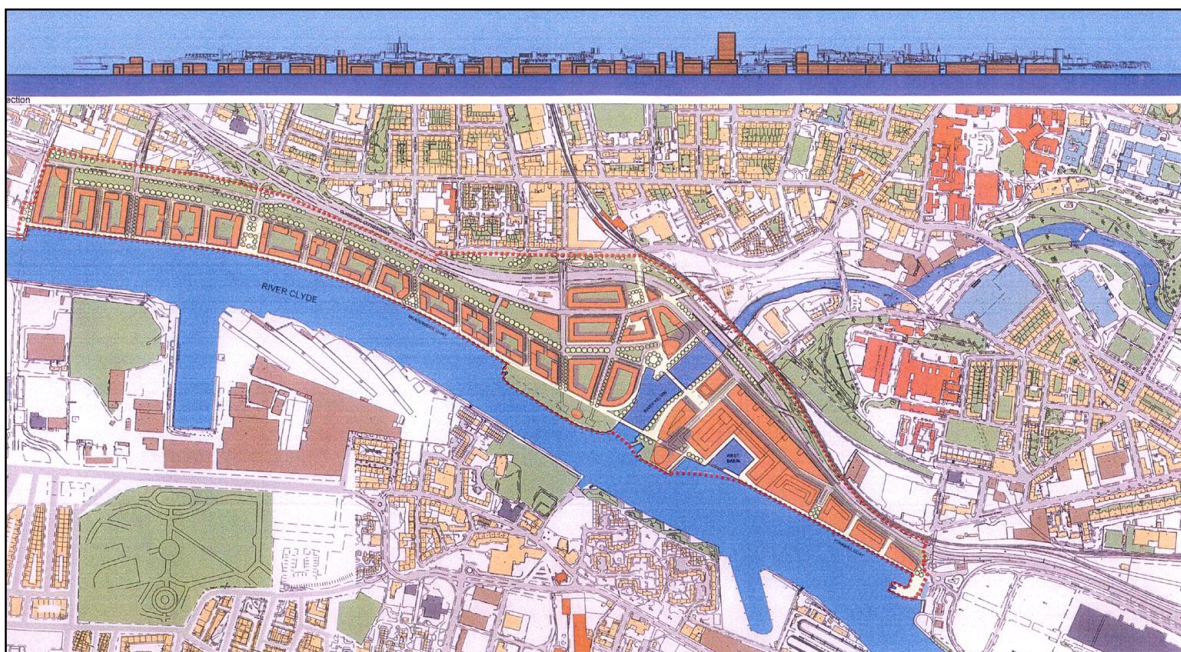
Figure 8.6 The original masterplan for Glasgow Harbour (source: KPF masterplan 2000; courtesy of Glasgow City Council)
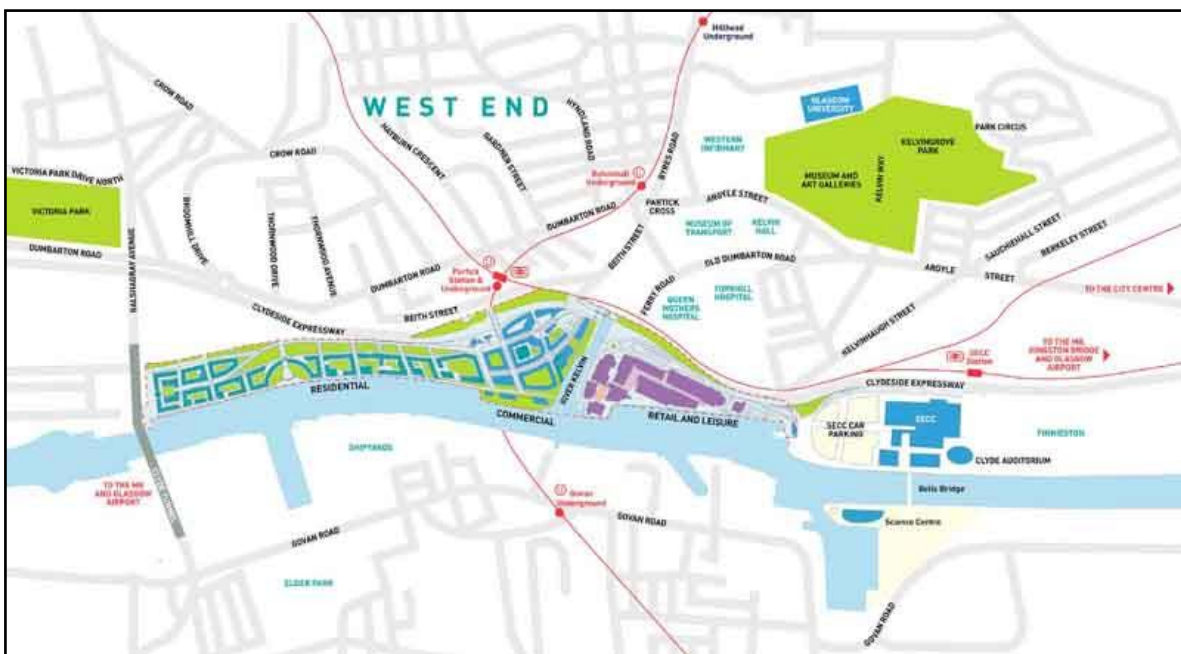
Figure 8.7 The different types of development proposed at Glasgow Harbour (Source: www.glasgowharbour.com)

In order to achieve this, the plans were focused on three aspects: the undertaking of large infrastructure works, the building of a mixture of residential, business, commercial and leisure facilities and the creation of a large amount of public space, totalling approximately 42% of the entire development (GCC, 2005).

In relation to the first aspect, infrastructure, it was acknowledged from the start by both the public and the private actors – GCC and Clydeport – that a crucial problem concerning the development of Glasgow Harbour as a whole, similar to other waterfront regeneration projects, was the high segregation of the site from the adjacent urban grid. This was a result of the presence of a disused railway embankment, an active railway line and the busy Clydeside Expressway (A 318) running parallel to the northern side of Glasgow Harbour. To connect the site with the adjacent urban grid, the KPF masterplan proposed the creation of key pedestrian linkages, from Partick into the site, aligned with the existent street pattern, which would also act as view corridors towards the waterfront (Figure 8.8). The realisation of these pedestrian links was fundamental for making the new development in general, and the future public place in particular visible and easily accessible to the public at large. In order to fulfil all three purposes, connectivity, accessibility and visibility, it was proposed to tackle the existent barriers by levelling down the disused railway, lowering a portion of the expressway and building both a pedestrian and a road bridge from Partick into the new site, over the busy road (Figure 8.9).

In relation to the second aspect, the built facilities, in the original masterplan, most of the area along Meadowside Quay and Merklands Quay was intended for residential development (Figure 8.7). The building blocks would have commercial activities at ground floor, such as shops, bars or restaurants, in a similar manner to the traditional Glasgow tenement block. From the beginning, the aim was to build high quality flats, to attract prosperous people back to the city:

> "Really the masterplan's objective was to get enough development to fund the redevelopment of a derelict, a large derelict area of the waterfront, to get uses that would fund that. There was an underlining issue here that in the city of Glasgow one of the big problems has been this level of depopulation and they wanted to bring lots of people back. The Council in particular wanted to bring people back that would be professionals, highly paid, upper marke; they wanted an upper market type of housing stock." (Interview with Tom McInally, independent planner and spokesman for Clydeport)

Legend

Pedestrian Nodes

Major Pedestrian Routes

Upgraded Pedestrian Access

Pedestrian access to the site is improved with new street level bridges accross the lowered express way from Partick Station and Castlebank Street.

The public realm becomes a natural extension of the primary pedestrian connections.
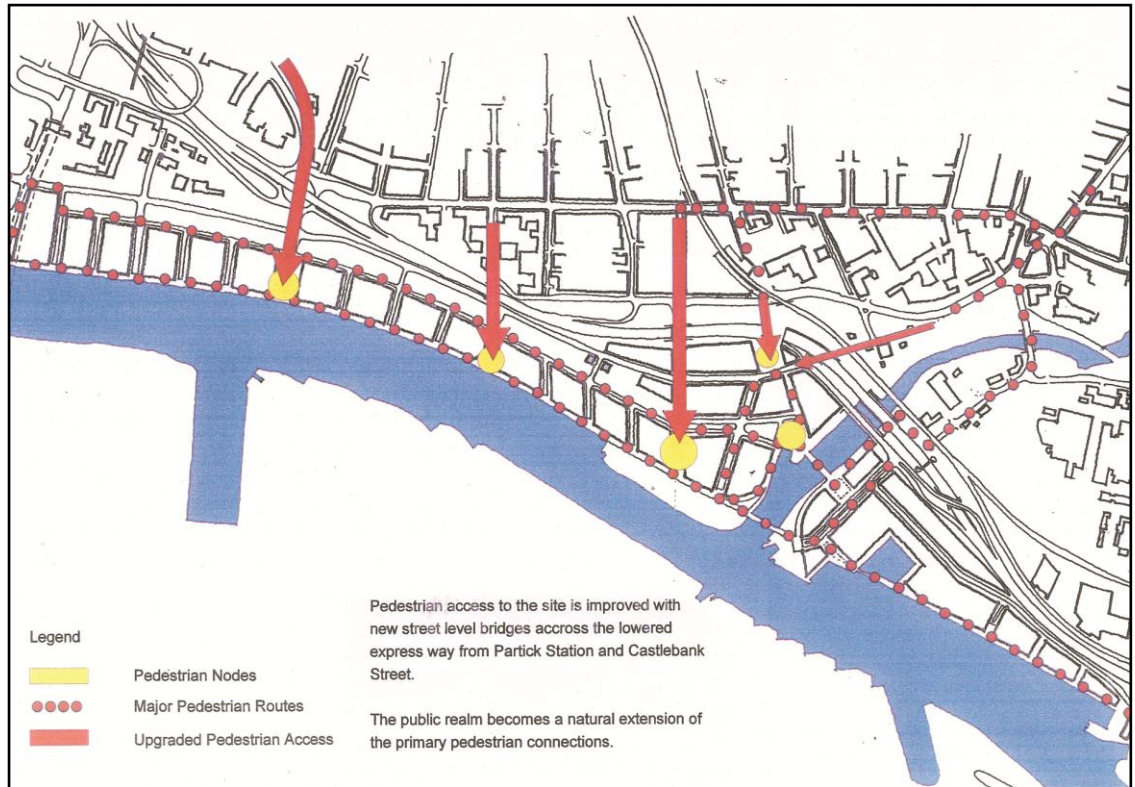
Figure 8.8 Pedestrian links and main pedestrian nodes in the proposed Glasgow Harbour development (Source: KPF, 2000; courtesy of GCC)

NEW ROAD SYSTEM

NEW ROAD ALIGNMENT

PEDESTRIAN FOOTBRIDGE

EXPRESSWAY LOWERING
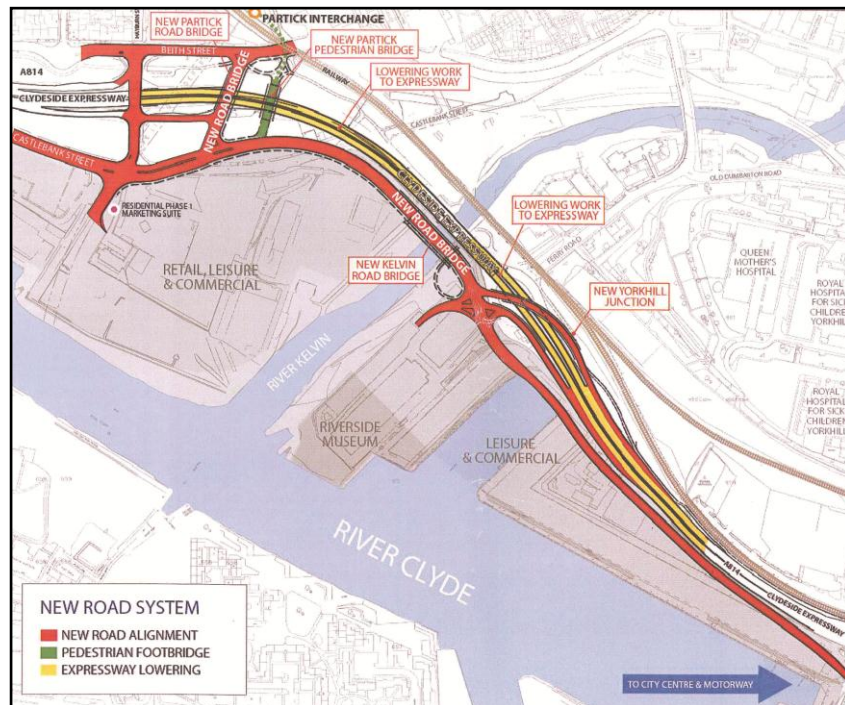
Figure 8.9 The proposed infrastructure works in Glasgow Harbour (Source: Glasgow Harbour, 2005)

The target users for the new houses were young and old couples and it was not intended as a family orientated development (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). Approximately 2 500 flats were planned between the Clyde Tunnel and the River Kelvin (GCC, 2005) all private housing units as there was no particular requirement from the GCC for the inclusion of social housing (Interview with Elaine Murray, GCC planner). The masterplan proposed a fragmented and permeable development along the river so that the mass of buildings would not become a new barrier along the waterfront (Figure 8.10). The building blocks would be separated by perpendicular couloirs towards the river and by three squares where the main proposed pedestrian routes met the water's edge (see Figure 8.8). Towards the east of the residential part, the land at the confluence of the River Kelvin and the Clyde together with Yorkhill Quay was meant to be mainly a commercial, business and leisure development, with offices, shops and a new Transport Museum (see Figure 8.7).

In relation to the third aspect, a variety of public places was envisaged, comprising apart from the above-mentioned squares, continuous river walkways along both the River Clyde and the River Kelvin and a linear park between the building line and the expressway (Figure 8.11). The Clyde Walkway was meant to be between eight and ten meters wide and kept all along the water's edge, a requirement of the GCC who has always insisted on maintaining this public route during the whole regeneration process of the Clyde's waterfront (see Chapter 6). The reason for placing of the park between the building line and the expressway was to fulfil the need of a buffer zone between the busy road and the future homes (Interview with Elaine Murray, planner, GCC).

After this vision was set, Glasgow Harbour was undertaken as a phased development. After the Granaries were demolished between 2001 and 2003, Clydeport decided that they would start the regeneration of the site by building residential units, based on the argument that a certain mass of people was needed first that could then support commercial and leisure activities (interview with EuanJamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). This resulted in the construction so far on site of two residential phases: Phase 1 completed in 2005 and phase 2, which is still under construction (Figure 8.12).
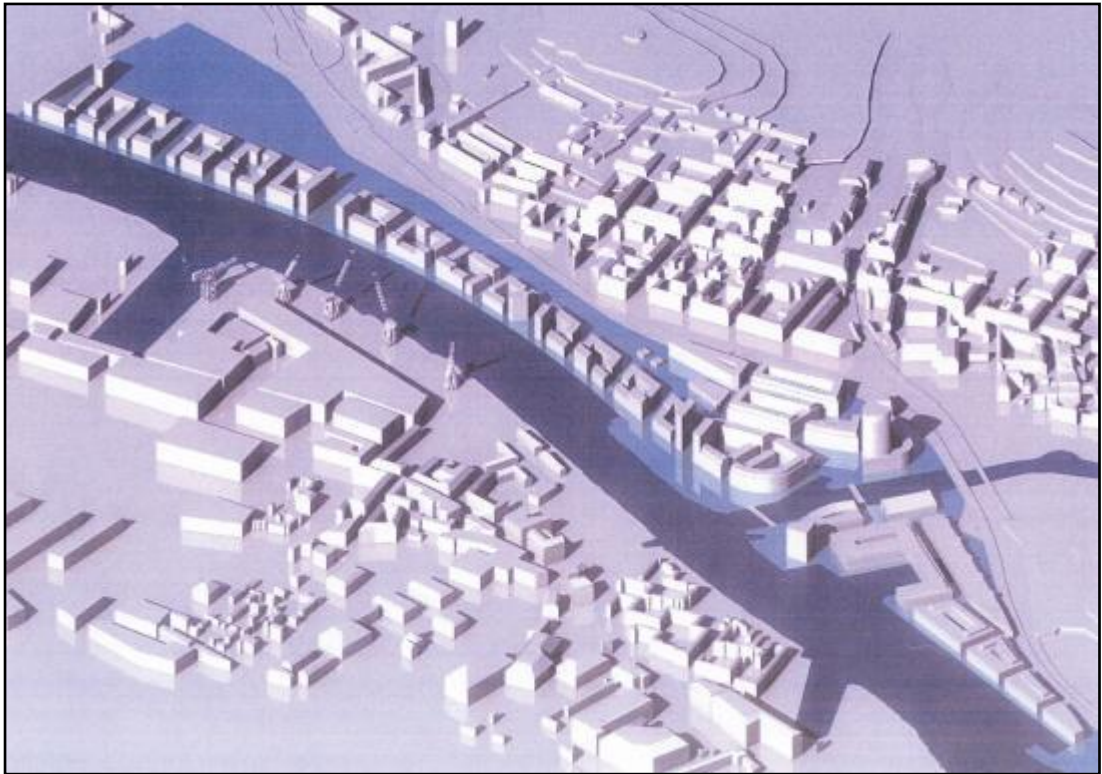
Figure 8.10 Bird's eye view of the proposed Glasgow Harbour development (Source: KPF, 2000, courtesy of GCC)
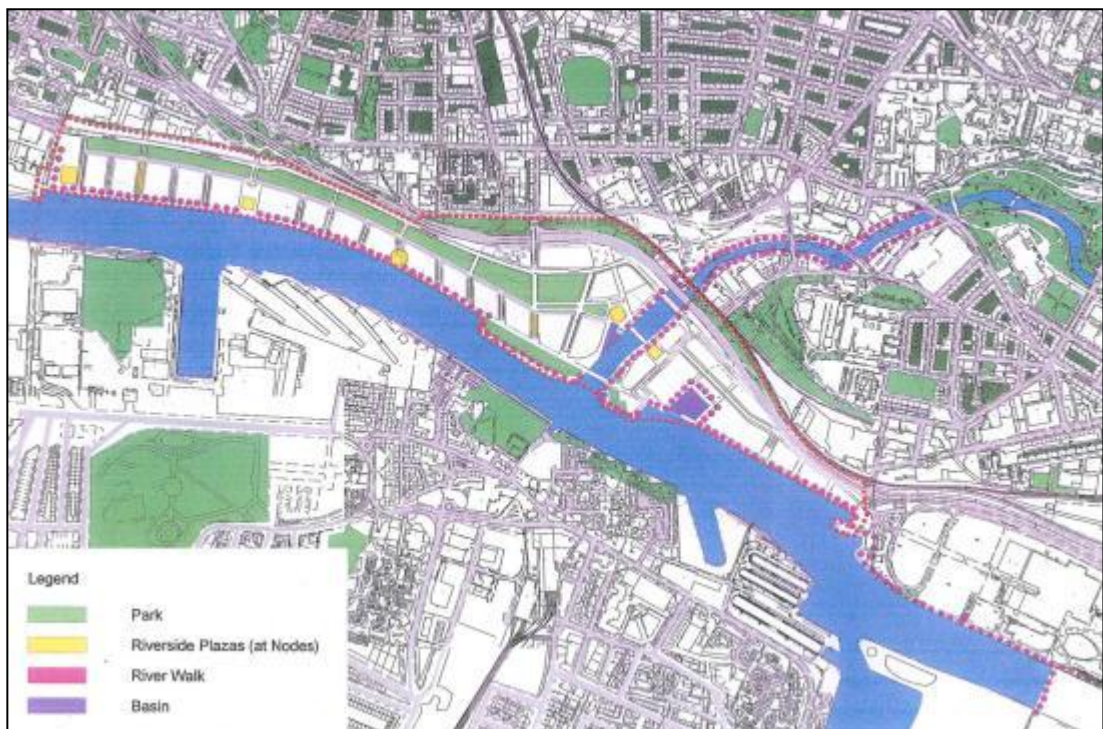
Figure 8.11 The public space strategy in the Glasgow Harbour project (Source: KPF, 2000, courtesy of GCC)

Clydeport, through Glasgow Harbour Ltd., placed the entire infrastructure into the ground and hired different house building developers. CALA Homes, Park Lane and Bryant (later Taylor Woodrow and then Taylor Wimpey) were chosen for Phase 1; they were bound to build the 648 housing units in a fixed time period and failing to comply would lead to them returning the land to Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). The first two developers worked with RMJM architects while former Bryant worked with Cooper Cromar, both architecture firms heavily involved in the physical regeneration of Glasgow. The quality of materials was high on the agenda and to date all the flats built in the first phase have been transferred into occupation.

Figure 8.12 The development created in Glasgow Harbour. Left: aerial view of the first residential phase. Right: view from West of the first three Dandara tower blocks and behind them the first residential phase (Source: www.clydewaterfront.com)

A second residential phase started in 2005, entitled Gh2O, with only one housing developer chosen, Dandara. Out of the five 16-22 storeys tower blocks totalling 819 units, only three have been built on site at the time of the research. Although the deadline for completion was 2008, due to the economic downturn it is momentarily put on hold for at least one year (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd).

A new public place was created as a result of the first two phases of the project, chosen to be the second case study for this research. It is constituted by the river walkway and the linear park, connected by Meadowside Quay Square with the addition of a grassy area of temporary public place at the eastern part of the development (see Figure 8.3 A and Figure 8.13). A residential tower is planned on this temporary public place but the area was included in the study because it is at present open for the public use.

In terms of the development already created on site, mainly as part of Phase 1, the original masterplan was not fully respected in terms of two issues: the building mass was denser and the building blocks of a larger scale than initially envisaged and no commercial units were included at the ground floor. In relation to the first matter, the higher and less fragmented development (see Figures 8.9 and 8.10) was a result of a lack of strength from the part of the GCC to impose the original masterplan and the solely financial motivation of the private house building developers:

> "We were pressurised because as soon as you get Park Lane and Bryant and who else was the other one? …soon as you get people like that involved, they want to make money, as you do – you build more housing."(Interview with Elaine Murray, planner, GCC)

This view is not shared though by Euan Jamieson, who believes that although one view corridor was lost, the development on site does not differ greatly from the original masterplan (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.) or by the former Council leader Charlie Gordon who stated:

> "I think that density is very sustainable in a city and that density is environmentally friendly. A city is urban. We shouldn't pretend that we're in the country, and in any case Glasgow already has more parks in than any city in Europe per head of population. I like the Glasgow Harbour design." (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former GCC leader)

It has to be taken into consideration that the former leader of the Council has been heavily involved in the project and as such, he would pursue his own personal agenda of defending it. The outcomes of constructing higher and less fragmented building blocks adjacent to the new public place are: a diminished visibility and accessibility towards the river walkway, a higher segregation between the linear park and the walkway and the shadowing of the whole park area for the entire afternoon. Although the park was placed at the back of the building blocks according to the KPF masterplan, this was considered a missed opportunity by several of the interviewees. Steve Nelson, landscape architect from Gillespies, the urban design firm commissioned to build the new public place, considers that a riverside park would have been a much better option because now the park's usability is diminished by its north facing and the noise from the busy expressway (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect Gillespies).

A) Part of the linear park and behind it the temporary green area public place (view south from the north eastern entrance point in the site)

B) The linear park (view west from the north eastern entrance point in the site)

C) Meadowside Quay Square (view south from the centre of the square towards the river walkway and Govan)

D) Meadowside Quay Square (view north from the walkway towards Partick)

E) The river walkway (view West from the point where Meadowside square meets the walkway)
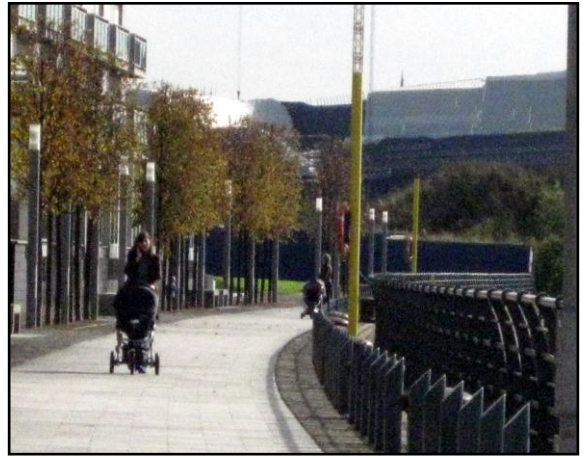
F) The river walkway (view East from the point where Meadowside square meets the walkway)

Figure 8.13 A walk along the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour

Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor, also believes that the park should have had a better connectivity to the river:

> "The park is divorced from the river. (...) To me the linear park is a failure to understand what the park should have been because I think the park would have been more pleasant and usable and people would have felt it was more accessible, people living in Partick that wanted to get to the river, if there was a park connection to the water, you would have felt more likely to go in, cycle, walk the dog or run because you felt the park was giving that connection." (Interview with Gerry Grams, City Design Advisor)

Second, in terms of uses, the buildings created in the first two phases have been comprised entirely of residential units. There are no restaurants, shops, cafes or any other amenities created either along the walkway or in Meadowside Quay Square, although these were proposed in the original KPF masterplan. This was a decision taken and enforced by the owner, Glasgow Harbour Ltd.:

> "I deliberately didn't put them in the first phase. I think if you do that at the early stages, you're dooming those businesses and units to failure. Homes for the Future, you know the ground floor use units, commercial units – not a success. Quite deliberately the first phase, which is the pink bits here, it's something like 650 houses, I fought quite hard with Ethel May etc. not to have any shop units or commercial units in here, and I would do that time and time again. (…). You need a mass of people to support this..." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)

On one hand, there was a consensus among the interviewees that there is a drastic need for active uses to increase the potential of the public places created so far in Glasgow Harbour to attract more activity and become more vibrant. On the other hand, there was also a shared opinion that these could not have been viable in the first stages of the development, before a certain mass of people had been established first in the area:

> "Public spaces generally require active uses to make them successful as you know from the urban design. A public space should have cafés and bars and shops because that gives it the activity but what you've got to remember, this was the first phase and there was no one there, this was just a huge, absolutely huge dock. (...) It was just dockside so there's always this problem that it's not viable to put cafes, bars and restaurants into something if there's not a critical mass of people. And it's a real problem." (Interview with Graham Forsyth, architect Cooper Cromar)

> "…in the original masterplan, we talked about these squares, you know the three squares coming down from the West End, and when they hit the river, they were meant to be active uses, but it's very difficult to try, and you see a lot of developments that are being build and the ground floor units are all boarded up with you know 'Lease'. It takes ages for these areas to become established

before they become attractive to the market, that they actually want to open a coffee shop. But ultimately, yeah, that's exactly what it needs." (Interview with Elaine Murray, planner, GCC)

The lack of any commercial units at ground floor translated in a lack of active frontages has diminished the publicness of the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour; the walkway looks quite different from what the masterplan envisaged (Figure 8.14).
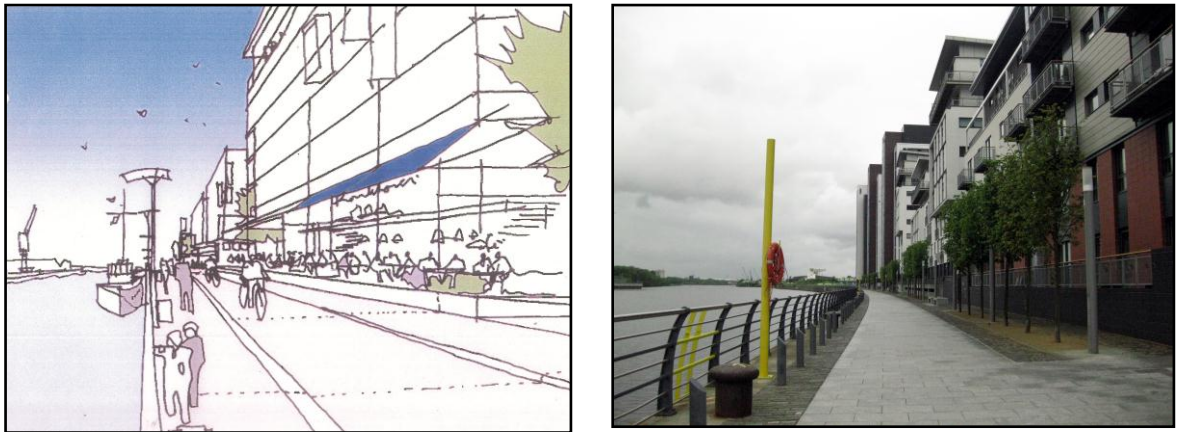
Figure 8.14 The river walkway at Glasgow Harbour. Left: artist's impression from the original masterplan (Source: KPF masterplan, courtesy of GCC). Right: the built product

In parallel with these developments, a part of the infrastructure works has already been undertaken, between 2005 and 2008. This consisted of levelling down the old abandoned railway that used to service the former shipyards, the upgrading of Meadow Road Underpass, the lowering of the expressway by four meters and the construction of both proposed bridges over it (Figure 8.15).
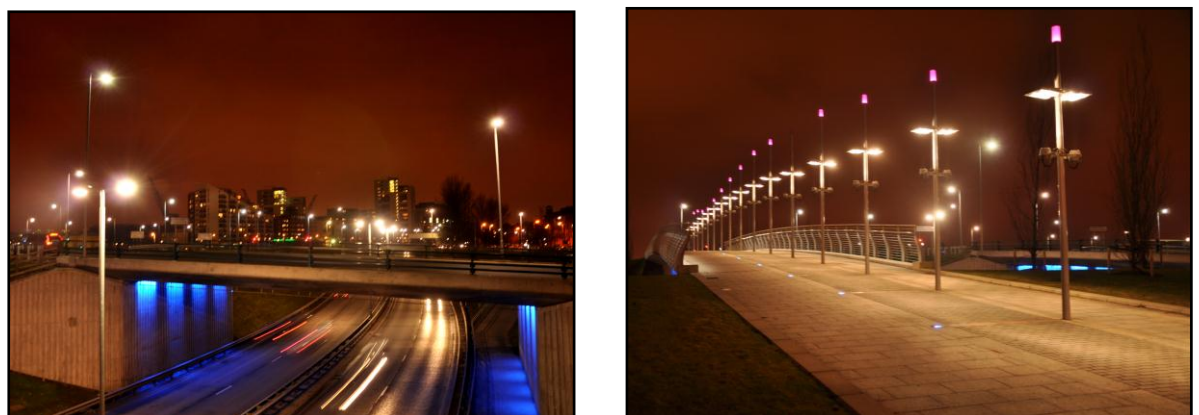
Figure 8.15 New infrastructure works in Glasgow Harbour. Left: the lowered expressway and the new road bridge. Right: the new pedestrian bridge over the expressway

The largest amount of funding for the infrastructure works came from the private sector. Clydeport through Glasgow Harbour Ltd has invested approximately £65 million to date (Interview with Euan Jamieson, manager director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). Although the lowering of the expressway has diminished the segregation effect towards the adjacent northern urban grid, this is still a great barrier for pedestrian accessibility towards the new public place created at Glasgow Harbour. A much better solution, considered by the stakeholders at the beginning of the project, would have been to sink it entirely and place it underground but this was considered a far too expensive endeavour. Clydeport did not consider a larger investment in infrastructure as profitable and the Council did not have the necessary resources to fund this. This is considered a missed opportunity according to Steve Nelson:

> "I understand the issues of connectivity as a criticism of the development but actually in reality unless you had massive public investment in dealing with the expressway, putting it underground and building right across the top of it to connect, if you're not prepared to bite the bullet and invest in it, there's no way to improve the connections, it's not possible.(…) To have better connectivity, you would need to have a much broader consensus between private and public sector in investment and you need to have a bigger vision than a developer selling off land, or a landowner selling off land for development because he will never be able to follow that kind of level of activity, he will never get the return probably. You need European Union money or council money to actually do some of the earlier ideas, try and build across the roads and join these things together." (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies)

At the time of the research, except for Phase 1 and a part of Phase 2, the new public place and the infrastructure works, the only other development in the large Glasgow Harbour project is the Riverside Museum of Transport at Pointhouse Quay (Figure 8.16). GCC decided to relocate the Transport Museum exhibits by the Clyde, due to the failing of the existing building and include it in the larger Glasgow Harbour project. Initially the museum was meant to be built on the opposite bank of the River Kelvin but this could not happen due to the land here being in the ownership of the large supermarket chain, Tesco (Interview with Charlie Gordon, former leader of GCC). The new building was estimated at £74 million and is designed by the famous architect Zaha Hadid. The project has been led by the GCC, with funding from the public budget, the Heritage Lottery Fund and the fundraising campaign, The Riverside Museum Appeal. The Riverside Museum started to be constructed in 2007 and is due to be completed by 2011,

but at the moment it sits alone in a large tract of undeveloped land (Figure 8.16).

Figure 8.16 The new Riverside Museum. Left – the design by Zaha Hadid architects (Source: www.zaha – hadid.com). Right - its location at Pointhouse Quay, surrounded by undeveloped land (Source: www.clydewaterfront.com)

This area is planned to be developed into the Glasgow Harbour Commercial District, for which outline planning application has been granted in 2009 and which will contain a mixed developments of retail, office, commercial and leisure, including bars, restaurants and a hotel (Figure 8.17. A). On the opposite bank of the River Kelvin, a similar mixed development, focused on retail and leisure is proposed, also at the stage of outline planning consent and momentarily put on hold due to the economic downturn. For this site, the latest version of the masterplan proposes the construction of offices, a hotel, a cinema, and retail facilities with a few integrated residential units (Figure 8.17. B). There were also plans to build a casino, but this will not happen anymore and offices are proposed in its place (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). As part of this project, in terms of river infrastructure, a new pontoon is meant to be constructed by Clydeport (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.) and a slipway is in construction by the City Council to promote activity on the river. Regarding land infrastructure, a new pedestrian bridge will be built over the River Kelvin, to link the developments on its banks Plans have also been made for the western part of the Glasgow Harbour project, west of the Residential Phase 2. The original housing units proposed in the first version of the KPF masterplan have been replaced by a mixed-use development with retail and residential facilities plus a large open space, Sawmill Square. The area could include a ten acre Tesco supermarket and is now in the early stages of planning consultation (Figure 8.17.C)

A. The proposed development for the Eastern bank of the River Kelvin

B. The proposed development for the Western bank of the River Kelvin

C. The proposed development for the site West to the Residential Area Phase 2

Figure 8.17 The plans for the future development stages of the Glasgow Harbour project (Source: www.clydewaterfront.com)

To conclude, the Glasgow Harbour scheme, although a partnership between GCC and Clydeport, has been mainly a privately led regeneration project. Although new public place has been created on the waterfront and the river is accessible now to the large public, progress has been slow and the development on site is comprised solely of residential units (apart from the new Riverside Museum). This can be explained by five factors. First, the developer, Clydeport, considered that for commercial activities of any type to be viable, a certain mass of people needed to be established on site before these were provided. In this respect, they succeeded in convincing the Council to accept the building of only residential units. Second, large and expensive infrastructure works needed to be undertaken at the start of the project, to reconnect the former industrial area to the adjacent urban grid and the city. As these were funded mainly by Clydeport, the developer decided to build housing units first in order to get a fast return on the initial investment:

> "It's important for me to generate the value which is profitable, it's what drives me at the end of the day, but to generate the value, not only to get at the profit but to pay for the infrastructure works. This site, 138 acres, was completely divorced from the West End of Glasgow and I set out to make this a precinct of the West End of Glasgow. We've spent around 65 million pounds worth of, you know, investments in roads and infrastructure." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)

Third, due to the location of this project outside the city centre, GCC has been reluctant to approve the development of large commercial facilities that would compete with the already shrinking retail function of the city's core. Only in late 2009, outline-planning consent has been given for the large undeveloped area to the east of Phase 1, on the banks of the River Kelvin, where the only project constructed so far is the new Transport Museum. This has raised many objections though from the part of both major retail actors in the city centre and adjacent local authorities of Renfrewshire and West Dunbartonshire, concerned about the negative impact that this might have on their commercial activities (Braiden, 2009). Fourth, the partnership between GCC and Clydeport seemed to have worked much better at the start of the project, when Charlie Gordon was leader of the GCC. With time, tensions appeared between the public and private actors that delayed the overall regeneration of the site:

> "I don't feel we've got continued support. I felt, in the beginning, in the early years, we've got a lot of focus and we've got a lot of support, I don't feel we

ever got any buy in from the rank and file of the Planning Department and the Roads Department. It was always viewed as something that had nothing to do with them; they never ever took ownership of it, which, I mean I think that with any joint venture with the public sector, I find that is always a problem." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)

Fifth, as discussed in Chapter 6, large waterfront regeneration projects are highly dependent on the market's fluctuations, especially when they are developed with large private sector funds. The recent economic downturn has drastically slowed down the redevelopment of Glasgow Harbour, as it also happened in Pacific Quay. It remains to be seen when and how the next phases will be built and how will these influence the publicness of the newly created public places.

8.3 The Star Model Analysis of publicness

Following the presentation of the development history of the Glasgow Harbour site, to situate the second case study public place in context and understand the decisions that led to its creation, the second part of this chapter will focus on the Star Analysis of Publicness. In a similar manner to Chapter 7, each meta-theme will be rated and represented and the measurements for the indicators will be explained. The chapter concludes with drawing the Star Diagram of Publicness and discussing the overall rating obtained.

8.3.1 Ownership

In terms of the first meta-theme, ownership, the overall rating obtained was **1** (Figure 8.18). This is represented by one indicator, *Ownership status* which was rated **1** because the entire are of new public place under analysis is owned by one actor, the private company Glasgow Harbour Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of Clydeport, which in its turn has been owned since 2003 by Peel Holding.
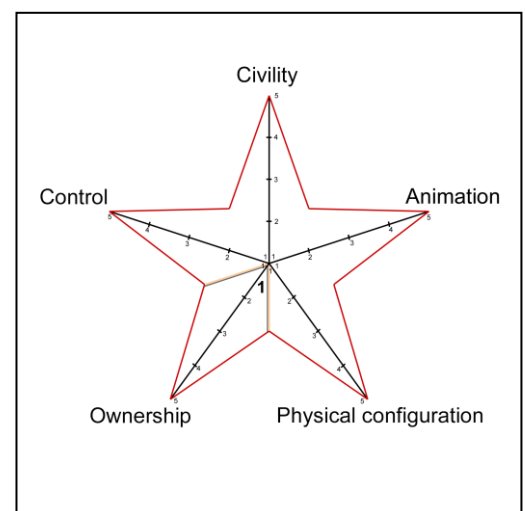
Figure 8.18 Rating and representing Ownership

This is a result of the entire Glasgow Harbour project being mainly a private-led development, as presented in the previous part. There was very little involvement by Glasgow City Council, the local democratically elected authority, which never took ownership of the new public place.

8.3.2 Physical Configuration

The second meta-theme physical configuration was overall rated **2.75** (Figure 8.19). This was obtained by averaging the eight indicators comprised in the meta-theme which were rated and are explained as following.

Physical Configuration		
Macro-design	Crossings	2
	Public walkways	2
	Cycle routes	2
	Fences	5
Micro-design	Active frontages	1
	Sitting opportunities	4
	Walking opportunities	4
	Opportunities for active engagement and discovery	2
Total rating		**2.75**
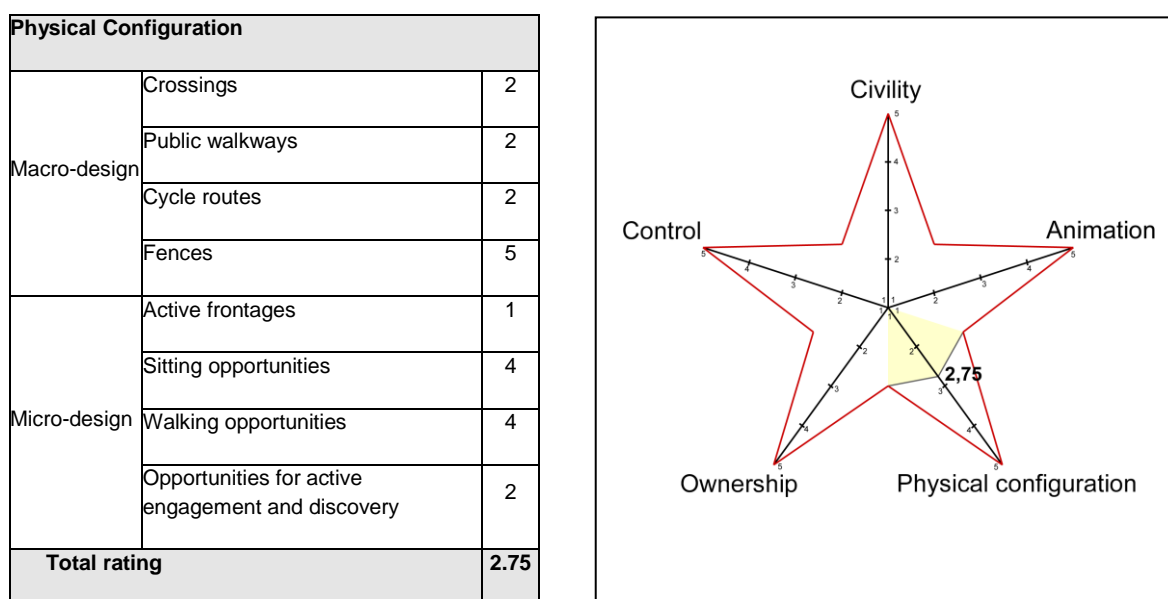
Figure 8.19 Rating and representing Physical configuration

In terms of macro-design, the first three indicators, *Crossings*, *Public walkways* and *Cycle routes*, were all rated **2** because the site is connected to the surrounding urban grid, only in one cardinal direction, north. In this direction, connectivity is realised through a street crossing and the Meadow Road Underpass, belonging to the GCC and which was upgraded during the development process by Clydeport (Figure 8.20).

The tunnel was shortened, improved lighting was added as well as new flooring; in addition the walls were decorated with hand painted ceramic panels, designed by children from four local primary schools reflecting the history of the area (Glasgow Harbour, n.d.). The underpass functions also as a public walkway connection, continuing the site in the northern direction towards Partick and the West End.

Figure 8.20 The Meadow Road Underpass (day and night time)

Related to the cycle route connections, the cycle path running parallel to the river, part of the Clyde – Loch Lomond Cycleway and National Cycle Route 7, has been temporarily relocated onto South Street, running parallel to the linear park, and through the Meadow Road Underpass. It is planned that once the development will be completed at both the east and west of Phase 1, the cycle route will be placed along the water's edge, for which provision has already been made in the existing walkway (Figure 8.21). As a result, after the development of the whole Glasgow Harbour site is finalised, the connectivity of the area under analysis will be highly increased towards east and west where both public walkways and cycle routes connections will exist. The connectivity towards the northern side of the site through the underpass is reinforced in the north-eastern direction by the new pedestrian bridge (see Figure 8.15) but at the moment this leads directly into the undeveloped area surrounding the Riverside Museum and only indirectly into the public place under analysis.

Figure 8.21 Cycle route signage on the pavement of the new public walkway and cyclists using the walkway

Towards the cardinal directions of east and west, there is no connectivity, no crossings and as such no public walkways or cycle routes as a result of the lack of progress in developing these areas (explained in the first part of the chapter). To the south, there is also no connectivity across the river towards Govan. Due to the shipyard still present here and the intention of both Clydeport and the GCC to have river activity in close proximity to the new Riverside Museum, this would have to be either an opening bridge or the reactivation of the historical Govan – Partick ferry connection. The city council "is desperate" to create a bridge to contribute to the regeneration of the deprived neighbourhood of Govan but at the time, this is an endeavour too expensive for the public budget, being priced at £5-7 million (Interview with Elaine Murray, planner, GCC). Clydeport, in contrast, does not see the advantages of a bridge connecting Glasgow Harbour to Govan:

> "Why on earth would you want people from Govan in your site? Well I'm being slightly fastidious but where would be the advantage of, in any way commercial or social, in having a bridge there? There's a whole raft of issues here but where is the advantage of having that? It's a nice notion, people like Ethel May like to talk about it but why would you do that? At the same time the Council are keen in having, as am I, increased river traffic. It will be leisure but we probably would like to see the Waverly paddle steamer here and see the destroyers coming back from naval visits and tall ships – that is not compatible with a bridge."(Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)

Therefore, the connection towards the southern direction cannot be realised until both the public and the private sectors reach agreement on its type and on the funding necessary to create this.

The fourth indicator, *Fences* was rated **5** because there is no fence surrounding the public place under analysis. Several temporary fences are placed to the east and west of both the linear park and the walkway due to the adjacent sites being under construction. These were not considered in rating the indicator because this refers to permanent fences that block visibility and diminish permeability into a public place. The fences present on site now do not have this role because there is no finished development in the nearby sites and they have been erected to protect people from entering the construction areas.

Regarding micro-desig, the first indicator, *Active frontages* was rated **1** because there are no active frontages either to the park, the walkway or Meadowside Quay Square. Although tehse were proposed in the original masterplan, as it was

discussed in the first part of the chapter, it was the decision of the owner and developer Clydeport not to create commercial units at the ground floor of the buildings. The rationale was that these were seen as not viable in the first stages of the development without the establishment of a community first in the area (see Figure 8.14). Although there has been no provision made so far, this is seen as possible in the future, if the market will demand it:

> "You know if you look to the fullness of time if there was demand for it then there's no reason why the ground floor houses couldn't be converted. Buy a couple of hoses and make it a restaurant."(Interview with Tom McInally, planner and spokesperson for Clydeport)

The second indicator for micro-design, *Sitting opportunities*, was rated **4**. There are benches all along the walkway positioned towards the main viewing landscape, the river and along the paths in the park, positioned towards the main pedestrian flow (see Figure 8.22). The benches along the walkway are not comfortable to sit on, a result of designing this public place on the principles of robustness, durability and simplicity:

> "Why seats like that? Because they are very robust, you couldn't pick one of those up and throw it in the river, unlike what would happen with a plastic one. I kind of like them because they are very simple, very contemporary and they're very durable and they sit there under their own weight." (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape designer, Gillespies).

The benches in the linear park are made of wood and placed on concrete stands and again emphasis was laid on robustness and not on their comfort quality. In terms of informal sitting opportunities, these are represented near the river's side by the steps where Meadowside Quay Square meets the walkway while in the park, by both the concrete ledges delineating the grass areas and the mounted green embankment parallel to the expressway.

In terms of the third micro-design indicator, *Walking opportunities,* the rating awarded was also **4**.The walkway was designed on the principles of simplicity, and high quality paving materials with the aim to transform the harsh environment into an attractive public place (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies). Along the walkway, there are two types of paving materials; a central smooth linear strip made of Chinese granite and to either side of it, next to the river balustrade and adjacent to the building line, there are two strips of rougher

A. The first part of the linear park walking east to west

B. The second part of the linear park walking east to west
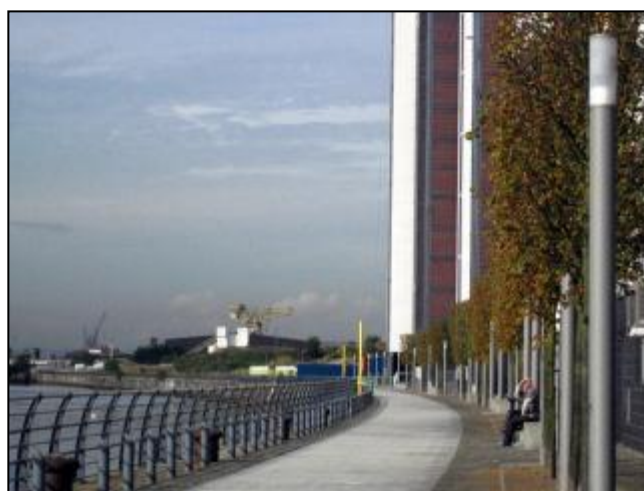
C. The river walkway and part of Meadowside Quay Square

Figure 8.22 Sitting and walking opportunities in the new public place at Glasgow Harbour

pavement, consisting of granite sets recycled from the former industrial site (Figure 8.22.C). Although these proved more expensive to lay than the Chinese granite, Clydeport wanted them on site in order to create a historical link with the previous industrial character of the area (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). The rationale behind having an uneven pavement by the water's edge was to deter cyclists to come too close to it, which would have meant a higher balustrade and less visibility towards the river. The existence of a similar strip along the buildings edge was meant to deter strollers coming too close to the housing units and as such ensure privacy for the people living on ground floors (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies). Meadowside Quay Square has no uneven pavements either while in the linear park, the walking paths are made of resin bound gravel, which is a smooth and easily walkable surface (Figure 8.22.A and B).

The last indicator for physical configuration, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated **2** because there is only one element of this type. This is the sculpture commissioned by Clydeport, entitled *Rise* and created by the local artist Andy Scott. It is placed in the area where Meadowside Quay Square meets the linear park, in front of the underpass, marking as such the northern connection to the site. It is a five-meter tall steel structure, representing the regeneration of the Clyde as an angel rising out from the water with propeller type wings, echoing the shipbuilding past (Figure 8.23) (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies).

Figure 8.23 The only opportunity for active engagement and discovery in Glasgow Harbour

Overall, the physical configuration dimension rates fairly low. In terms of macro-design, the new public place is highly segregated from the surrounding urban landscape although efforts have been made to connect the site, mainly towards the northern urban grid. The aim was to integrate Glasgow Harbour into the

northern urban grid and the neighbouring wealthy West End but the expressway is still a barrier and the underpass, although key in creating both a pedestrian and cycle link, is not the ideal solution. In addition, the decision of Clydeport to develop the entire project in different stages and the disagreements between them and the GCC in terms of a river crossing make the new public place at this stage completely disconnected from the eastern, western and southern urban grid.

In terms of micro-design, although there is a fairly good provision of both sitting and walking opportunities, there are no active frontages and there is a vital lack of varied and numerous opportunities for active engagement with the environment.

8.3.3 Animation

The third meta-theme, animation was rated **1.5** (Figure 8.24). This was obtained by averaging the two indicators that illustrate this meta-theme: *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers*, rated **1** and *Diversity of activities* rated **2**. The next paragraphs will explain these ratings and will provide additional information on the diversity and number of users and types of use that could not be captured by the indicators.
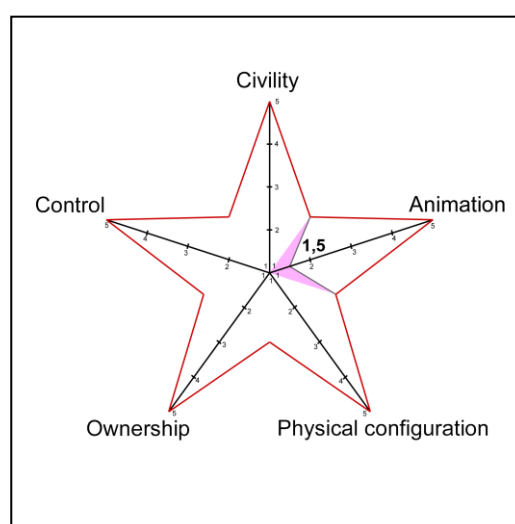
Figure 8.24 Rating and representing Animation

The first indicator *Street vendors and/or entertainers* is a Type 2 indicator and therefore it was measured in each of the observation days. As there were no street vendors and entertainers on site in either of the three days, the rating for each day was **1** and on average, this indicator rated **1**. This illustrates the general low number of users present in this public place, which was calculated on average to be approximately 15 on the entire site, in a 5-minute time interval (see table presented in Figure 8.29 and for a detailed account of the observations see Annexe 7).

The second indicator, *Diversity of activities* is a Type 3 indicator and as such measurements were done for snapshots of 5 minute time intervals, at pre-determined times, with the site divided in four observation areas (Figure 8.25).
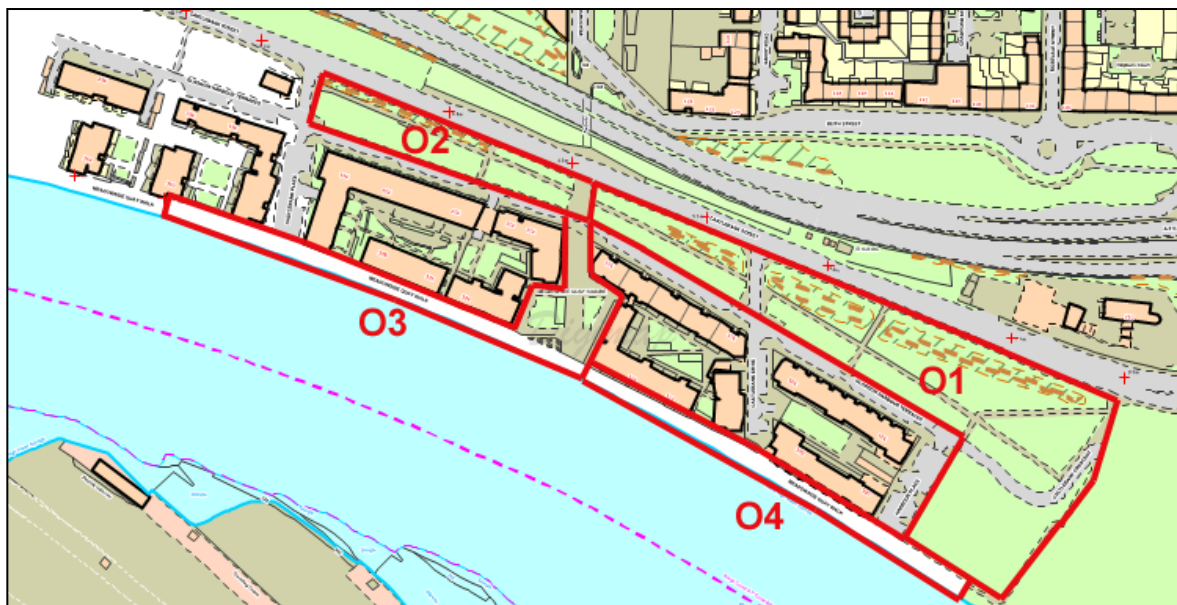
Figure 8.25 The layout of the four observation areas for measuring the animation dimension in the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour
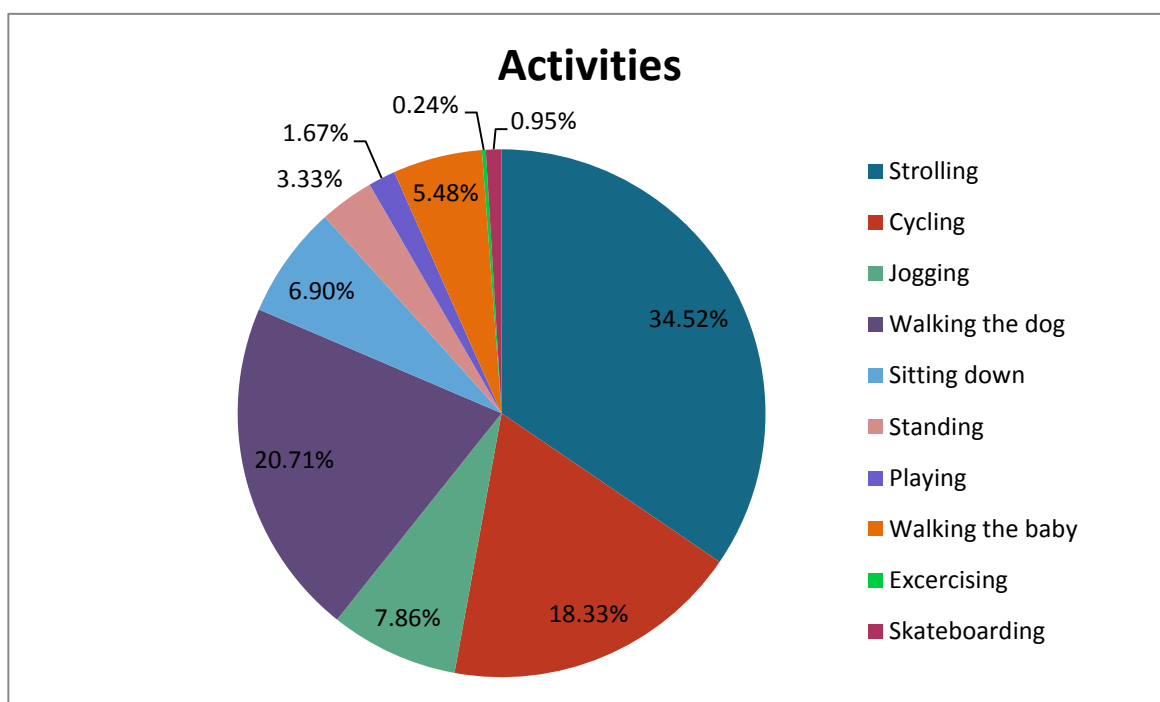
Figure 8.26 The types and distribution of activities among the total number of users performed in the public place under observation in Glasgow Harbour

The first two observation areas comprise the linear park and the temporary public place while the latter two comprise the river walkway and Meadowside Quay Square. The measurement obtained for this indicator was **4** activities, performed on average on the entire site in a 5 minute time interval, which was translated in the rating **2.** The results show that the public place is used similarly during the week, with Friday rating marginally lower in terms of the average number of activities than Monday and Sunday. It can be grasped therefore that this is not particularly a weekend destination (Figure 8.27).

Observation day	Average number of activities/5 minutes interval	Total number of activities during the entire day
Monday 5.10.2009	4	10
Friday 16.10.2009	3.7	8
Sunday 20.09.2009	4.1	8
Average	**4 (3.9)**	**8.6**

Figure 8.27 The average and total number of activities performed in the public place in Glasgow Harbour

The observation revealed that both the walkway and the linear park are used in a fairly similar way. Most common activities performed in this public place are represented by people strolling, walking their dog, cycling or jogging (Figure 8.26 and for a detailed view of the observations see Annexe 7). The general atmosphere of the site is of a place with little vibrancy, a monotonous use and the overall impression is that the majority of users are the local residents. In this respect, approximately 25% of the people observed were either walking the dog or walking the baby. These are necessary activities that would happen irrespective of the public place's quality. As the site is highly disconnected from the surrounding urban fabric and has a linear layout, the general movement pattern for all users was on a east-west direction either along the central path in the park or along the river walkway. Related to the activity *Cycling*, a large number of cyclists were seen coming through Meadow Road Underpass, where the main cycleway connection is, traversing the park and then cycling along the river walkway. Concerning the activity *Jogging*, most users were observed jogging along the park, from the

western direction, traversing the temporary public place towards the river walkway and then continuing west along the Clyde.

In the category *Sitting down*, most people were seen using the benches provided along the river walkway; out of the twenty-nine people counted engaged in this activity, only two were using the benches in the park. One of the explanations for this is that the entire park is in the shadow of the buildings for the entire afternoon and is in the direct vicinity of the noisy expressway while the walkway is south facing and offers a more pleasant environment in the vicinity of the water.

In a similar manner, the majority of users in the category *Standing* were observed on the river walkway, by the river balustrade, looking around at the scenery with only one person observed standing in the second observation area, by the statue. This was the only instance when a member of the public was seen engaging with this element of public art.

The most sporadic activities happening in the new public place were *Playing*, *Skateboarding* and *Exercising*. In relation to the first, with no opportunities for play, only a very few number of children (seven in total) were engaged in this activity. These were seen playing among each other in the park, running around the grass mound and climbing the benches. The latter two activities happened only once during the three observation days, Monday afternoon (see Annexe 7) and were performed by teenagers on the western part of the river walkway (a group of four teenagers were skateboarding and one was exercising).
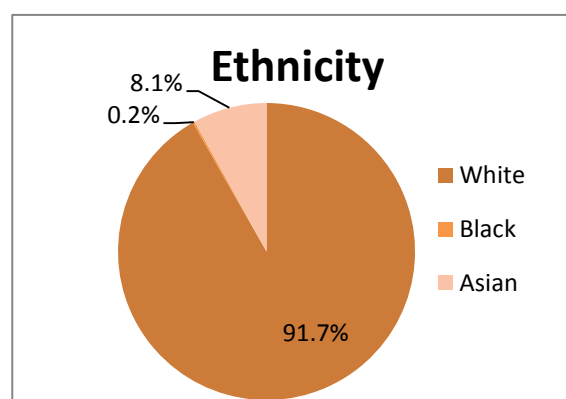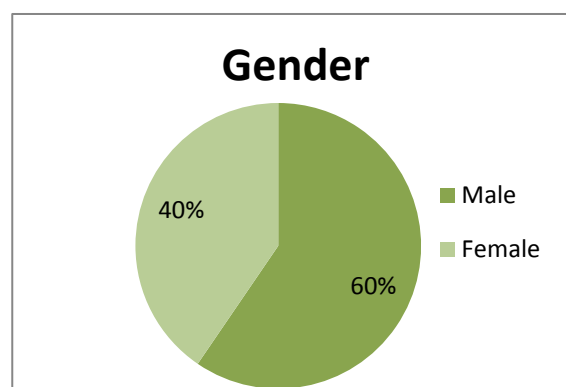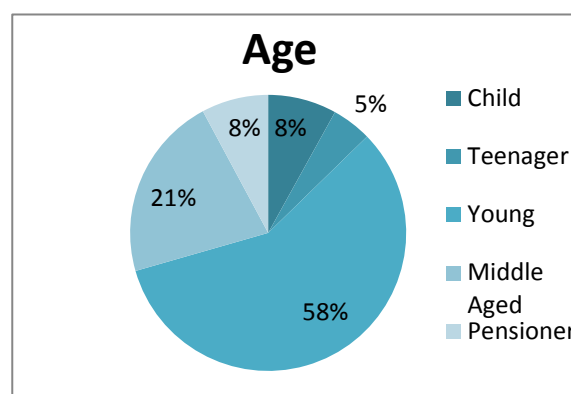
Figure 8.28 The diversity of the total number of users according to Age, Gender and Ethnicity recorded using the new public place under analysis

In terms of the diversity of users, the category of teenagers is the least represented, with very low percentages also recorded for children and pensioners (Figure 8.28). The very high percentage of young people, almost 60% of the total number of users can be seen as a reflection of the fact that the new housing development was intended mostly for this age group, as it was described in the development story. There is very little diversity in terms of the users' ethnicity, with more than 90% of the members of the public being White. In terms of the gender distribution, the higher percentage of males can suggest, as presented in Chapter 7, an overall low quality of this public place. The studies of Whyte (1980) and Franck, and Paxon (1989) have shown that the higher the percentage of women, the more successful a public place is.

Regarding the number of users, there were 420 people counted in total during the three observation days with all four-observation areas being used by a relative similar number of users (Figure 8.29). A closer look at the data obtained for the different parts of the site shows that, on average, the river walkway (comprised in the observation areas O3 and O4) is more animated, while the linear park and the temporary public place (comprised in the observation areas O1 and O2) are less vibrant. This seems to support the view presented in the development story that a much better option would have been to place the park in the proximity of the river and to create a stronger green connection with the nearby West End.

	Observation area 1 (O1)	Observation are 2 (O2)	Observation area 3 (O3)	Observation area 4 (O4)	The entire site
Monday	3.2	3.8	5.4	4.2	17 (16.6)
Friday	2.3	2.4	4.4	2.7	12 (11.8)
Sunday	2.3	3.8	5.4	5.9	17 (17.4)
Average	2.6	3.3	5.0	4.2	15

Figure 8.29 The average number of people present in the public place in Glasgow Harbour in a 5 minute time interval

Concerning the daily rhythm of people and activities, the observation showed that the site is hardly animated at all in the morning hours (with no one, for example, present in the entire site on Friday until midday), while in the evening, apart from

the occasional stroller, jogger or dog walker, the public place becomes almost entirely empty (Annexe 7).

Overall, it can be stated that the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour rates very low in terms of the animation meta-theme; there are no street vendors or entertainers reflecting the low number of users present in this public place. The majority of users are local residents, engaged on average in four activities performed in the entire site. The low animation can be seen as a result of the decisions made in the development process to build only residential development in the first stages, with no other active uses such as bars, pubs or restaurants and no opportunities for people to engage in more diverse ways with the new public place.

8.3.4 Control

The fourth meta-dimension, Control was rated **4** (Figure 8.30). The indicators for this meta-theme were rated and are explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Control technology: CCTV cameras	1
Control presence: Police/ guards presence	5
Control by design: Sadistic street furniture	5
Control signage	5
Average	**4**
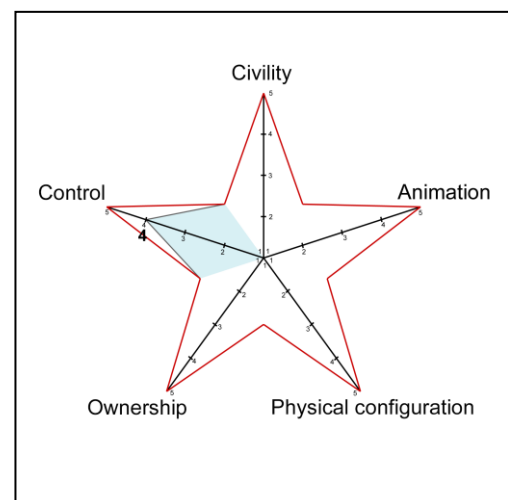
Figure 8.30 Rating and representing Control

The rating awarded for the first indicator*, Control technology: CCTV cameras*, was **1** because more than half of the area under analysis is under this type of surveillance: the entire walkway, the Meadowside Quay Square and the largest part of the linear park (www.clydeport.com). The cameras are highly visible and they are integrated in the Streetwatch system (Figure 8.31). 'Streetwatch' is a CCTV company, created in 2001 to centralise the surveillance of public areas in

Glasgow, with public funding from the Glasgow City Council, Scottish Executive, Strathclyde Police and Strathclyde Fire and Rescue. From a number of 187 cameras at the moment of its formation (MacKay, 2006), today it totals 420 cameras meant to tackle a large array of issues related to crime in public place such as vandalism, anti-social behaviour, setting off fires, fly posting etc. (www.saferglasgow.com). The strategy for ensuring safety in Glasgow Harbour was based on the installation of close circuit television, activated since 2006 (www.clydeport.com) and not on creating activity and informal surveillance through 'eyes on the street':

> "…Glasgow Harbour is safe because there are close circuit television cameras and they're very, very effective. You can read somebody's lips 500 metres." (Interview with Tom McInally, planner and spokesman for Clydeport)
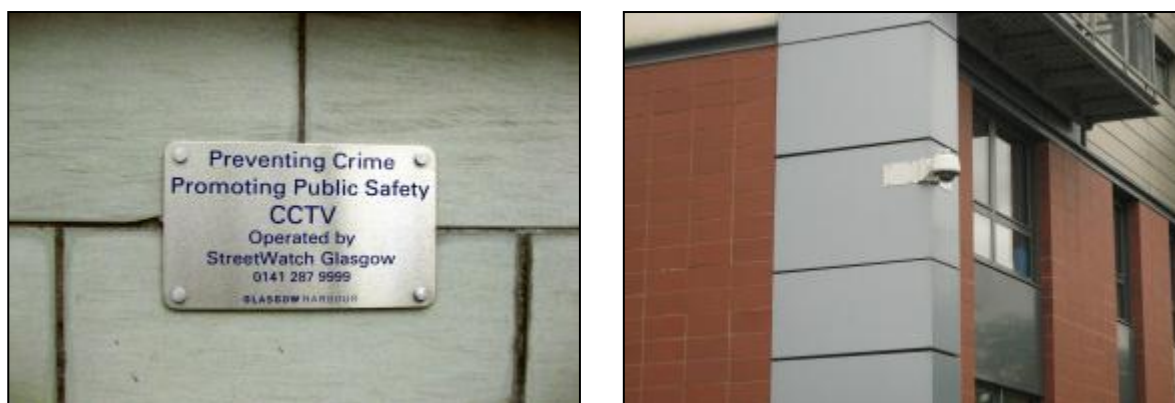
Figure 8.31 CCTV surveillance in Glasgow Harbour

In terms of *Control presence: Police/guards presence*, this is a Type 2 indicator and as such, it was measured throughout each of the observation days and the results averaged. As there were no public or private guards observed on site, the rating awarded for this indicator was **5**. The last two indicators for the Control meta-theme *Control by design: Sadistic street furniture* and *Control signage*, were both rated **5**, as there are no signs deterring behaviours and no sadistic street furniture in the new public place. Overall, it can be argued that this meta-theme rates fairly high as there is no oppressive control presence in the public place apart from the CCTV technology.

8.3.5 Civility

In terms of the fifth meta-theme, civility, this was overall rated **3.75** (Figure 8.32). The measurements for each indicator are explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture	5
Physical maintenance and provision of green areas	4
Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets	1
Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting	5
Average	**3. 75**
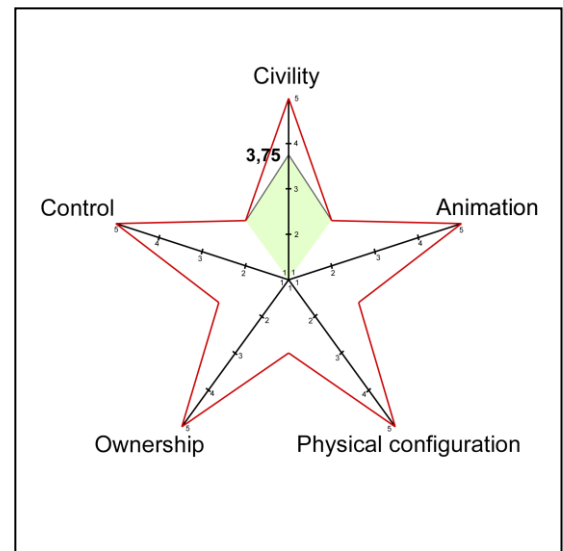
Figure 8.32 Rating and representing Civility

The first indicator *Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture* was rated **5** because the place is spotless, without any rubbish lying around and without any vandalised or broken elements (as it can be seen from the pictures presented throughout the chapter). There are similar metal bins present all along the walkway, throughout the linear park and in the Meadowside Quay Square, in a tidy state, without overspilling (Figure 8.33).

The second indicator *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas* was rated **4**. The green space comprises three main zones: the row of tress along the river walkway, the linear park, created as presented in the development story at the back of the building line and the temporary public place covered with grass at the eastern part of residential Phase 1. Along the walkway, a row of trees has been planted adjacent to the building line, offering a certain degree of privacy to the ground floor flats; they are deliberately close cropped to ensure views towards the river for the houses behind them (Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect Gillespies). A couple of the trees present slight signs of deterioration (Figure 8.34).

Figure 8.33 The type of bins present in the new public place at Glasgow Harbour

Figure 8.34 Signs of deterioration on the trees along the river walkway

Figure 8.35 Slight signs of deterioration in the linear park. Above: the more narrow and leafy part. Right: the wider and more grassy area

The linear park has been designed as comprising two main areas: the first part is wider and mainly covered with grass with an adjacent row of trees while the second one is narrower and leafier. Although the general maintenance level is good, on narrow strips along the walking paths there are portions of trampled, missing grass (Figure 8. 35). The high ratings for these two indicators can be seen as a result of the public place being privately maintained by Glasgow Harbour Ltd. who has imposed the residents a contribution between £105 and £115/year towards this (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.). This system was set up due to the Council not taking over the maintenance of the newly created public place:

> "…the Council, via the local plan, the planning process, have encouraged the creation of quite a lot of public realm along the riverfront which I think it's good, it provides a good setting in terms of high quality space which I support and we have spent rather a lot of money in delivering that down at Glasgow Harbour. I do however think that the Council have failed dramatically to think through how this is managed.(…) as a developer I'm never going to say it's ok but I mean as a developer I think it's kind of acceptable for me to spend the capital on the open space but I think once that capital has been invested, all of the running cost of that should be looked after by the local authority if it's all available to the public, and because the council refused to do that or not prepared to do that, I had to set up a mechanism to look after the public open space." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director Glasgow Harbour Ltd.)

The third indicator *Provision of basic facilities: Lighting* was rated **5** because the entire area is well lit, without any dark corners and there are several lighting strategies employed (Figure 8.36). The walkway is lit by a series of metal lighting poles, with lights both on ground and at overhead levels while each seating area is delineated by blue led spotlights. The park is lit both by a line of light posts stretching through its middle path but also by the typical city council lights, delineating it at its northern edge towards the road.

The fourth indicator, *Provision of basic facilities: public toilets* was rated **1** as there are no such facilities present on site. The private sector, Clydeport through Glasgow Harbour would not provide these as they focused mainly on creating a residential development while the City Council, as mentioned in Chapter 7, has been closing down and stopped providing these facilities on a background of diminished public budgets.
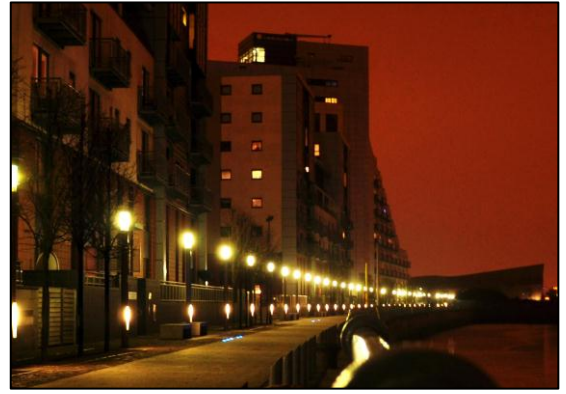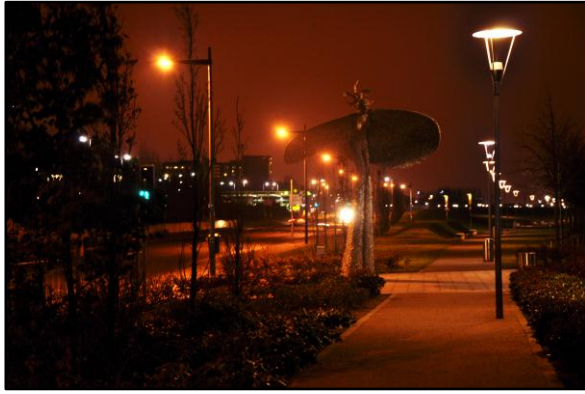
Figure 8.36 Lighting the new public place at Glasgow Harbour. Left: the linear park. Right: the river walkway

8.3.6 The Star Diagram of Publicness

By joining the five meta-themes of publicness for the second case study public place, a highly distorted Star Diagram resulted (Figure 8.37). By averaging the ratings for all the meta-themes, a fairly low value of publicness was obtained of **2.6**. The Star Diagram is best delineated in relation to the meta-themes of control and civility. Regarding the first, this is a result of a non-oppressive police presence and a lack of both signage deterring behaviours and of elements of sadistic street furniture.
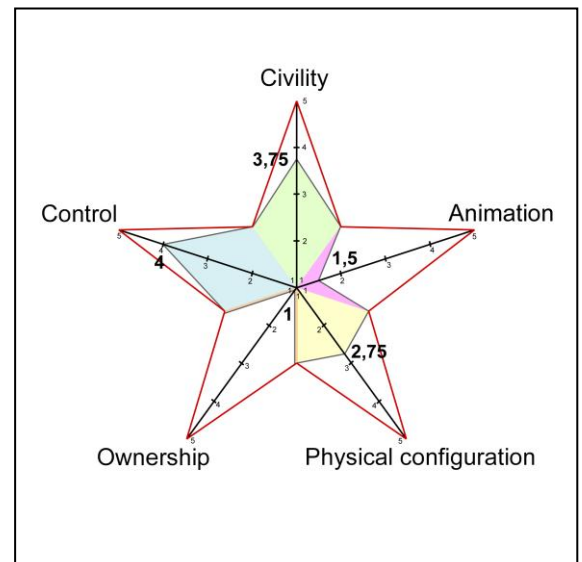
Figure 8.37 Rating and representing the publicness of the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour

Nevertheless, the new public place is overtly observed by close circuit television, put in place to ensure the safety of the new residents and as part of a broader CCTV strategy adopted by the city of Glasgow. Regarding the civility meta-theme, although in a similar manner to the Pacific Quay site, there is no provision of public toilets, the new public place is well maintained, with a clean and inviting atmosphere and an adequate level of lighting.

A fairly low level of publicness has been obtained concerning the physical configuration dimension. The new public place is highly disconnected from the

surrounding urban grid due to the phased undertaking of the entire Glasgow Harbour project and the lack of agreement between the private and public sector in creating a connection over the river, towards the southern neighbourhood of Govan. The only direction the public place is connected to is the northern part of the city. However, although large private sector investments have been made to tackle the existing barriers, there is a weak level of pedestrian connectivity in the close proximity of the site, realised only through the Meadow Road Underpass. In terms of micro-design, there is a good provision of walking and sitting opportunities but there are no active frontages or a variety of opportunities for an active engagement with the environment. It can be said that, at this stage, the new public place has been designed to support only basic activities such as walking, cycling or sitting.

The lowest levels of publicness, represented by negative legs of the Star Diagram have been obtained for the meta-themes of ownership and animation. In terms of the first, this is the result of the entire project being privately led by one main actor, Clydeport through its subsidiary company Glasgow Harbour Ltd., without the Glasgow City Council taking over the ownership (or the management) of the new public place. Regarding animation, the place is used by a low number of people, mostly local residents, with four activities being performed on average on the entire site, at the same time (in the limited 5 minute time interval). It could be grasped from the observation that the new public place is still far from becoming the vibrant waterfront destination envisaged at the start of the Glasgow Harbour project.

8.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the analysis of the second case study public place, constructed as part of the Glasgow Harbour project, one of the largest regeneration schemes in Scotland. First, the development story that led to the creation of the new public place was described with an emphasis on the vision and goals set at the start of the project and their translation into the reality built on site. Second, the Star analysis of the new public place's publicness was undertaken; each meta-theme was rated and explained with the result being a highly distorted Star Diagram and an overall low measurement of publicness. It can be grasped that this result was highly influenced by the Glasgow Harbour project being

privately developed and led, by one main actor, Clydeport. The private ownership of the public place and several of Clydeport's decisions such as building only residential units in the first stages lacking ground floor active frontages, placing CCTV cameras and not creating a bridge over the river have diminished the potential of the newly created public place to foster a vibrant public life. This is reflected in the low rating for the animation meta-theme. It can be argued that although the new public place was created to attract the larger public by the riverside, its high segregation from the surrounding urban fabric and the lack of any commercial and leisure amenities has led to this place being used at the moment mostly by the local residents. Another reason for the low publicness can be related to the lack of strength from the Council to impose certain resolutions such as the placing of the park by the river, the creation of a more fragmented development as proposed by the masterplan or the creation of a connection to Govan. Nevertheless, the new public place created at Glasgow Harbour has to be seen as part of the larger phased development which has progressed very slowly due to the large infrastructure works needed to be tackled in the beginning (with very little public funding), the influence of the recent economic downturn and the erosion of the relationship between the two main actors, Glasgow City Council and Clydeport. Although it was intended that the entire project would be completed in a period of ten years, at the moment of the research, a decade later than its start in 2000, only Phase 1 has been completed while Phase 2 and the New Riverside Museum are still under construction. It remains to be seen when and how the next phases will be developed, what the publicness of the forthcoming public places is going to be and also, if in the future, the publicness of the analysed public place in this research will be improved.

CHAPTER 9

THE THIRD CASE STUDY PUBLIC PLACE: BROOMIELAW

9.1 Introduction

9.2 The history of the site's development

9.3 The Star Model analysis of publicness

      9.3.1 Ownership

      9.3.2 Physical Configuration

      9.3.3 Animation

      9.3.4 Control

      9.3.5 Civility

      9.3.6 The Star Diagram of Publicness

   9.4 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the third case study public place, created in the city centre of Glasgow, on the Clyde waterfront, in the area known as Broomielaw. In a similar manner, to the previous two chapters, first, the history of the site's development is described. The vision that framed the creation of this new public place is presented and the main stages that lead to its construction are described. Second, the publicness of the site is analysed by applying the Star Model of Publicness. Each of the five meta-themes of publicness is rated and represented and the measurements for the indicators are explained in relation to the site's development story. The chapter ends with drawing the Star Diagram of Publicness for this public place and with a reflection on the overall result obtained in relation to the development story of the site.

9.2 The history of the site's development

Broomielaw is part of the city centre of Glasgow, stretching between Argyle Street in the north and the River Clyde in the south, the M8 in the west and the Glasgow Central Station in the east (Figure 9.2). Today, it is the home of the International Financial Services District (IFSD), launched in 2001, as mentioned in Chapter 6. The case stud lies along the River Clyde, between King George V Bridge (opened in 1928) in the east and Kingston Bridge (opened in 1970) in the west. The site is bordered to the north, along most of its length, by Broomielaw Street, while in the north-eastern part it becomes a very narrow strip between the Clydeport car park, the Riverboat Casino and the river (Figure 9.2 A and B). The chronology of the place's history is presented in Figure 9.1.

Year	Event
1812	Henry Bell's launch of *The Comet* paddle steamer; Broomielaw becomes the main departure point for passenger steamboats
1976	Broomielaw Quay Gardens is created
2001	The IFSD (International Financial Service District) is launched
2003	A design competition is held and won by Richard Rogers Partners and Atkins. The plans include an improved public place, a series of pavilions and a new bridge
2005	Construction of the project starts
2006	The project is stopped due to rising costs. A new competition is organised won by Nuttal and Halcrow in partnership with Dissing and Weitling
2007	The construction of the project is restarted without the pavilions; Wilson Boden (later Capella) appointed to build the pavilions
2009	The new public place and the bridge are opened to the public

Figure 9.1 Chronology of events for the new public place in Broomielaw
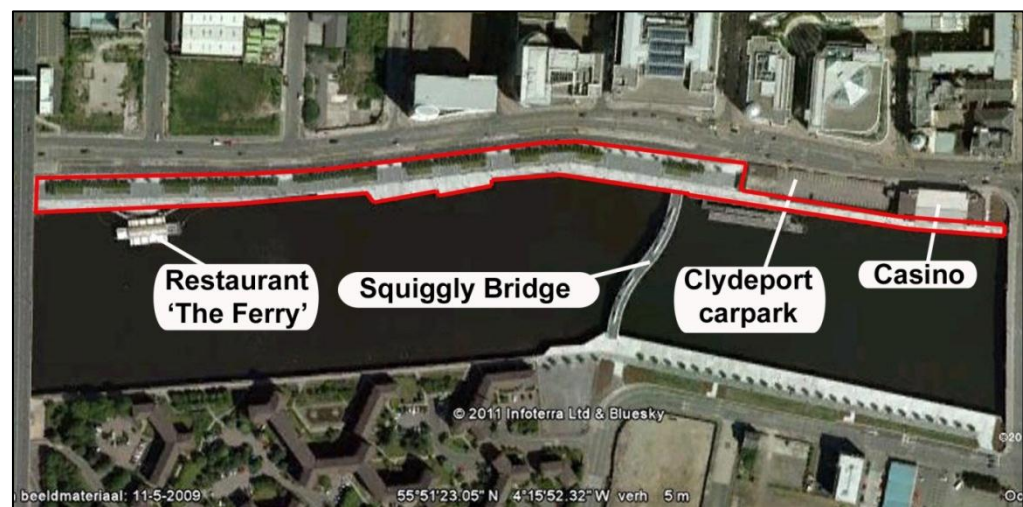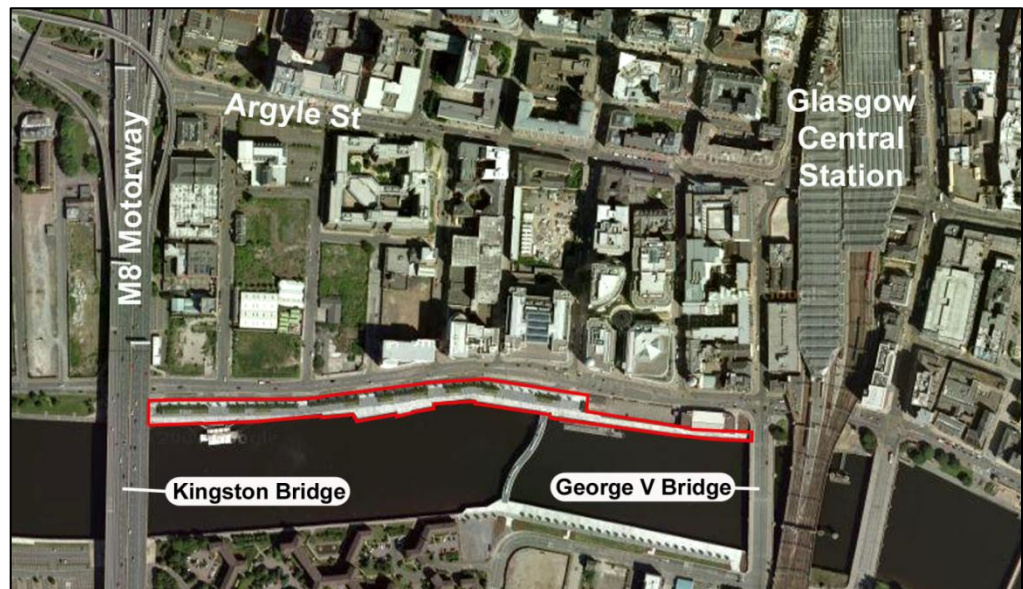
Figure 9.2.A The location and physical layout of the Broomielaw new public place - the red line delineates the public place under analysis (Source: adapted from Google maps)
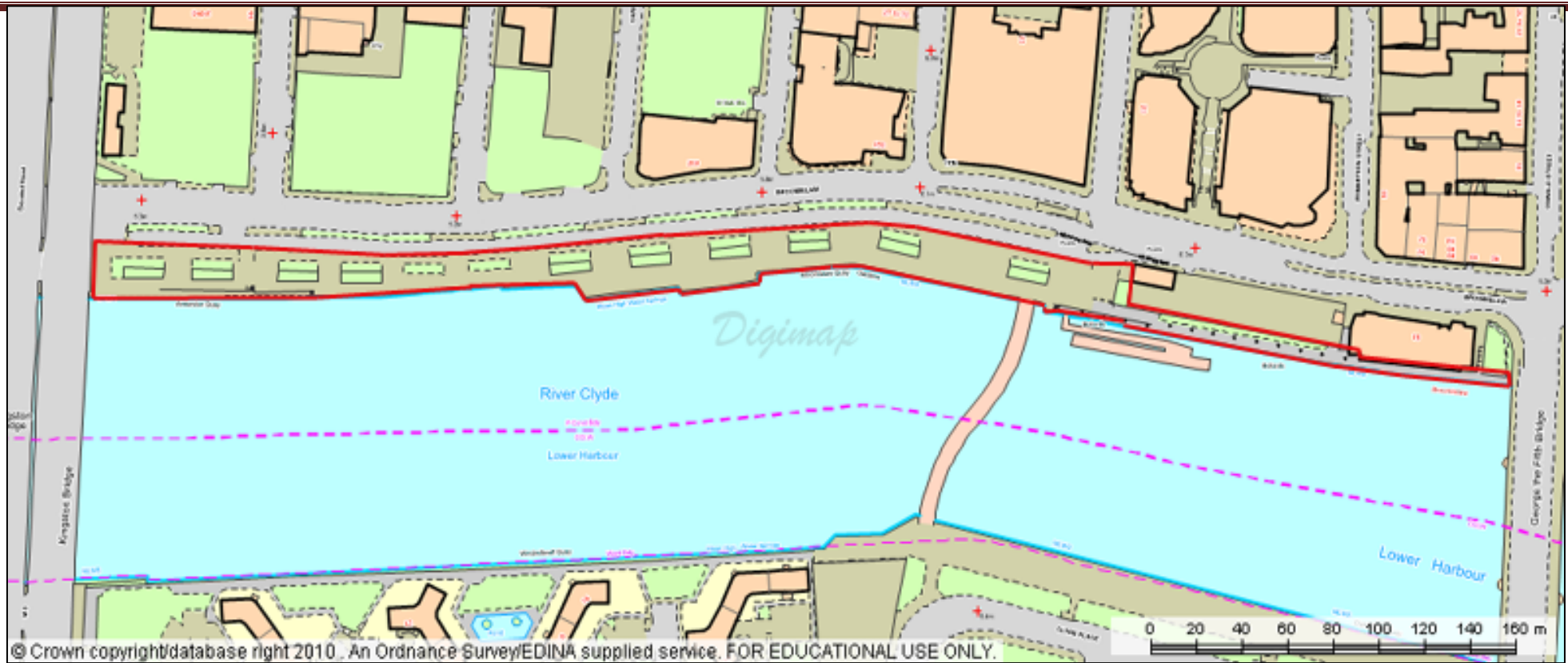
Figure 9.2.B The detailed view of the new public place created on the Broomielaw waterfront - the red line delineates the public place under analysis (Source: Ordinance Survey/Edina)

Since the sixteen century, the bank of the Clyde at Broomielaw had been used as a small dock for cargo handling, but the shallowness of the Clyde due to the presence of bulky sand banks did not allow for large scale shipping up stream (Gibb, 1983). During the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the main shipping activities were performed further downstream, at Port Glasgow, where the natural conditions were much more favourable. The rise in manufacturing and trading led to the increased efforts by the new merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow to create navigable conditions on the upper Clyde. A first attempt to create a harbour in the city was undertaken in 1726 when a stone quay was built at Broomielaw but this allowed only for small vessels to berth having a maximum depth of six feet (Riddell, 2000). This did not fulfil the increasing needs of the tobacco trade and industrial development and a large scale deepening and canalisation of the river was undertaken between 1772 and 1775. By 1781, deep-sea transatlantic vessels of 200 to 300 tons were reaching the harbour (Pacione, 1995). After the famous launch of Henry Bell's paddle steamer *The Comet* in 1812, Broomielaw became the point of departure for passenger steamboats taking Glaswegians 'doon the water' to coastal resorts such as Largs, Rothesay or Ayr (Riddell, 2000) (Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.2 Historical view of Broomielaw at the beginning of the 20th century (Source: Riddell, 2000)

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, shipping activities continued in parallel with passenger traffic. However, the opening of new river quays and docks more suitable to handle the increased ship tonnage in other waterfront locations

led to Broomielaw becoming mainly a river passenger terminal after the 1860s (Pacione, 1995). Following the building of King George V Bridge (1928), the passenger steamers moved to the south side of the river. During the first half of the twentieth century, on the background of the general deindustrialisation of the Clyde, the area slowly fell into disrepair and dereliction.

In the 1970s, the City Council, in an effort to revitalise the river's waterfront in the city centre undertook two schemes. In 1973, Custom House Quay Gardens was created along the river in the adjacent eastern area of Broomielaw (GCC, 1995). Three years later, in 1976, Broomielaw Quay Gardens was constructed on the site under analysis (GCC, 1995). Although these were award winning schemes at the time, they became perceived through the 1980s and 1990s as unsafe, 'no go areas' by the Clyde, and fell into disrepair (Figure 9.4).

Figure 9.4 Custom House Quay today still awaiting redevelopment

On one hand, this was due to their lack of visibility from the surrounding urban landscape and the low quality materials used (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner) and on the other hand, to the lack of vibrancy and activity in this part of the city that would provide the necessary informal surveillance:

> "Broomielaw Gardens were gardens which were award winning gardens created in the 70s but they were at different levels, they had shrubberies, arbors of one sort or another along their length, and they had become a dangerous place to go, because you couldn't have any form of passive observation, people just didn't want to walk down there." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

During the 1990s, as part of the general regeneration of Glasgow (see Chapter 6), activity was slowly brought into the area by the construction of the Riverboat

Casino, in 1996, and through the building of a series of office developments along Broomielaw Street. In 1991 the first two office buildings, between Robertson Street and James Watt Street were constructed, designed by BDP (British Design Partnership) (McIntosh, 1991) and in 1999 the British Telecom (BT) headquarters were opened, in the adjacent western block (Figure 9.5).

1.	Riverboat Casino (1996)	5.	BT Headquarters (1999)
2.	Clydeport Headquarters (1886)	6.	SEEL building (2001)
3.	1 Atlantic Quay (1991)	7.	200 Broomielaw (2002)
4.	3 Atlantic Quay (1991)		

Figure 9.5 Aerial view of the Broomielaw district and the newly created public place (Source: adapted from www.lfsdglasgow.co.uk)

From a design point of view, neither the casino building nor the new nine storey high office developments engaged with the public place along the river; none of them had active frontages at ground floor and the large office blocks diminished the visibility from the northern grid of the city centre towards the river. Nevertheless, the late opening hours of the casino together with the occupation of the new office buildings helped in making the entire Broomielaw area more animated and as such a less dangerous place:

"I didn't like the Broomielaw as it was, the landscaping, although it has won awards, but it was a dangerous and unsafe place to be, because it was hidden away.(…) I've been in this office for nearly 20 years now. When I came here, in the late 80's, in winter evenings, all of the women in the office were escorted up to Argyle Street because this street was not safe. If you were working late, everyone went into the car park at 5 and brought their car onto the front of the building because you couldn't leave your car out there. That changed overnight when the small casino was opened (…) as it brought people and activity. And that is the thing that changed this area. I mean the offices got occupied and that made a difference too, there's a call centre there so there's 24 hours

working, but the casino and having that security and activity and people moving out that is the single thing that changed the whole area down here." (Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd and Property director of Clydeport)

The event that sparked the redevelopment of Broomielaw Gardens into a new public place along the Clyde was the creation of the International Financial Services District (IFSD) project at the turn of the 21st century. A public – private partnership was forged, led by the Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise to support the development of a large area of the city centre, stretching from the River Clyde, north to St Vincent Street, including the Broomielaw district in its southern part (Figure 9.1.A):

> "… effectively this is part of a huge overall project which initially started with a decision being made to go into partnership with various other agencies to develop the International Financial Services District back in about 2000, and the council launched it in I think it was August 2001, about a month before 9/11, down at the stock exchange in London and it got a fairly warm response." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

Prior to this date, a series of office developments were created all through this entire section of the city centre (including the ones mentioned in Broomielaw), and the former warehouse area was slowly changing towards being the financial services centre of Glasgow. Due to the developments being disjointed, with large tracts of derelict land lying adjacent to modern office premises, GCC decided that an overall strategy was needed to give coherence to this part of the city. The entire area was designated as one unitary district of Glasgow – the IFSD – and the approach was to attract development through investing limited public funding in a series of infrastructure and public realm works in parallel with promoting the district through a series of marketing campaigns. GCC aimed at supporting mainly office developments which would be suitable for the relocation of local and international businesses. In addition, residential developments would be encouraged, in accordance with the Council's long existing policy of attracting people to live in the city centre along with hotel schemes for the growing tourist industry of Glasgow (as presented in Chapter 6).

A series of public space works were planned for the entire area of Broomielaw, comprising two phases. Phase 1 was concerned with upgrading the street environment, mainly for the streets that ran perpendicular to the river (James Watt Street, Robertson Street, Oswald Street, York Street) and creating small 'pocket'

public places. This was the largest streetscape project awarded by GCC with a value of £6 million, undertaken between 2004 and 2006 by Land Engineering, a Scottish firm specialised in public realm works (www.landengineering.co.uk). It comprised the widening and upgrading of the street pavements, new lighting, street furniture and signage, reflecting GCC's aspirations of creating a better street environment and an enjoyable pedestrian experience:

> "… we also view the streets as public space because it's a very important space, a lot of people use the streets rather than the squares themselves. Particularly in the Broomielaw area, IFSD, where the public realm has been put down we see it as a very important space.(…) The biggest challenge for us I think in public space in city centres is how we can manage the cars in a way that we minimise the car use and enhance the pedestrian experience and create these pocket spaces wherever we can." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner)

Phase 2 of the Broomielaw public realm improvements was a much larger project and it refers to the redevelopment of the public place along the water's edge, the 1970s Broomielaw Gardens, considered here for analysis.

> "…the Broomielaw Gardens element was seen as being an area which had failed and with all this development in the IFSD behind it to form a kind of lung for the people working in the IFSD it was perceived that the next stage forward certainly in public realm treatment was to target Broomielaw Gardens" (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

The vision was to create a high quality public place, a 'postcard view' for Glasgow and the IFSD that would further help in marketing the district for business (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella). In term of users, apart from giving the workers in the IFSD a place where to enjoy having lunch or spending leisure time after work hours – "a kind of lung for the people working in the IFSD" (Interview with William Douglas, GCC) - the fundamental idea was to create a *destination* for tourists and Glaswegians alike that was missing on the Clyde waterfront:

> "I think it is more than the people from the IFSD, I mean the IFSD is a major part of the city centre economic activity and we see it as one of the thoroughbreds for the city's economy but it's more than that. Obviously this is the frontage to the river but it is supposed to serve not just the people living and working there but also tourists coming to Glasgow, people coming in visiting, they might come for business or they might just come and stay in the IFSD. It is to be a part of the city's experience." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner)

At the same time, the GCC was considering the redevelopment of Tradeston, on the opposite side of the river, which was a derelict and run down part of Glasgow and as such it was decided that a new pedestrian and cycle bridge was needed to help this area regenerate and benefit from the progress of the IFSD:

> "The Broomielaw/Tradeston Pedestrian Bridge and public realm will transform a kilometre of the city centre waterfront bringing Tradeston closer to the city, thereby encouraging investment in housing, workplaces and leisure/restaurant facilities." (GCC, 2004a)

Therefore the new public place on the Broomielaw waterfront was planned as part of a larger project, comprising several distinctive objectives:

- the creation of a public place on the north bank of the river, based on the principles of visibility and high quality materials in order not to repeat the mistakes of the 1970s. This would be extended for a small portion also on the south bank of the river, at Tradeston;
- the creation of a series of 'pavilions' on the north bank at Broomielaw Quay that would host restaurants and bars which would help make the area into a tourist and leisure destination;
- the replacement and/or improvement of the quay walls which were failing on both sides of the river and
- the creation of a 'statement bridge' between the two banks of the Clyde.

After this vision was set, the project could not be delivered only from the Council's budget and as a result, GCC sought additional funding opportunities. In addition to a contribution from Scottish Enterprise, an application was made to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) which was successful in securing a grant of £4.7 million (GCC, 2005). The highly time dependent nature of this grant was crucial in the delivery of the project:

> "There was a contribution that could be obtained from Scottish Enterprise, but a significant amount of the financial package came from the European Regional Development Fund, and because of the nature of their programs, the money that we could tap into was highly time dependent and we had to have completion of a contract in a set amount of time and that then drove what we were going to do and when we were going to finish. So we set off initially to procure all of this as one contract: the quay walls, the public realm, on both sides of the river and a truly statement bridge, now I don't put it lightly the word iconic but that was effectively what it was going to be." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

In order to create the high quality public place and to provide the 'iconic' bridge, a design competition was organised in 2003. Out of the six contenders, the winning bid was the proposal by Richard Rogers Partners and Atkins, entitled *Neptune's Way* (Figure 9.6 and Figure 9.7).

Figure 9.6 The Neptune's Way Bridge proposal by Richard Rogers Partners (Source: www.richardrogers.co.uk)

The construction was meant to start in 2005 and finish by 2007 but it was stopped in March 2006 based on the consideration of being too costly to be delivered within the available budget (Interview with William Douglas, GCC). Initially this was set at around £48 million (GCC, 2004b) – but the Richard Rogers proposal would have come close to the £60 million mark (Stewart, 2006).
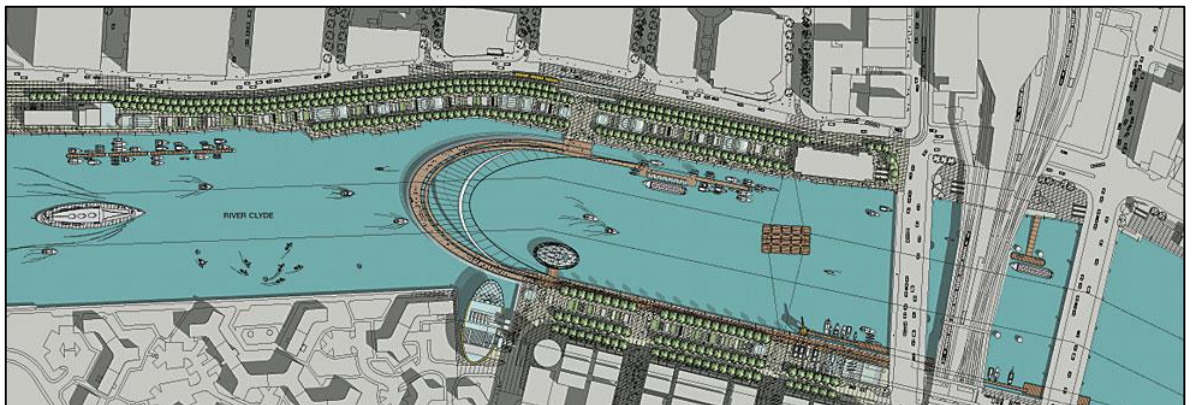
Figure 9.7 The site plan for the bridge and new public place proposed by Richard Rogers Partners (Source:www.richardrogers.co.uk)

Due to the importance of the entire scheme and in order not to lose the secured European Union funding, the Council decided to carry on with the project but with a reduced budget. A new competition was organised for a bridge that would cost a maximum of £6 million; this was won by engineers Edmund Nuttal and Halcrow ,

who had delivered the Clyde Arc bridge in close proximity to the Pacific Quay site (see Chapter 7) working with the Danish architects Dissing and Weitling. The design was an S shaped bridge with two 'fins' on top, "a low-key solution that was not too dramatic and dominant" (Paul Jensen of Dissing and Weitling, in the Minutes of the Glasgow Urban Design Panel, May, 2007) (Figure 9.8)

Figure 9.8 The 'Squiggly Bridge' designed by the Danish company Dissing and Weitling

The plans for the public realm improvements and the quay walls works were kept and they were contracted to Graham Group, for a total of £12.8 million. These were to include "the creation of new linear parks north and south of the river, the construction of a new quay wall at Tradeston, the stabilisation of the Broomielaw quay wall, rerouting of public utilities, carriageway alterations, the installation of street furniture and landscaping works" (Graham News, 2007). In 2007 the City Council appointed Wilson Bowden Developments (to become Capella Group in 2008) to undertake the building of 30 000 sq. feet of pavilions (GCC, 2008) but due to the deadline of the ERDF fund, the public realm and the bridge were built in advance. The works started in 2007 and were meant to be finished by 2008 but there were several delays due to the unexpected problems encountered in terms of the quay walls engineering works (Interview with Jim Armour, Graham Construction). As a result, the new public place and the bridge were opened to the public in May 2009 (Figure 9.9). Due to its S shape, the bridge soon got the nickname 'The Squiggly Bridge", in a similar manner with the Clyde Arc being called 'The Squinty Bridge".

A. The area of the new public place between the Riverboat Casino and the river

B. The area of the new public place between the Clydeport car park and the river

C. The main area of the new public place between Broomielaw St. and the river

Figure 9.9 A walk along the new public place, from east to west

In parallel with the land works, two projects were undertaken on the river. In order to promote river activity, the GCC placed a public pontoon at Broomielaw while 'The Ferry' river venue was refurbished and relocated from Windmillcroft Quay, on the southern bank of the river to Anderston Quay, on the northern bank, in the close proximity to the new Broomielaw public place (GCC, 2005). This was one of the historical Renfrew Ferries operating on the Clyde, between Yoker and Renfrew until the 1980s and which now is permanently moored and functions as a restaurant and entertainment venue (Figure 9.10).

Figure 9.10 'The Ferry' river venue, the only existing boat restaurant on the Clyde today (behind it, view of Kingston Bridge)

In relation to the proposed pavilions, the plans include the creation of four buildings, two storey high and comprising up to twelve restaurants and cafés; in between the pavilions, a winter garden is planned, with two open public places on either side (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella Group).[1] The vision is to create a vibrant and festive location by the Clyde (Figure 9.11) and to give it the sense of destination initially intended for this public place:

> "I like primary colours, and I think it has to be vibrant. I want lots of banners which again we're not very good at doing in this country. You'd have to go to Disneyland and I'm kind of seeing this as a little bit of Disneyland. I don't mean Disneyland, but it's got to feel like that, it's festive. You go to places like Baltimore or like Boston, they're brilliant at doing this. I want kites, I want balloons, I want activity. I want to see something is happening down here. We've got all these break-out bits in between, one bit which is enclosed, two bits that aren't. I could see, during the summer a little jazz band playing there or pipe shows. (…) I want to see activity, and we can license that out – you know, there's all sorts of things you can do."(Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella Group)

---

[1] The researcher had the opportunity to see the plans but she could not obtain a copy of them as the planning application as not submitted by Capella to the GCC at the time

Figure 9.11 The proposed pavilions (Source: www.capellagroup.co.uk)

Although the pavilions were meant to be on site by 2011, due to the economic recession, they have yet to be started. Their development will be undertaken by the private developer Capella Group, whose chief executive office, Jim Fitzsimmons, declared:

> "I'm anticipating that this would open probably...spring to summer 2011. So we're two years away from this whole thing now. If you look at it in that context, if we're still in trouble in 2011 we're really in trouble." (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella Group)

Also as a result of the economic downturn, the redevelopment of Tradeston, on the opposite bank of the river, by the Irish developer Alburn (Figure 9.12) has been postponed:

> "A lot of projects in the pipeline that were sure things are just not happening. A fine example of that is the Tradeston side, our new bridge is going nowhere at the moment. (….) the Irish economy is even worse than ours…so it's on hold. They have talked about perhaps putting a hotel on one of the blocks to just try and lift that area but I don't even know if they've got the money to do that."(Interview with Elaine Murray, GCC planner)

Until the pavilions are built, GCC has plans to attract users and bring vibrancy to the area by either organising events or by using the Council's services for small commercial activities:

> "It's very difficult; the city has George Square and the next thing it can probably use is Glasgow Green, there is not another city centered based hard standing

kind of area, and hopefully this can be used for that. We can't have spent all this money for nothing, we have to make it work for us. So until Mr. Fitzsimmons arrives with his pavilions, there's nothing to stop us from using that as an event space. And even after it, although it will take a different character, it can still be used for that too." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

"What we would like to do, especially for that stretch, we have several ideas but one of these is the pavilions which are kind of medium term but in the short term we are trying to move the machine the council has because the council has a flower shop and coffee and things. Can we have our own resources to put something out there and see how it works? (…) it takes time especially for tradesman to move down there where there hasn't been any market before. So any entrepreneur has to take a risk to invest in the area. We have provided the public realm saying look what we have created so you can come and use the space." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner)
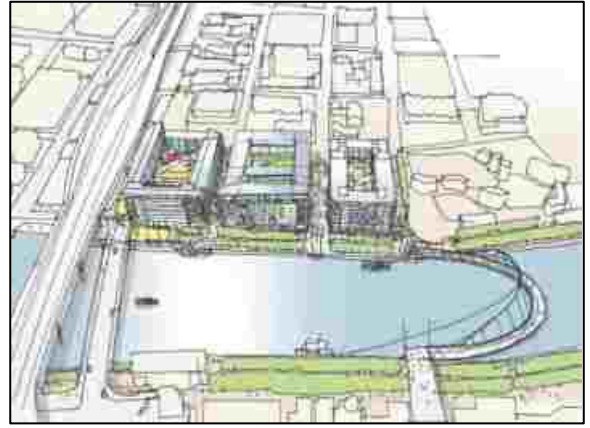
Figure 9.12 The Tradeston area on the opposite bank of the Clyde. Left: view of the area from the new Squiggly Bridge. Right: the proposed masterplan for the area in 2005, including the Neptune's way bridge (Source: GCC, 2005)

To conclude, the creation of the Broomielaw new public place was undertaken by the Glasgow City Council as part of a greater project which involved large infrastructure works to repair and replace the old quay walls but also the building of an 'iconic' bridge to help redevelop the neighbouring area of Tradeston. The vision was to create a vibrant and attractive place, a destination, for tourists, Glaswegians and IFSD workers alike, that was non-existent on the Clyde waterfront. It was also intended that this will become a 'postcard view' for the city, helping in the promotion of the IFSD as an international business centre. The issue of funding has been crucial in the way in which the scheme evolved. On one hand it delayed the project considerably as the cost of the initial proposal by Richard Rogers Partners has superseded the available budget; instead of being

delivered in 2006, it could only be partially finalised in 2009. On another hand, although the public place was envisioned as containing a series of pavilions to help give it vibrancy and a sense of destination, due to the time dependent nature of the ERDF grant, the Council delivered the scheme without these structures. The next part of the chapter will analyse the publicness of the new public place as a snapshot captured in the autumn of 2009; it remains to be seen how this will be influenced in the future, once the pavilions will be developed.

9.3 The Star Model analysis of publicness

Following the presentation of the development story for the third case study public place, created on the Broomielaw waterfront, the remaining part of this chapter will analyse it by applying the Star Model of Publicness, created in this research. In a similar way with the previous two chapters, each of the five meta-themes will be rated and represented and the indicators measured and explained. Subsequently, the Star Diagram of Publicness is drawn and the overall rating obtained is reflected upon.

9.3.1. Ownership

The first meta-theme, ownership was rated **5** (Figure 9.13). The single indicator, *Ownership status* was rated **5** because this new public place is entirely owned by the Glasgow City Council, the local democratically elected authority. The ownership of the land will be maintained by GCC once the pavilions have been constructed. The buildings will be owned by the private developer Capella Group, which intends to enter a joint venture with GCC (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella).
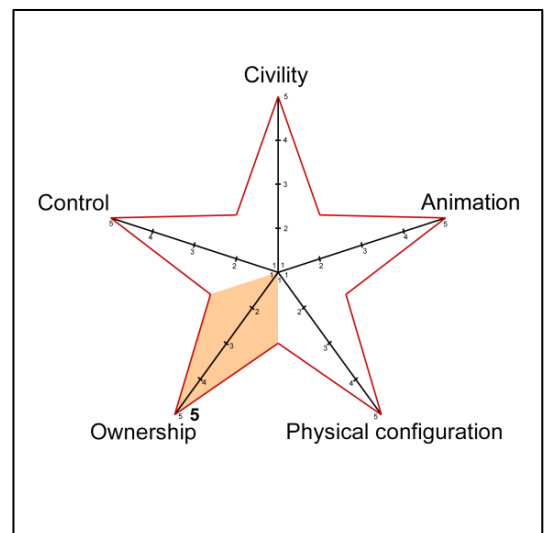
Figure 9.13 Rating and representing Ownership

9.3.2 Physical configuration

The second meta-theme physical configuration was overall rated **3.63** (Figure 9.14). First the macro-design and subsequently the micro-design indicators will be rated and explained in the next paragraphs.

Physical Configuration		
Macro-design	Crossings	5
	Public walkways	4
	Cycle routes	4
	Fences	5
Micro-design	Active frontages	1
	Sitting opportunities	4
	Walking opportunities	5
	Opportunities for active engagement and discovery	1
Total rating		**3.63**
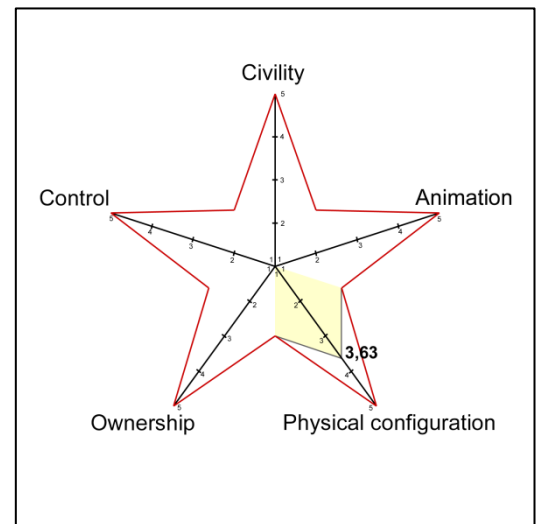
Figure 9.14 Rating and representing Physical configuration

Regarding macro-design, the first indicator *Crossing*s was rated **5** as there are crossing points in all cardinal directions. The indicators *Public walkways* and *Cycle routes* were rated **4** as there are well delineated public walkways and cycle routes continuing the site towards three cardinal directions: east, west and south. These will be detailed in the following paragraphs.

In terms of the connectivity towards the northern direction, the main obstacle along the greatest length of the public place is Broomielaw Street (A 814). Although there are several pedestrian street crossings linking the site to the adjacent office development in the IFSD, the busy road can still be perceived as a barrier (Figure 9.15). Moreover, the provision of the Fastlink lane has increased the severance effect while at the same time taking up quite a large amount of space from this already narrow land structure. This has been created as part of GCC's strategy of connecting the new riverside developments through a Light Transit System as presented in Chapter 6. At the moment, the Fastlink is not operational and the lane

dedicated to it is used by skateboarders or cyclists, as evident during the observation of the site (Figure 9.16).

Figure 9.15 View west of Broomielaw St. from George the Fifth Bridge (one can see to the left the casino building and to the right, the domed Headquarters of Clydeport)

Figure 9.16 The Fastlink lane used by skateboarders (in the background the busy Broomielaw St. and the ground floor of the BT Headquarters)

The weak connectivity towards the northern side, with the lack of a clearly delineated public walkway and cycle route, has been acknowledged by both the GCC and the pavilions developer Capella:

> "I mean this is already not very comfortable and very few folk wander across here at lunchtime, this is a real barrier. It's a busy road. There's – there's no...it feels like a barrier, it does not feel as though it's north-south with a road going through it, it feels east-west and it's a real barrier." (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella)

> "I mean that's again a problem we've talked about…we've just spent a fortune in the IFSD public realm…we've got Fastlink going in there, it's a main arterial route…you know, who is going to cross to the river, without taking your life in your hands? You know, cross a busy road and Fastlink coming along? Yeah we've got a huge problem with that…" (Interview with Elaine Murray, GCC planner)

Several solutions are discussed, by both the public and the private actors to tackle this problem. These include the raising of the road level to slow down the traffic, creating a similar colour pavement on both the street and the adjacent sidewalks or the planting of trees along the perpendicular streets from the Broomielaw district, continued into the site to create visual perspective (Interview with William Douglas, GCC; Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, Capella Group). Although ideas

exist, none of them has been implemented so far and it remains to be seen if this will happen when the pavilions will be created on site.

Towards the <u>eastern direction</u>, there is a series of passageways connecting the site under the three existing bridges (George the Fifth Bridge, Caledonian Railway Bridge and Glasgow Bridge) with the Custom House Quay area (Figure 9.17.A). Similarly, towards the <u>western direction</u>, an underpass connects the new public place with Anderson Quay, under Kingston Bridge (Figure 9.17.B). Although the bridge underpasses ensure the necessary connectivity of the site in both the eastern and western directions, there have been no recent improvement works in terms of lighting or materials undertaken to upgrade these linkages. In a similar manner there are public walkways continuing the public place under analysis in both these cardinal directions but they have not been enhanced (Figure 9.17.A and B). In terms of cycle routes, the connectivity is ensured both east and west as the Broomielaw public place is traversed by the National Cycle Route N75, which starts at Pacific Quay and continues along the Clyde until Loch Lomond.

Towards the <u>southern direction</u>, the new Squiggly Bridge, built as part of the new public place development, ensures the connectivity towards Tradeston (Figure 9.17.C). The bridge acts as a public walkway and as a cycle route.

In terms of *Fences*, the fourth indicator, this was rated **5**, as there are no fences surrounding the new public place because this was designed as an open and visible river room (Interview with William Douglas, GCC). Nevertheless, it can be argued that there is a lack of permeability and visibility towards the new public place from the Broomielaw District area and generally form the northern city centre. This is due on one hand to the height and massing of the new office buildings in the IFSD, delineating Broomielaw Street, and on the other hand, to the nature of the previously created urban grid. This is an issue the Council's planners are aware of and it is agreed that bolder decisions need to be made to open up the city centre to its waterfront (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner for the river; Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner):

> "I think the impetus for some original thinking is going to come from a strategic look at the city and the way we move around the city. First to make some difficult choices about that. At the end of the day we are trying to retrofit roads and retrofit areas which have been formed by post war planning decisions." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

A. The connectivity in the eastern direction. Left: the passageway under King George the Fifth Bridge at the eastern point of the site; Right: the adjacent area at Custom House Quay when exiting from Glasgow Bridge underpass)

B. The connectivity in the western direction. Left: western point of the site with the passageway under Kingston Bridge; Right: the adjacent area at Anderston Quay, beyond Kingston Bridge)

C. The connectivity in the southern direction. Left: the Squiggly bridge; Right: the new walkway in Tradeston)

Figure 9.17 Crossings and the adjacent areas surrounding the new public place

There is a common view, expressed by the interviewees, that creating better permeability, visibility and connectivity between the city centre and the river will take time:

> "My vision would be that you would be able to walk from the city centre to Broomielaw and up to get this experience of pedestrian space and public space leading then to Glasgow Green or leading to the West End.(…) But it's going to take a long time. We have done quite a lot of work already but obviously nothing happens quickly enough because it has to be sustainable as well." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner)

> "We have an appreciation spatially of how the city works. The challenge for us is how we then make that other connection to the river and how we make these sequential connections along the river corridor. That's going to take a bit of time." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

Related to micro-design, the first indicator, *Active frontages*, was rated **1** as there are no active frontages opened towards the new public place, either in the casino building or in the office developments along Broomielaw St. In relation to the casino, this can be explained by the fact that at the time when this was built, the area along the river was considered a dangerous environment, as presented in the development story of the site. Regarding the buildings along Broomielaw Street, these were planned as office developments within the IFSD project and as such there was no intention to provide restaurants, bars, cafés or any other small commercial units at ground floor. The creation of the pavilions is seen as complementary to the IFSD office developments, to give the desired vibrancy to the new public place:

> "I think going back to the point about Broomielaw, what we are trying to think about is the hierarchy of buildings and the hierarchy of urban spaces and ensure everything else we do with respect to the pavilions is seen as complementary. We don't begin to undermine what we have achieved as improvers. So the pavilions idea is maybe something which is incidental to the Broomielaw wall as maybe kind of small scale commercial pavilions for restaurant bar use."(Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

In the future, the development of the pavilions will be able to compensate the lack of active frontages and ground floor uses within the nearby office buildings.

The second indicator for micro-design, *Sitting opportunities* was rated **4**. There are new benches provided all along the new public place, directed at the main viewing landscape, the river and towards the main pedestrian flow. However the benches

are not comfortable to sit on; the seats are made of metal bars on a stone support and they have no backs (Figure 9.18). In terms of informal sitting opportunities these comprise the edges of the new planted areas as well as the former mooring posts for tying the ships to the quay, which have been kept on site (Figure 9.18).

Figure 9.18 Sitting and walking opportunities in the new Broomielaw public place (pictures taken in May 2009 during one of the reconnaissance trips)

The third micro-design indicator, *Walking opportunities*, was rated **5** as the entire paved area is even and easily walkable (as it can be seen in Figure 9.9). The paving materials used are natural stone, Italian porphyry and Chinese granite in order to create a high quality and easily walkable pedestrian environment (Interview with Jim Armour, Graham Construction). There was also the rationale of providing the same materials and high quality pavements as in the Broomielaw Phase 1 public realm project:

> "…the IFSD was such a hi-spec project, that what we did with the streetscapes of Argyle St and the north/south streets such as James Watt street, are perfect examples. It was a natural stone cladding that was put down with stainless steel fittings and feature lighting (…) More important though, when we did the quay walls public realm contract there was a need to carry that quality of finish across acting as a coherent signature for the area." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

The last indicator for Physical Configuration, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated **1** because these elements are not present in the new public place; there are no fountains, elements of public art or any other opportunities to actively engage with and discover the new public place.

To sum up, in terms of physical configuration, the new public place created along the waterfront at Broomielaw rates high in terms of macro-design, being well

connected with the surrounding urban grid. This is due to the previously built public walkways and cycle routes connections along the river and the creation of a new pedestrian and cycle bridge. Nevertheless, there is still a need to improve the general permeability and accessibility towards the site from the northern "Broomielaw wall" (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner) and generally from the city centre. In addition, the upgrading of the adjacent public areas at Custom House Quay and Anderson Quay, including the crossings towards them represented by the bridges and underpasses, will lead to a more coherent pedestrian movement along the northern bank of the Clyde. Related to micro-design, although there was a focus on high quality materials to offer appropriate walking and sitting opportunities, there are no active frontages at the moment and no opportunities for users to engage in diverse ways with the new public place.

9.3.3 Animation

The third meta-theme, Animation, has been overall rated **2.3** (Figure 9.19). This was obtained by averaging the two indicators that represent this meta-theme: *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers*, rated **1.6** and *Diversity of activities,* which was rated **3**. In the next paragraphs, the ratings will be explained and additional information will be given on the type and number of users and patterns of use that could not be captured by the two indicators.
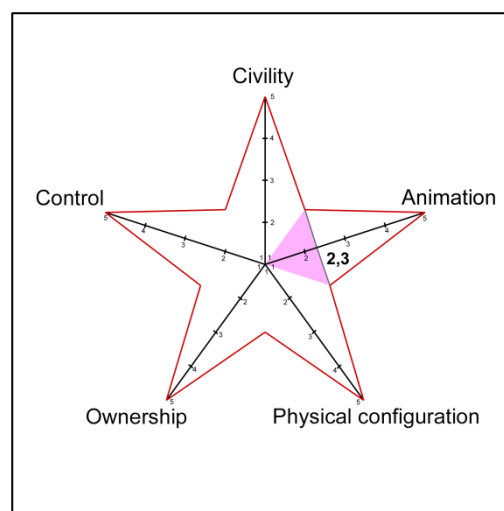
Figure 9.19 Rating and representing Animation

The first indicator, *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers* is a Type 2 indicator and as such it was measured in each of the three observation days. There is one food vendor on site, a small café placed at the most western point, by the Renfrew Ferry venue (see Figure 9.24). As this operates for a limited time of the day, between 7 a.m. and 2 p.m., during week days, the rating for this indicator was **2** for Monday and Friday and **1** for Sunday. This resulted in an average measurement for the indicator of **1.6**.
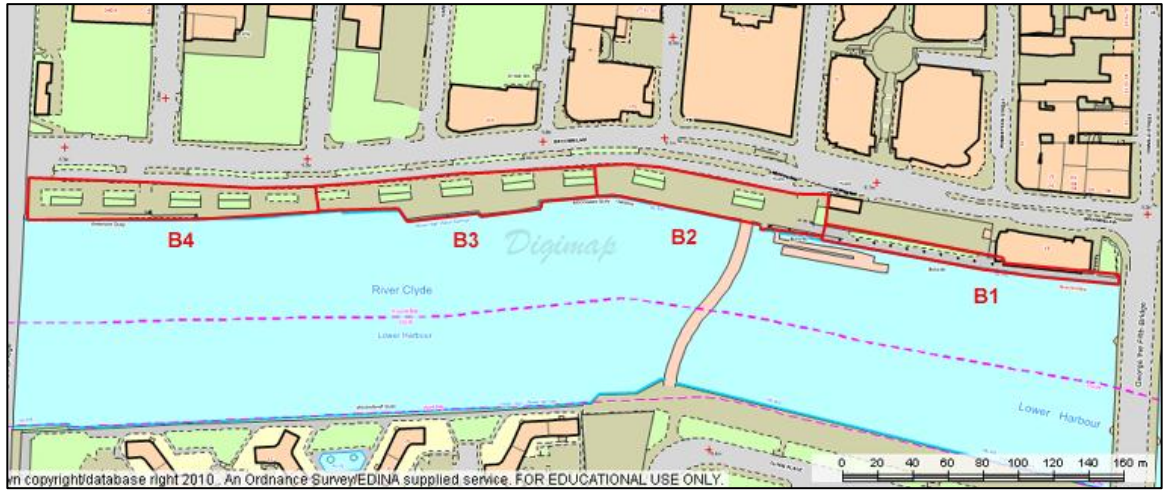
Figure 9.20 The layout of the four observation areas for the Animation dimension in the new public place created in Broomielaw
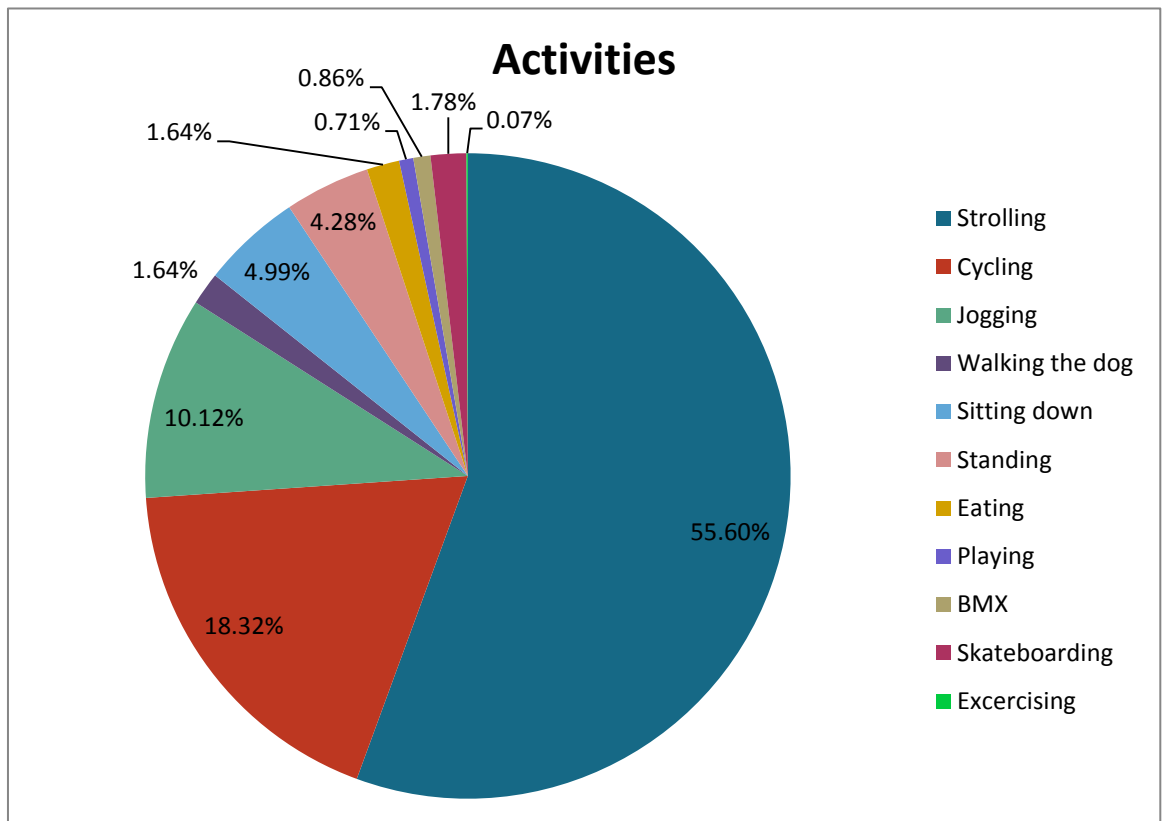
Figure 9.21 The types and distribution of activities among the total number of users performed in the public place under observation in Broomielaw

The second indicator, *Diversity of activities* is a Type 3 indicator and as such, measurements were undertaken throughout each observation day, at pre-determined time intervals, with the site divided in four observation areas (see Figure 9.20). The measurements resulted in an average of approximately 5 activities performed on site in a short 5 minute time interval and as such, the rating awarded for this indicator was **3.** Regarding the difference between the three observation days, the highest number of activities was obtained for Friday and the lowest for Sunday, which was on average the least animated day (see table in Figure 9.22 and for a detailed view of the observations see Annexe 8). The overall impression of the public place is of a lively site with a total of over a thousand people counted during the three days (the exact number being 1391 users), with an average of 51 users present on the entire site in a five minute time interval.

Observation day	Average number of activities/5 minutes interval	Total number of activities during the day
Monday 19.10.2009	5.4	10
Friday 25.09.2009	6	11
Sunday 8.11.2009	4.6	7
Average	**5 (5.3)**	**9.3**

Figure 9.22 The average and total number of activities recorded during observation in the public place created on the Broomielaw waterfront

Regarding the types of activities performed in the public place, Figure 9.21 shows that the most popular uses in Broomielaw are *Strolling*, *Cycling* and *Jogging*, with more than 50% of the people observed promenading along the banks of the Clyde. The general movement pattern of the users is on an east-west direction, directly related to the physical layout of the site, a linear, narrow strip parallel to the river. Due to the public place's good connectivity with the surrounding urban grid, the users were seen entering the site from all cardinal directions. It was observed though that the preferred access point from the northern direction was in the proximity of the car park, with the majority of strollers, cyclists and joggers continuing west along the river and with only a relative small number of users going south, over the Squiggly Bridge. Apart from these three main activities, approximately 10% of the users were seen either standing by the river balustrade

or sitting down, on the benches and on the ledges of the green planted areas. The majority of users preferred to sit in the central part of the public place (the areas B2 and B3), with a very low number of people (nine in total over the three observation days) sitting down in the narrow strip along the car park and the casino (observation area B1). This is a consequence of the absence of benches in this part of the site, where people were observed using the informal sitting opportunities represented by the bollards from the former industrial days.

	Observation area 1 (B1)	Observation are 2 (B2)	Observation area 3 (B3)	Observation area 4 (B4)	The entire site
Monday	12.1	18.1	18.5	11.3	60
Friday	7.2	12	13.8	10.4	43 (43.4)
Sunday	9.2	12.4	15.3	13.1	50
Average	9.5	14.1	15.8	11.6	51

Figure 9.23 The average number of people present in the public place in Broomielaw (in a 5 minute time interval)

The most sporadic activities observed taking place in Broomielaw were *Eating, Walking the dog, Playing, Skateboarding, BMX and Exercising*. Regarding the activity *Eating*, this refers to a relative small number of people (23 in total observed during the three days), observed mostly in the western part of the public place (observation areas B3 and B4), on Monday and Friday, in direct relation to the presence of the café in this part of the site (Figure 9.23 and Figure 9.24).

Figure 9.24 The only street vendor present in the new public place, 'The Pod'
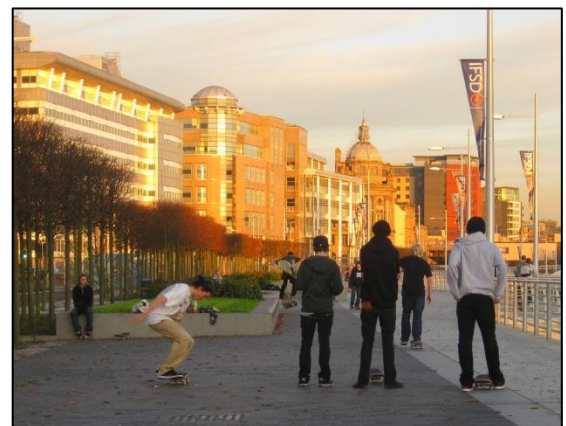
Figure 9.25 Skateboarders using the new public place in Broomielaw

It can be said that at a first glance, the new public place does not really serve as a lunch destination for the workers in the IFSD, as it was planned, but a more in depth study of the site's use needs to be done in order to determine this.

The western part of the public place was also the area where groups of teenagers were seen *Skateboarding* or doing stunts on BMX bikes, in the late afternoon and in the evening hours (Figure 9.25). Apart from these activities, teenagers, which overall accounted for 8% of the total number of users (see Figure 9.26), were also seen strolling, cycling and sitting down on the edges of the planted beds. Concerning the activity *Playing*, this refers to children seen either climbing benches or riding scooters and its rare occurrence is related to the lack of opportunities for play in this public place; overall children are the least represented age category, totalling only 5% of the total number of users (Figure 9.26).

In general, the data obtained regarding the diversity of users shows a fairly homogenous public; almost 50% of the people observed are young and over 90% of the users are White (Figure 9.25).

Figure 9.26 The diversity of users according to Age, Gender and Ethnicity in the new public place in Broomielaw

In terms of the gender distribution, in a similar manner to the other two case study public places, a larger percentage of male users was obtained, a possible indicator for a not very high quality public place (as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8).

Regarding the daily rhythm of the animation, the three observation days show a similar pattern with the vibrancy of the public place being low in the morning and reaching the highest peak in the early afternoon. Usually the public place is little animated in the evening hours, with the exception of Monday evening when the highest number of people was recorded in one observation snapshot, forty in total (in the second observation area, B2) due to the presence on site of a large group of 29 joggers (see Annexe 8).

It can be concluded that in terms of the Animation meta-theme, although the efforts of the Glasgow City Council have transformed the Broomielaw waterfront from a derelict, 'no go' area into a fairly lively public place, the site has not yet become the vibrant tourist destination envisaged at the start of the project. It remains to be seen if this will be achieved when the proposed pavilions development will be constructed.

9.3.4 Control

The fourth meta-theme, Control, was overall rated **3.5** (Figure 9.27). Each of the indicators have been rated and can be explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Control technology: CCTV cameras	1
Control presence: Police/ guards presence	3
Control by design: Sadistic street furniture	5
Control signage	5
Average	**3.5**
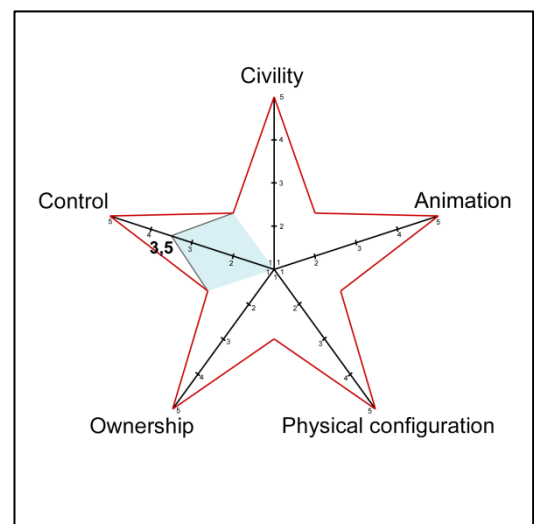
Figure 9.27 Rating and representing Control

In terms of the first indicator*, Control technology: CCTV cameras*, this was rated **1** as the entire area is under surveillance. The walkway by the casino is monitored by one camera located on the building while in the rest of the public place, the GCC has placed two cameras on high poles (Figure 9.28). Before redevelopment,

the location was an unsafe place, at the edge of the city centre, towards which a lot of the inner city crime gravitated. This was due partly to its design and lack of activity in the area, as presented in the development story, but also due to the Council's focus on mainly safeguarding the city centre:

> "We don't want beggars in the city centre, we don't want prostitution in the city centre, we don't want drug abuse but these are facets of living so where do you push them to? You push them to the margins of your city centres. They go from the city centre to the river and then the process of change catches up. Do you move them further out? At the end of the day these issues will be addressed on other fronts. Do you deny these people the opportunity to use the city that others enjoy? The fact that you don't have a job, should you be displaced to the river?" (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

Figure 9.28 CCTV in the new public place at Broomielaw

It is therefore acknowledged that the presence of CCTV does not necessarily solve issues of crime but only displaces it. Nevertheless, as part of its strategy to ensure safety in the city, GCC has embraced the use of close circuit television in public space, especially since 2001 when Streetwatch was created, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

> "That has been the thinking so far, saying ok, we have to basically put CCTV cameras and doing exactly this is just displacing the problem. It's a social problem that affects the physical environment. It now has been recognised as such." (Interview with Fotoula Adrimi, GCC planner)

The city centre has been considered the chief location to increase surveillance through CCTV (Interview with Bill Love, operations manager Community and Safety Services) and as the development of the new public place in Broomielaw was meant to re-integrate this area in the centre of Glasgow, CCTV was extended

on the banks of the Clyde. Installing CCTV, particularly in the city centre was based, among other rationales, on its importance as the principal retail area of Glasgow:

> "It's a difficult dynamic and I think one can't escape the fact the pre-eminence of the city centre as a retail function is incredibly important. Increasingly we get demands from the Chamber of Commerce and the retail sector to address these problems. There is talking about being perceived by others in a different way. So I guess the city administration has to walk this line between a social consciousness and dealing at a practical level with the business community. Where does that balance lie? We sometimes have to make difficult decisions." (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)

Although the Council is responsible for all its citizens and as such should create public places that are inclusive *for all*, the interviewee recognizes that in Glasgow the priority has been mainly on supporting economic development, especially in the IFSD and the centre. This was translated among other decisions into a comprehensive CCTV strategy which was extended in the new Broomielaw public place.

In terms of the second indicator *Control presence: Police/ guards presence*, this is a Type 2 indicator and it was therefore measured during each observation day. This was rated **3** due to the fact that during the observation, there have been no private guards noticed on site but the public place was seen patrolled by one police patrol in each of the observation days. In addition, a police car has been noticed observing the area from Broomielaw Street, during the Friday observation day. One of the reasons for the police presence is the fact that the area has been known for criminal behaviour before redevelopment. Another reason is related to Strathclyde Police's decision to increase the police patrols after the local press has raised attention towards young people attempting to climb the two fins of the bridge (www.heraldscotland.com). This issue was taken into consideration when the design of the bridge was approved and possibilities to deter people from climbing it were examined. These were deemed unfeasible on the basis that they would actually encourage people to climb the bridge and because they would change the shape and aspect of the structure:

> "We thought of how we could prevent people from doing this, and the idea of putting some form of cage around the bottom of it (…) anti-climb bars,

that would all detract from the look of thing, but more importantly it would probably provide people with an opportunity to climb more easily onto the thing. If you were to modify the top of the fin by putting some form of preformed sharp edge so that people could physically walk along it (…) you could probably make that work, but it would again change the whole shape of the bridge, which we've already decided is a successful shape, it would add a huge degree of wind loading onto a bridge which was not designed to have that wind loading put onto it, only to stop a relatively small minority of nutters from carrying out what they do, so from that point of view, yes we did examine it, yes we thought we had taken what were perfectly reasonable steps, and I would argue that it would be difficult to figure out where you stop in this situation. So the matter is still being reviewed, the matter is still being examined by CCTV cameras, and it is unfortunate that its garnered so much publicity, which is probably unfortunately media hype that got in the road that if it hadn't been given the coverage, people wouldn't have thought of actually doing it." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

Although the shape of the bridge was considered successful and it was decided not to take measures against it being climbed, there is still an element of liability related to its design; during the observation, there were several instances when children have been noticed climbing the fins of the bridge (Figure 9.29).
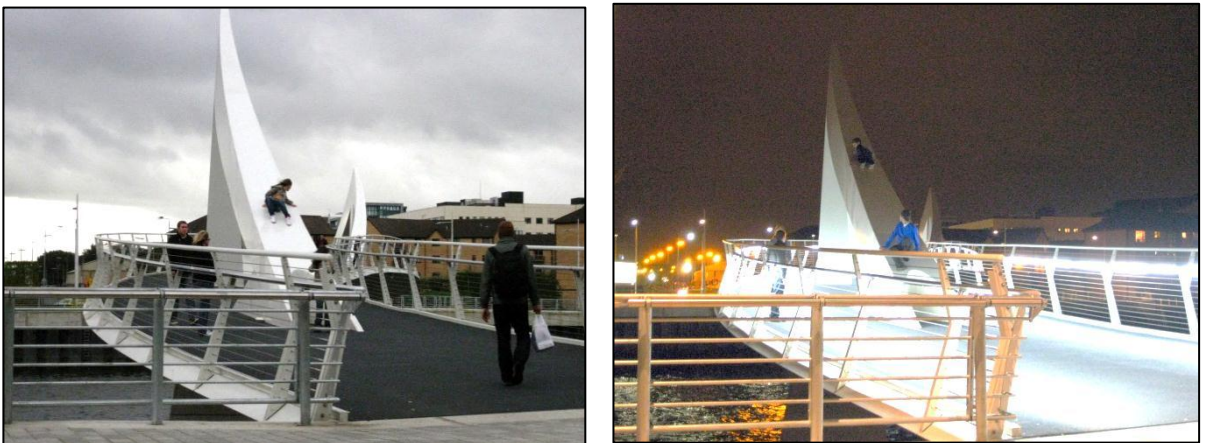
Figure 9.29 Children climbing the Squiggly Bridge (noticed during the observation of the public place)

The third indicator *Control by design: Sadistic street furniture* was rated **5** as there are no elements of sadistic street furniture. These were installed in several locations in the IFSD but they weren't implemented in Broomielaw, as this was envisaged as a 'more inclusive' place:

"We picked up on that in the IFSD on the other side (…) the benches in the IFSD itself are mostly anti not sleeping and they're anti skateboarding, but this area is perceived as being a little bit different to the IFSD, you didn't necessarily want people going past Morgan Stanley's front door, skateboarding. Down here this is a more inclusive kind of piece of public

realm, it is a park, and we have already had people grinding their skateboards and grinding BMX bikes on the granite planters and on some of these benches. But there's an element of 'if that's what people want to do with the space that you've created for them'." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

In terms of the fourth indicator *Control signage*, this was rated **5** as there are no signs deterring behaviours in this public place. These were not considered in the creation of the new public place (Interview with William Douglas, GCC).

9.3.5 Civility

The fifth meta-theme, Civility, was rated overall **3.5** (Figure 9.30). The indicators have been measured and are explained as following.

Indicator	Rating
Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture	3
Physical maintenance and provision of green areas	5
Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets	1
Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting	5
Average	**3.5**
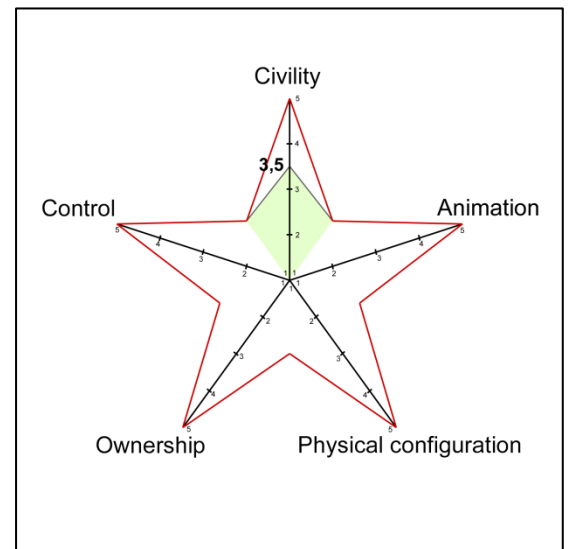
Figure 9.30 Rating and representing Civility

The first indicator *Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture* was rated **3.** Parts of the public place are untidy, with rubbish lying around and although bins have been provided in the entire new public place, some of them look untidy and are overspilling (Figure 9.31). In addition, there are several instances of graffiti and the edges of several of the planted areas present signs of wear and tear (these were seen used by skateboarders during the observation) (Figure 9.31). This can be explained by two main factors.
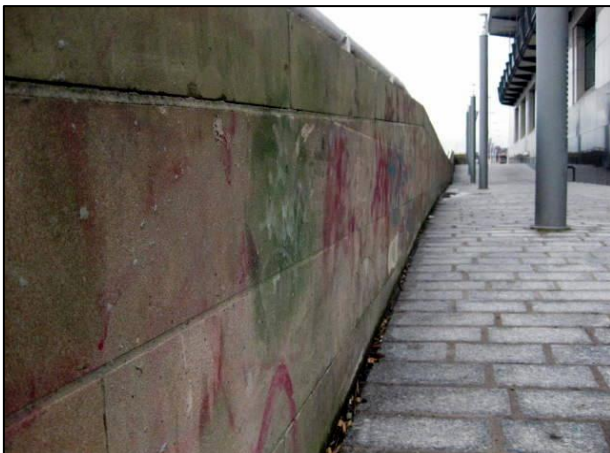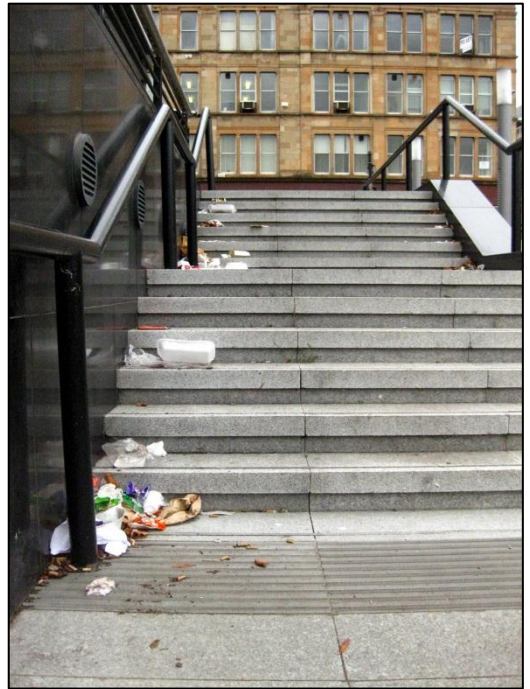
Figure 9.31 Examples of lack of adequate maintenance in the new public place created in Broomielaw

First, it is often argued that in Glasgow there is a common attitude of people not respecting the tidiness of public places, a general attitude of incivility towards the built environment. For example, when asked what she thought most frustrated the publicness of public places in Glasgow, Elaine Murray, GCC planner responded:

> "They're filthy, people don't actually think it's theirs and I think the public treat them awful. I think that's the worst thing and if you make a beautiful space and people rip it to pieces (…) People don't respect it because they don't think it's theirs and it is, and it's their money, when we go for grants and all the rest of it, it is their money that has done all this and they don't respect it and that's the worst thing. That's absolutely the worst thing" (Interview with Elaine Murray, GCC planner)

Apart from the litter problem, the Council spends around £1 million every year to remove graffiti (Interview with Bill Love, operations manager Community and Safety Services). In order to tackle both the littering and graffiti problems, in 2007, the City Council has started the campaign "Clean Glasgow; It's our city- play your part", based on three themes: communication, ownership and enforcement. This is aimed at creating a cleaner environment through the collaboration of the Council, the public and the business community. Among other measures 'mean teams' have been created composed by enforcement officers who have the ability to fine £50 for litter dropping (www.glasgow.gov.uk).

Second, the Council maintains public places, including the new public place in Broomielaw, through its Department of Land and Environmental Services. However, faced with the extent of the 'grime crime' problem against the background of insufficient budgets this is not always done to an appropriate standard:

> "Where the private sector own it (i.e. the public space) I would say they are doing a better job at maintaining it than the Council had done (…) even when we're delivering it, we're not maintaining it and that's shocking because studies have shown if you maintain a space and manage it, that's 80 to 90% of its success." (Interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner)

In order to provide a better maintenance of the Broomielaw new public place, which, as presented in the development story is meant to be 'the postcard' of Glasgow, other solutions may be considered such as the hiring of a management company:

> "…public spaces in general become adoptable pieces of highway under the

> terms of the Highways Act, the highways Scotland Act and as a consequence that unfortunately in general falls to our colleagues in Land and Environmental Services. Whether that is the best medium to use in some very high spec prestigious areas is another matter. Whether we could go and adopt some other model where you'd bring in a management company is a very good point and its one that's being considered, but at the present moment it certainly rests with our friends in Land Services." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

The issue of maintenance is seen as critical for the success of this public place also by the developer for the pavilions scheme, Jim Fitzsimmons:

> "I don't want to see any chewing gum, I want every night...three o'clock in the morning I want a guy there power-washing that. We want to sink all the bins down, they do it on the continent, they don't expect you to do it here. I want all the bins underground – I don't want to see any bins, anywhere. This place is absolutely the best kept place in Glasgow because if it's not, it won't work. It'll go right downhill." (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, chief executive officer Capella Group)

It remains to be seen if a more effective maintenance regime will be put in place when the pavilions scheme will happen and if so, who will undertake the costs for it, GCC or Capella Group.

The second indicator *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas*, was rated **5.** The green area is comprised of grass and flower beds which have been put in temporarily before the pavilions will come on site and two rows of trees bordering the site to the north. The greenery looks tidy, trimmed and healthy and the grass beds were seen as providing informal sitting opportunities.

The third indicator *Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets* was rated **1** as there are no such facilities present on site. As discussed before, the GCC has a policy of closing down public toilets in the city and in this particular case their provision was seen as unnecessary in relation to the targeted users from the IFSD:

> "…the majority of the target audience that would use the public realm would come from the IFSD, so they would have their own facilities back in their offices." (Interview with William Douglas, GCC)

At the same time, as discussed previously, the place was desired to a tourist destination in Glasgow and the lack of these facilities can have a negative impact on potential tourists and visitors.
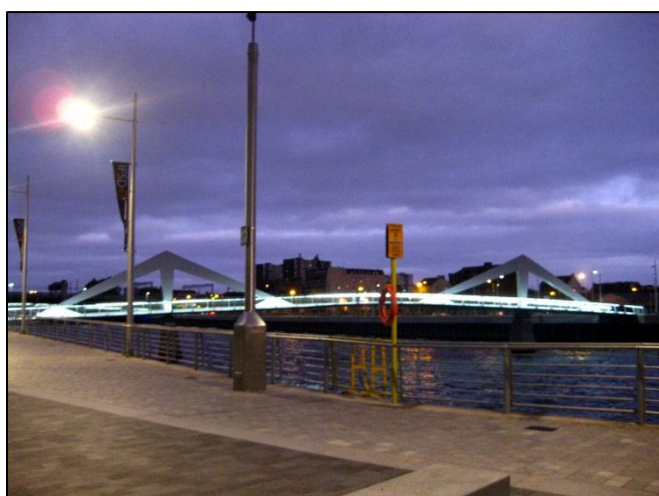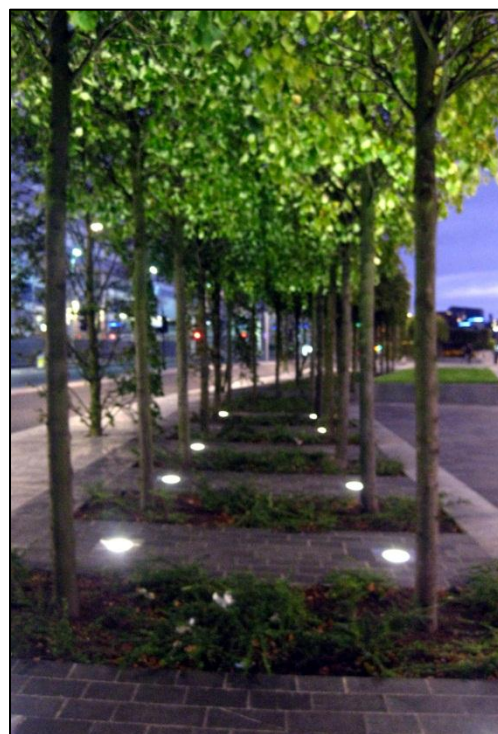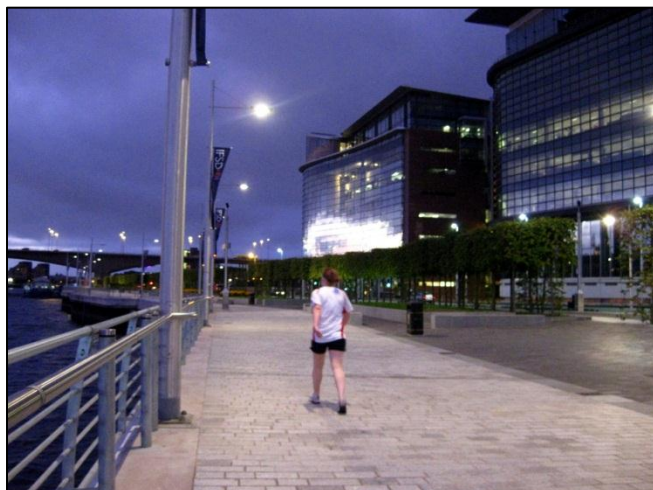
Figure 9.32 Lighting in the new public place at Broomielaw

The fourth and last indicator, *Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting* was rated **5** because the entire area is very well lit, without any dark corners. The lighting strategy includes both stainless steel lamp posts along the river's edge and sunken LED spots placed among the tree lines (Figure 9.32). The bridge is lit along the length of its hand rail adding to the overall ambience of the area at night. (Figure 9.32).

9.3.6 The Star Diagram of Publicness

Through joining the ratings and their graphical representation for all the five meta-themes, a fairly well delineated Star Diagram of Publicness was obtained for the third case study public place (Figure 9.33). This is translated in an overall medium value of publicness of **3.63**, obtained by averaging the five ratings. The highest value was obtained for the ownership meta-theme, **5**, which is a result of the site being owned by the locally democratic elected authority the Glasgow City Council.
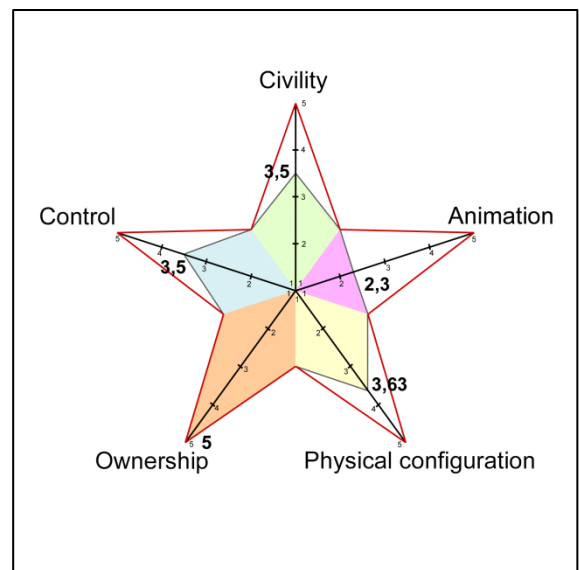
Figure 9.33 Rating and representing the publicness of the public place in Broomielaw

A fairly high value of publicness was also obtained for the physical configuration meta-theme. Due to the previously created connections along the river and towards the northern area of the IFSD, supplemented by the building of the new Squiggly Bridge, the site is well connected with the surrounding urban area. Nevertheless, as presented in the previous part, there is still need to improve the connectivity towards the northern direction, across Broomielaw Street, and also to upgrade the underpasses that link the site with the adjacent public areas along the river. In addition, although there are no fences surrounding the public place, there is a low level of visibility and permeability towards this public place from the northern urban grid of the IFSD., which can be improved. While there is a very good provision of walking opportunities and both formal and informal sitting

opportunities are present in the greatest part of the public place, there is a severe lack of active frontages in the adjacent buildings to the site and there are no opportunities for a diverse engagement with the public place.

Medium values of publicness were obtained for both the control and civility meta-themes. In terms of control, there are no signs deterring behaviours or sadistic elements of street furniture. However, the public place is under the overt surveillance of CCTV technology and it is daily patrolled by the local police. In terms of civility, although the area is well lit in the evening and with a good provision and maintenance of green space, there are several untidy, dirty or damaged areas in the public place and there are no public toilets.

The lowest value of publicness was obtained in terms of the animation meta-theme. Although there is one street vendor, indicating that there is a sufficient number of people present in the public place to make this a viable undertaking and on average there are five activities performed on site, the new public place has not yet achieved the vibrancy of a waterfront destination desired by the Glasgow City Council. This can be related to a combination of factors such as the severance effect of Broomielaw St. and the Fastlink lane and the lack of visibility of the site from the city centre, the lack of any ground floor uses in the vicinity of the site but mostly the absence of opportunities for users to actively engage with the environment. It remains to be seen how the animation of the site and its overall publicness will be influenced by the construction of the pavilions.

9.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the analysis of the publicness of the third case study new public place created on the post-industrial waterfront of the Clyde in the Broomielaw area of Glasgow. In a similar manner to the previous two chapters, first, the development story of the site was presented. It was shown that in this particular case, the new public place was created as a result of a fairly straightforward development process, where the local authority, GCC has undertaken the task of transforming this run down area at the edge of the city centre as part of the larger IFSD project. The project was meant to be finished by 2006 but issues related first to budget limitations and second, to unexpected infrastructure works have severely delayed the undertaking of the entire project,

which was partly finished in 2009. Moreover, the time dependent nature of the ERDF fund forced the GCC to finish the project before the pavilions were constructed which would have given the place the envisaged sense of a destination by the Clyde. The second part of the chapter focused on the Star analysis of publicness. Each indicator was rated and explained and the result was a fairly well delineated Star Diagram with values ranging from medium to high obtained for the five meta-themes. It can be argued that this reflects the City Council's focus on creating a new public place by the Clyde but there is still scope for improvement. This refers to creating stronger connectivity and better permeability especially towards the northern urban grid, providing opportunities for people to actively engage with the environment or basic facilities, such as public toilets. Also a more public, public place would mean the removal of CCTV cameras but as presented in the chapter, this is part of an overall strategy adopted by the Council to safeguard the city centre of Glasgow and generally the urban public space. This could potentially be realised when more activity is brought in the public place by the construction of the pavilions which would provide the necessary informal surveillance.

It can be concluded that although efforts have been made to regenerate this area of the Clyde's waterfront and create a new and successful public place, the end result does not match the initial vision. This was to create " a spectacular waterside location" which " will become one of Glasgow's major visitor attractions" (GCC, 2005). Reasons for this are the compromises in terms of the public budget and the provision of the Fastlink, the dependency on the private sector for building the pavilions and the lack of high maintenance. In addition, the Council did not make bold decisions to open up its centre to the waterfront but only improved a parcel of land along the Clyde. In order to develop a public place in such a prominent location, there needs to be full commitment and determination from the part of the leading actor, in this case, GCC and not the half-hearted compromises made.

CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the exploratory study undertaken in this research into the nature of public space and its publicness. First, it returns to the research question and the objectives set at the beginning of the research and summarises the theoretical foundations and the methodology employed. Second, it reflects on the results obtained by the practical application of the dual nature of the conceptualisation of publicness. In this respect, it brings together the three case studies, compares their publicness ratings as obtained through the application of the Star Model and reflects on the reasons for the measurements obtained from their development stories. Third, the strengths of the research are highlighted, both on a theoretical and on a practical level. The chapter ends with a critical reflection on the limitations of this study and makes several recommendations for future research.

10.2 Research question and objectives

The starting point in this research was the realisation that new public places are not as public as they should/could be, in other words they were losing 'something' of their publicness. Commentators such as Sorkin (1992), Mitchell (1995), Davis (1996) or Zukin (2000) have argued that a commonly accepted standard of

'publicness' of public space has been spoiled by factors such as the privatisation of public space or an overarching phenomenon of increased control of public places. A thorough investigation of the literature in the field, made the researcher discover that there was considerable confusion in the research on public space, a fairly recent area of investigation, developed particularly since the 1960s. Two factors were seen as responsible for this. On one hand, a variety of disciplines were found tackling the subject, each focusing on a different aspect of 'publicness' and on the other hand, a multitude of terms and definitions were employed in relation to public space and publicness (as discussed in section 2.3). Moreover, most studies were found to be descriptive; no common standard of publicness was found and no method to measure it. To fill this gap, the research aimed at discovering a rigorous and objective way to describe and if possible *measure* the publicness of public places. Therefore the research question asked was:

> *How can one conceptualise and measure the 'publicness' of public space*
> *so that different public places can be graded and compared?*

This was translated in several research objectives that can be summarised as pertaining to three main tasks: to conceptualise publicness, to measure publicness and to apply this in practice, in order to grade and compare different public places.

10.2.1 Conceptualising publicness

In relation to the first task, as there was no satisfactory conceptualisation of publicness in the literature, the researcher created a new way of understanding this – as both a cultural reality and a historical reality.

It was proposed here that although each public place has its own identity, all public places created in a delineated time period and in a particular cultural context will share certain characteristics that define their publicness. This is the conceptualisation of publicness as a cultural reality – as part of certain social group's values, beliefs, traditions etc., there is a common understanding of what a standard public space is. Exploring the public space literature available, in the time and space coordinates of this research (see Figure 1. 4), five dimensions or meta-themes appear as significant for the publicness of public space: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. Ownership was understood

as the legal status of a parcel of land and it was shown how an increasing phenomenon of privatisation of public space has resulted in the blurring of boundaries between public and private. Physical configuration was conceptualised as the design dimension containing two levels: macro-design (beyond-the-place) and micro-design (within-the-place). Animation was seen as the social and anthropological dimension of publicness, referring to the use of a public place both in terms of the users present and the activities performed by them. Control was understood as relating to the measures and policies taken to limit the basic rights of people in public space and 'pacify the public'. Civility was conceptualised as referring to the maintenance and upkeep of a public place.

All the five meta-themes were seen as varying from a 'more public 'to a less public situation. By gathering the 'more public' description of each meta-theme, it was possible to define the standard public space, today, in the western world, as:

> *the concept referring to all areas, that are publicly owned by democratically elected bodies, well connected in the surrounding urban grid and designed according to principles that foster activity and social interaction, used by a large and diverse public in a variety of ways, controlled in an non oppressive manner and characterised by an inviting and tidy atmosphere.*

This standard can be used as a benchmark to measure the publicness of newly created public places. However, in order to comprehend why a public place has a certain publicness rating, an understanding of the general historical background of where it located and of its particular development process needs to be acquired. This is the conceptualisation of publicness as a historical reality that led the researcher to investigate another body of literature, concerned with the land and real estate development process - the main vehicle of delivering public places, today, in the western world. In this respect, two models were explored: the event-sequence model and the agency model. The first one showed that the creation of a public place can be understood as a series of stages and at any point, different events can lead to the improving or diminishing of the overall publicness of a site. The agency model showed how the publicness of a public place results from the agreements, compromises or frictions among the different actors involved in the development process. Each actor has particular motivations and objectives and a

certain degree of influence in the creation of a public place; a key issue is therefore to understand how publicness was negotiated in the powerplay among them.

Conceptualising publicness as a dual nature concept had the following consequences. On a theoretical level, it resulted that publicness is both a static phenomenon - comprising the key elements that make a public space, public (at a certain point in time) and also a dynamic phenomenon - it is socially constructed in the development process of each public place. On a practical level, it meant that assessing the publicness of a public place involved both measuring it at a certain point in time, as a snapshot in relation to the defined standard but also explaining the measurement through the historical background and the development process.

10.2.2 Research methodology

Following this conceptualisation of publicness, a complex, mixed method approach was employed to assess the publicness of real case study public places. This involved three stages.

In the first stage, a method needed to be created to measure publicness. By translating the defined standard into a practical tool, The Star Model of Publicness was created. This involved finding quantifiable elements – indicators – for each meta-theme of publicness and calibrating them on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is the lowest publicness and 5 the highest. This represents an innovative way of measuring publicness, as there was no previous attempt in the literature tackling this issue. As a starting point, it was decided to consider all the indicators as having an equal weight in rating each meta-theme, and all meta-themes an equal weight in obtaining a publicness rating for a particular public place. Apart from calculating the publicness rating, a graphical illustration would be attached to each public place – the Star Diagram of Publicness.

In the second stage, three case studies were decided upon to apply the model and investigate the publicness rating obtained. These were new public places created as part of three waterfront regeneration schemes in Glasgow: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw. The starting point of the research was the

acknowledgement that new public places are not as public as they should/could be. A large number of new public places have been created in the western world as part of the regeneration of former industrial waterfronts. From both an academic point of view and due to the researcher's personal interest in this particular urban environment, it was decided to choose the regenerated waterfront as the location for the case studies. Although at the beginning of the project, it was intended to look at two different waterfront cities, in the end, only one city was considered, Glasgow. From an academic point of view, Glasgow is a representative example of a city which has tried to move from an industrial past to a post-industrial future. As part of its regeneration efforts, much emphasis was placed on the physical transformation of its urban environment, resulting in the creation of new public places. From, a practical point of view, Glasgow was the location of the researcher, and as such, important time and material resources could be saved.

Another rationale for choosing only one city was related to the model being a first attempt of its kind and as such, it was deemed suitable that its first testing was on sites created in the same historical and cultural background, the regeneration of the River Clyde in Glasgow. Nevertheless, in order to test the model, in a manner as robust as possible, the three case study new public places were chosen as pertaining to different projects, created in slightly different time periods in the last 30 years or so.

In the third stage, several methods were decided upon and the empirical fieldwork was undertaken to apply the model in practice and investigate the historical reality of the new public places. The methods of document analysis and semi- structured interviews were employed to understand the general historical background of the regeneration of Glasgow and its River Clyde and the particularities of the development process of each case study public place. A secondary aim In this process was to find out the rating for one of the indicators in the Star Model – *Ownership status*. The rest of the indicators were rated by performing structured observation for three days in each of the public places under analysis.

10.3 Findings of the research

The main aim of the research was to find a way to measure publicness so that different public places can be graded and compared. This was translated in the

development of the Star Model of Publicness, a time consuming and complex process with many try out and errors. In the different stages of its evolution, various indicators were created and their practical application reflected upon. The main goal was to be able to express the publicness of each site in one number and to illustrate it through a pictorial representation, which became the Star Diagram of Publicness.

After the model was perfected so that it was robust but also flexible enough to be applied in practice, this was tested on the three new public places selected. This was a successful attempt in the sense that the publicness of each public place could be graded and as such, comparisons were possible among them. The results show that *the most public, public place* is Broomielaw, with a value of **3.63** and the least public is Glasgow Harbour, with a value of **2.6** while Pacific Quay rates intermediary, with a value of **3.03** (Figure 10.1). The Star Diagrams allow for comparisons in terms of each meta-theme while the investigation of each site's development story allows for explanations of the obtained ratings.

Regarding the first meta-theme, each public place presents a different rating, illustrating a different 'shade' of ownership. Broomielaw is in public ownership, and as such it rates the highest. This is a result of the public place being in the ownership of the Glasgow City Council, the local democratically elected public authority, which led the regeneration process and kept its hold on the site. Pacific Quay has a mixed ownership, comprised by two owners, the BBC and the Science Centre. The first is a public company and the latter, a subsidiary of Scottish Enterprise, the government's arm's length organisation in charge with development. As a result, the public place is, to a certain degree, publicly accountable which has been illustrated in a high rating for this meta-theme. Glasgow Harbour is in the private ownership of Clydeport, the local port authority which has always owned the land and led the regeneration process. The GCC did not want to take over the ownership of the land after redevelopment and as such, a minimum rating has been awarded to this site. It cannot be concluded from these three case studies that a phenomenon of privatisation of public space is happening on the Clyde Waterfront. A larger study, involving more case studies would be required to establish this.
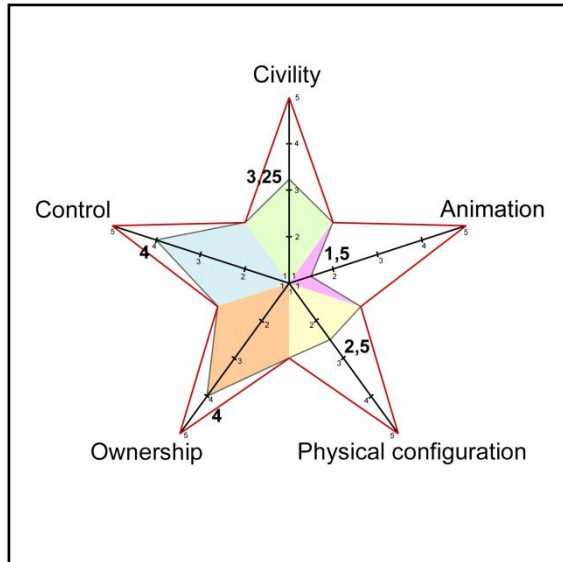
Pacific Quay – overall rating of publicness **3.03**
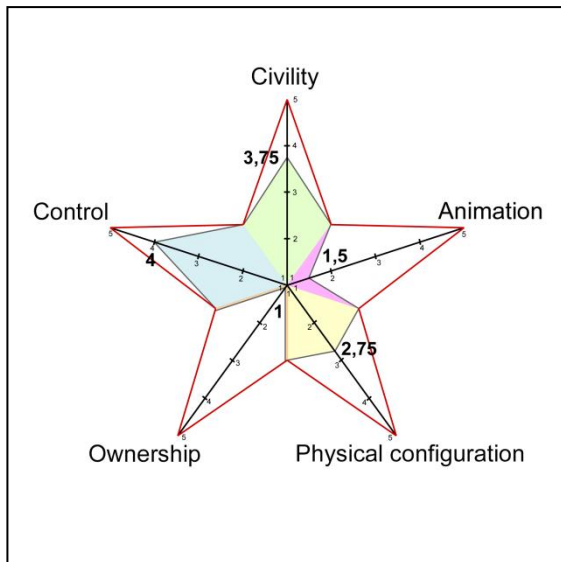
Glasgow Harbour– overall rating of publicness **2.6**
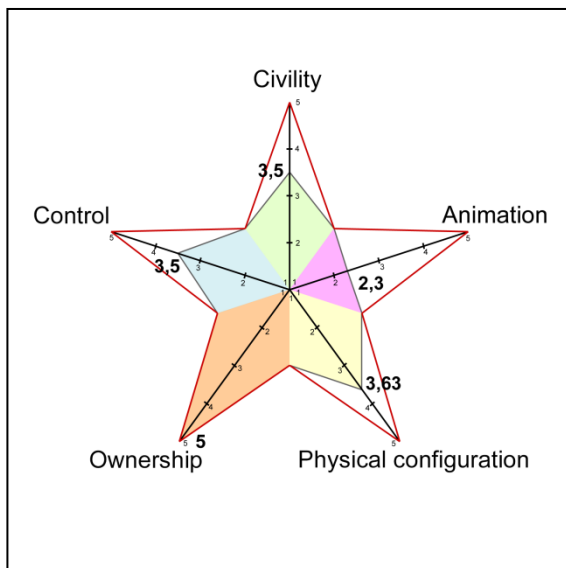
Broomielaw – overall rating of publicness **3.63**

Figure 10.1 The publicness of the new public places on the Clyde waterfront

Related to physical configuration, the case studies can be discussed in terms of both macro-design and micro-design. Related to macro-design, none of the public places was found to be very well integrated in the surrounding urban grid. The best connected is Broomielaw, due to its proximity to the city centre, the creation of a continuous walkway along the river in the 1970s and also to the desire of the Glasgow City Council to link the IFSD to the less developed south side of the river. Both Pacific Quay and Glasgow Harbour are very poorly connected to the surrounding urban grid, apart from the northern direction. In the case of Pacific Quay, this is due to a lack of development of the surrounding areas, resulting from a combination of factors: the lack of strong leadership and focus from the main actor, Scottish Enterprise, the continuous delay from the part of the private actors, who own the adjacent land and the lack of agreement among the public and private parties. In the case of Glasgow Harbour, there is a similar lack of development in the surrounding areas, a consequence of the recent economic crisis but also of the disagreements between the public and private actors to build a bridge over the Clyde. Although there are no fences in any of the public places (apart from the temporary ones erected for building purposes), there is a lack of visibility in the case of the new public place in Broomielaw due to the previous large scale office developments, bordering the site to the north (built as part of the IFSD). Also, there is a lack of visibility towards the river walkway in Glasgow Harbour, from the northern direction, due to the large mass of the buildings erected on site, creating a wall parallel to the river.

In terms of micro-design, there is a good provision of walking opportunities in all the public places while sitting opportunities are better delivered in Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw (although the focus was on robustness not comfort). In the case of Glasgow Harbour, the private owner and developer, Clydeport, wanted high quality materials in order to create an upscale housing development while in the case of Broomielaw, the aim of the Council was to create a 'postcard' for the IFSD and Glasgow as a whole. In the case of Pacific Quay, there are very few and poor quality sitting opportunities, a reflection of the lack of emphasis on the development of this new public place. The Science Centre is an indoor venue, the BBC, a public office building and Scottish Enterprise focused mainly on bringing development on site and not creating a high quality public place. There are no active frontages bordering the new public places and very few opportunities to

actively engage with and discover the environment (none in Broomielaw, a windmill in Pacific Quay and a statue in Glasgow Harbour). In other words, there is very little to make these places into *destinations* as they were intended.

All the public places rate fairly low regarding animation.This can be related to the lack of opportunities for active engagement and the poor connectivity with the surrounding environment, as discussed above. Pacific Quay and Glasgow Harbour rate the same (although there are four activities performed in Glasgow Harbour compared to only three in Pacific Quay) and seem relatively empty places. Broomielaw is the most animated out of the three public places (with five activities performed in a short time interval), which can be related to a better connectivity of the site and its proximity to the City Centre. In terms of the number of people, although there could be no straightforward indicator devised, the indirect indicator, the *Presence of Street vendors and/or entertainers* reflects the number of users of the public places (448 people were recorded in Pacific Quay and 420 in Glasgow Harbour, with no street vendors and/or entertainers in either of them, with a much higher number of 1391 people recorded in Broomielaw, where there was only one street vendor present).

The additional data collected for the animation meta-theme showed that the most favoured activity in all the public places was strolling. In Pacific Quay, the other preferred activities were cycling and standing, in Glasgow Harbour, these were walking the dog, cycling and jogging while in Broomielaw, users preferred also to cycle and jog, with a lower number of people engaged in the activities of sitting down or standing by the river edge. Regarding the diversity of users, all the three public places showed a majority of white, young and male users although no indicator could be devised to integrate this in the Star Model.

All three public places rate fairly high in relation to control. This is due to the overall absence of signs deterring behaviours and of sadistic street furniture. Also, a fairly low presence of guards was recorded. There were no private guards observed in any of the three sites and no public guards were observed in Glasgow Harbour and Pacific Quay. However, daily patrols were observed in Broomielaw. This is related to the existence for a long period of time of a negative image for the area (violence, drug abuse and prostitution) but also to recent incidents of children

climbing the newly built bridge. All the public places have been found to be observed by CCTV cameras. This is consistent with the current trend in the UK of using this technology extensively. Glasgow has embraced this tendency, reflected in the creation of the Streetwatch CCTV company (as discussed in Chapters 8 and 9). It can be inferred therefore that there is an increased phenomenon of control through CCTV in the new public places on the Glasgow waterfront.

Related to civility, analogous, medium ratings have been obtained. None of the new public places have been provided with public toilets, a result of the Glasgow City Council's policy of closing them down on account of diminished public budgets. All of the public places have a fairly good provision and maintenance of greenery and lighting, Broomielaw rating marginally better. In terms of the tidiness of the area, the least clean site was Broomielaw. One of reasons is the fact that it is more animated and it seems that generally in Glasgow, the public does not respect the tidiness of the public places (littering, graffiti). Another reason is the lack of appropriate, high standard maintenance provided by the Glasgow City Council.

The three case studies investigated can be seen as representative for Glasgow's re-invention as a post-industrial city. The Pacific Quay site shows the focus of the city towards enhancing its media services, the Glasgow Harbour site is illustrative for the new trend of creating up market, luxury housing developments while the Broomielaw project is part of the new trend of establishing Glasgow as a financial and business centre. As part of this broader context, the average ratings of publicness obtained for the three new public places can be related to several factors. Among them is the relatively late regeneration of the waterfront, begun only at the end of the 1990s and the permanent empty purse of the Glasgow City Council, combined with a lack of funding from a national level (although the River Clyde is considered a Scottish national priority). Also, the divided ownership on the banks of the Clyde, the lack of a comprehensive vision for the river's regeneration from the part of the local authorities and the existence of a variety of public agencies and actors in charge with the public place provision and maintenance, frustrate the publicness of the new public places (as discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2).

10.4 Contribution to knowledge

The following paragraphs will highlight the main ways in which this research project has addressed the existing literature, presenting both what this study challenges and what it confirms.

By initially reviewing multi-disciplinary literature, in which public space and publicness were conceptualised and defined in many different ways, this research gives a multidimensional definition of public space and proposes a unified theoretical model to describe the publicness of public places. By doing so, it lends itself to satisfying 'the need for more pragmatic research' (Nemeth and Schmidt, 2007, p. 283) in a field dominated by descriptive and often speculative studies (see Chapter 2). At the same time, the study showes that, indeed, as the American sociologist Lyn Lofland expressed "…what we know about the public realm is greatly overshadowed by what we do not know" (Lofland, 1998, p. xv). This inquiry confirmed what the American scholars Staeheli and Mitchell found out throughout their own research, that "… "public space" is a slippery, complicated and shifting kind of space" (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008, p. 117). Measuring publicness has proven to be a difficult task, and although a model has been created, and its first testing showed promising results, there remains plenty of scope for improvement. This is most evident in respect to the meta-theme of Animation, where more and better indicators need to be found. Also the possibility of measuring Animation in a similar way to the other four meta – themes needs to be reflected upon in more depth.

Through the application of the Star Model of Public Space, light was shed on the two overarching contemporary phenomena that have been identified recently as leading to a loss in the 'publicness' of new public places; privatisation of space and increased control of public places. Concerning the privatisation of public space, the results obtained by applying the model to the three new public places in Glasgow did not show conclusively that such a phenomenon is taking place in the Scottish city. However, they did show that indeed, increasingly, there is a blurring taking place between the boundaries of public and private as noticed by commentators such as Madanipour (2003), Kohn (2004) or Marcuse (2005). The results showed that one of the case study public places is privately owned, one is

in semi-public ownership and one is owned by the local, democratically elected, public authority. Concerning the control of public space, the results did show an increase in control measures especially electronic surveillance (i.e. CCTV). All three of the public places studied were extensively surveyed by CCTV cameras which supports the research undertaken by the Dutch authors Van Melik et al. (2007) and by the British scholars Fyfe and Bannister (1996) or Raco (2003) (see Chapter 3).

It has also been pointed out in the beginning of this thesis that in the practice of building public places the different actors involved have their own understandings of what 'public space' is and that 'publicness' is often lost during the process of negotiations and compromises between these different parties. Indeed, through interviewing these various actors, involved in the particular case of the regeneration of the River Clyde, it was understood that often, due to a lack of standards and accurate ways of measuring publicness, the built public places are not as public as envisioned. This research has shed light on only a small part of this complex issue and more research is needed regarding the practice of building public places.

Although It can be concluded that, overall, this study asks more questions than provides answers, it is important to acknowledge the fact that a more substantial foundation has now been laid for building more pragmatic studies in the field of public space research in the future. The next part will present in more detail the specific

10.5 Strengths of the research

The following paragraphs present the main ways in which this study brings a contribution both on a theoretical level, in public space research and on the practical level, in the production of more public, public places.

On a theoretical level, the Star Model of Publicness brings together, for the first time, different key elements of publicness into one single entity. The publicness of a public place is seen as a multilateral concept, resulting from the interaction of five meta-themes: ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility.

As such, the model clarifies the 'slippery' concept of 'the publicness' of public space and offers, at one glance, a comprehensive image of what makes a public space, public.

Second, the Star Model measures publicness, quantifying in an objective way a concept previously considered mainly as a subjective construct. More, the publicness rating is not only encapsulated in one numerical value but it is also illustrated in a Star Diagram of Publicness. This is a new graphical representation that shows in a straightforward manner exactly where publicness is eroded or where it is enhanced. It therefore highlights which elements are successful and which fail to make a public place, more public, according to the defined standard.

Third, although the model considers all indicators as having an equal weight in the rating of each meta-theme and the meta-themes as equally contributing to the overall publicness score, it creates the potential for further development. For example, it would be possible through various try-outs and experiments, to see if and which indicators are more important than others and if and which meta-themes can have a larger (or a lesser) impact in the overall publicness score.

Fourth, the model offers a much-needed method to compare and contrast different new public places, created in the urban western world. The comparisons allow for understanding which public places are more public than others and why this happens, so that knowledge exchange is made possible and lessons are learned from the success and/or failure of different projects.

Fifth, in relation to the point above, the research not only puts forward the Star Model of Publicness but it also proposes that this is accompanied by the analysis of a public place's development story. As explained several times in this research, publicness is seen as having a dual nature: it is both a cultural reality – an observable and measurable entity but also a historical reality – a socially constructed entity. This conceptualisation allows one not only to rate a public place's publicness but also to understand why a certain rating has been obtained in relation to the various decisions made in its development process and as a result of the interaction of different actors.

Sixth, by using the dual nature of publicness conceptualisation and the Star Model, it was possible to gain a deeper insight into a fairly under researched area of investigation, the regeneration of the Clyde waterfront in Glasgow. In this respect, key elements were highlighted such as the ownership patterns, the relationship between the public and private sectors in delivering the projects as a whole and the new public places, the maintenance and the control strategies but also the way in which the public uses the new public places.

Apart from these theoretical strengths, the model is also deemed useful in the practical creation of public places, for several reasons.

First, by giving one clear and comprehensive definition of what a standard public space is, the model facilitates information exchange in the development process, helping to overcome misinterpretations that cause many projects to be compromised in terms of quality. It was shown in Chapter 6 that one of the factors frustrating the publicness of public places is the different understandings that the various actors in the development process have in relation to the term public space. Moreover, by offering a standard for public places, the model functions as a decision support tool. In this respect, the different actors in the development process can strive to create not just a public place, but a public place with at least, for example, a publicness rating of **3**.

Second, a chief advantage of the model is that it can be used as an audit method in the redevelopment of public places. Those in charge of such a project can assess where publicness fails, in a quick and informed way, so that interventions can be made towards the right areas and delays overcome. In this respect, by bringing together the different dimensions of publicness, the model draws attention to the actors in the development process that the success of a public place depends to a high degree on the cooperation of different agencies and experts (e.g. the owners, the planners, the designers, the maintenance agency, the police etc.).

Third, the model is a relatively easy[1] to use tool that can be employed by anybody interested in a public place who wants to assess its publicness and find out where and why this fails. As such, it bridges the gap between the 'providers' of public places and the 'users' as any person can go to a public place, observe it, and then measure it, obtaining a star diagram. As a result, users can feedback into the development of an area with enough information to make a valuable contribution and help improve their environment according to their own objectives and usage patterns.

10.6 The limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

Critically reflecting on the research undertaken and on the Star Model created, although this is deemed useful both in public space research and practice, several limitations should be highlighted and avenues for further inquiry presented.

First, by applying a common standard and a common way of measurement to all public places, it can be argued that the particularities of a public place are lost when its publicness is translated into a number and respectively, a Star Diagram. Each public place has its own identity, its own atmosphere or 'sense of place' resulting from the particular geographical location, the historical character of the area, the colours, the smells, the sounds, the specific layout and materials used, the type of greenery etc. Therefore the Star Model should be used with a certain degree of common sense, as a way of simplifying reality and not as a perfect reflection of it. This is not considered necessarily a flaw, as it is an intrinsic characteristic of all models, especially when they are applied to the social world.

Second, although it is asserted that the Star Model measures publicness as objectively as possible, it has to be recognised that this is the subjective creation of the researcher. At any time, other researchers might find other key meta-themes or indicators to measure publicness. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this

---

[1] The most time consuming and complicated measurement was for the animation dimension, but the *Diversity of activities* indicator can be measured only for a dayor two days (not necessarily three as undertaken in this research) depending on the time available. Also, the model works better for small sites, where an observer could see the entire site from one observation point, otherwise a team of observers is recommended

investigation will open the way towards more rigorous and objective studies of public space and publicness.

Third, although it was attempted to describe each meta-theme of publicness by indicators as representative as possible, it can be argued that these do not fully capture the complex nature of the meta-theme. For example, in relation to physical configuration, the literature discusses the importance of designing a public place according to the specific weather conditions. Especially in Nordic cities, such as Glasgow, it is essential to provide shelter from the rain and wind and maximise the sun exposure in any public place. Although the researcher attempted to find an indicator and integrate this into the Star Model, this could not be created. Another example is related to the indicator *Crossings*. The model asserts that these should be present in all cardinal points for a high rating of publicness, but it does not say anything about the quality of the crossing points. Research showed (Gehl, 1996) that users prefer ground level crossings to an underpass or a bridge. Also, even when underpasses cannot be avoided, as it was seen when the model was applied in the case of Broomielaw, the model does not say anything about their quality. A well maintained and adequately lit underpass would be preferable to an unkempt and dark one.

In relation to the meta-theme of control, although the importance of a public space to foster political manifestations was discussed in the theoretical part, the indicators do not capture this. Although it is assumed that without an oppressive control presence, CCTV cameras, signs deterring behaviours or sadistic street furniture, the freedom of the people to use the public place according to their own wishes is ensured, the indicators do not actually measure this. In other words, in terms of the control dimension, the model does not say if the basic rights of people – freedom of speech, of assembly, of political manifestation – are respected or if they are infringed upon.

The failure of the indicators to capture the complexity of a meta-theme is most evident in relation to animation. As it was presented in Chapter 5, although the researcher tried to find other indicators to express this dimension, it was not possible at this stage. The main difficulty arose from the fact that the theoretical standard – a public place is more public when there is a larger and more diverse

public, performing a wider variety of activities – was very hard to translate into measurable indicators. This is related mainly to the fact that no absolute values could be given for the number and the diversity of users, and therefore no scaling from **5** to **1** was possible. Also, it is acknowledged that the highest publicness in terms of the indicator presented, *Diversity of activities*, described as 'more than 8 activities' is a relative value, introduced by the researcher for the purpose of being able to measure the meta-theme.

In retrospect, the researcher thought of another way to measure publicness, based on these five meta-themes and with solving the animation issue. This would mean to break the concept of publicness in two entities: *potential publicness* and *effective publicness*. The Star Model would comprise only four meta-themes ownership, physical configuration, civility and control and would measure the potential publicness. Different ways of measuring animation could be found (not based on the 1 to 5 scale) by using either observation or other methods such as user intercept surveys. This would represent the *effective publicness*. The disadvantage of this proposal is that the four limb Star Model could measure a very public, public place that would potentially be completely empty. In this situation, as the model would not be able to say anything about the users and the activities happening in a public place, it could not measure publicness *per se*; it could only say something about the conditions, favourable or not, for a public place to host a vibrant public life. It is felt that by taking out animation from the model, this would fail to measure and illustrate the complex nature of publicness as referring both to the 'place' and the 'public', but it is nevertheless an avenue worth of further inquiry.

Two practical recommendations related to the application of the Star Model in its present form are that first, when applying the Star Model, one should also pay attention to qualitative characteristics that the indicators cannot grasp such as the type of crossings, the type of greenery, the type of materials used for the street furniture etc. Second, in relation to the animation dimension, much more accurate data could be obtained by using teams of observers or video footage.

It is therefore recommended that the model is considered a prototype and that further research is needed in order to improve the current indicators or to find new

ones. One way to do this is by putting the model to discussion in different professional forums, where experts in each of the five meta-themes can provide their expertise related to the current indicators or offer new insights. More important though, the model needs further and large scale testing and one finding may be that this should be adapted to the different physical types of public places. For example, a Star Model can be devised for squares, one for parks or one for walkways etc.

Overall, this study can be seen as an experiment at the border between social and physical sciences, aiming to express in a formula, a complex social concept – the publicness of public space. It is felt that although a new conceptualisation of publicness was brought forward and an innovative way of measuring it was created, this is only the first, small step in a long journey towards more rigorous and more objective studies of the publicness of public space.

Bibliography

Adams, D. (1994), *Urban Planning and the Development Process*. London, UCL Press.

Allen, J. (2006) Ambient Power: Berlin's Potsdamer Platz and the Seductive Logic of Public Spaces. *Urban Studies*, 43 (2), pp. 441 – 455.

Allmendinger, P. (2002) *Planning Theory*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.

Altman, I. and Zube, E. H. eds. (1989) *Public places and spaces. Human Behaviour and Environment. Volume 10*. New York, Plenum Press.

Arendt, H. (1963*) On revolution*. New York, Viking Press.

Arendt, H. (1958) The public realm: the common. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press, pp. 5 – 12.

Atkinson, R. (2003) Domestication by Cappuccino or a Revenge on Urban Space? Control and empowerment in the management of public spaces. *Urban Studies*, 40 (9), pp. 1829 – 1843.

Banerjee, T. (2001) The Future of Public Space: Beyond Invented Streets and Reinvented Places. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67 (1), pp. 9 – 24.

Bannister, J., Fyfe, N. and Kearns, A. (2006) Respectable or respectful? In(civility) and the city. *Journal of Urban Studies*, 43 (5-6) May, pp. 919 – 937.

Benn, S. and Gaus, G. (1983) *Public and Private in Social Life*. London, Croom Helm.

Bentley, I. (1999) Heroes and servants, markets and battlefields. In Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. eds. (2007), *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Elsevier, pp. 323 – 331.

Bianchini, F. and Parkinson, M. eds. (1993) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Bishop, A. (2007) Outside the square? Aesthetic response to the contemporary architecture of Federation Square, Melbourne. *The Environmentalist*, 27(2), pp. 63 – 72.

Booth, P. and Boyle, R. (1993) See Glasgow, see culture. In Bianchini, F. and Parkinson, M. eds. (1994) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 21 – 47.

Boyle, M. and Hughes, G. (1994) The politics of urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow, *Geoforum*, 25 (4) November, pp. 453-470.

Boyd, R. (2006) The value of civility?.*Urban Studies*, 43 (5/6), pp. 863-878.

Braiden, G (2009*) High-street giants set for war over Glasgow Harbour project.* The Herald Scotland [Internet] 20 October. Available from: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news> [Accessed 20 November 2010]

Briffault, R. (1999) A Government for Our Time? Business Improvement Districts and Urban Governance. *Columbia Law Review*, 99 (2), pp. 365 – 477.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. eds. (2002) *Spaces of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe.* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Brown, A. ed. (2006) *Contested space: street trading, public space, and livelihoods in developing cities*. Rugby, ITDG Pub.

Bruttomesso, R. (2001) Complexity on the urban waterfront, in Marshall, R. ed. *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. London, Spon Press, pp. 39 – 49.

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*. 2nd edn. Oxford, University Press.

Burgess, R. (1984) *In The Field; an introduction to field research*. London, Routledge.

Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. eds. (1980) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. New York, St. Martin's Press.

CABE (2007) *Spaceshaper. A user's guide.* London [Internet], Available from: <www.webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk> [Accessed 5 March 2009]

Campbell, S. and Fainstein, S. eds. (1996) *Readings in Planning Theory*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Carmona, M. (2001) Implementing urban renaissance – problems, possibilities and plans in South East England. *Progress in Planning*, 56 (4) November, pp. 169 – 250.

Carmona, M. (2010a) Contemporary public space: critique and classification, part one: critique. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(1), pp. 125 –150.

Carmona, M. (2010b) Contemporary public space, part two: classification. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15 (2), pp. 265 – 281.

Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. eds. (2007) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Elsevier.

Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. (2003) *Public Spaces Urban Spaces: The dimension of urban design*. 1st edn. London, Architectural Press.

Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. (2010) *Public Spaces – Urban Spaces: The dimension of urban design*. 2nd edn. London, Architectural Press.

Carmona, M., de Magalhães, C. and Hammond, L. (2008), *Public Space: the Management Dimension*. Oxon, Routledge.

Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L. G., and Stone, A.M. (1992) *Public Space*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) (2008) *Breakthrough Glasgow. Ending the costs of social breakdown* [Internet] Available from < www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk> [Accessed 20february 2010]

CiDRE/EDAW (2001), *Clyde Corridor Regeneration Strategy, Cities Divided by Rivers in Europe Phase Two: Pilot Project Glasgow*. Glasgow, EDAW.

Clyde Waterfront Working Group (CWWG) (2002), *Clyde Rebuilt. A National Development Opportunity*. Glasgow, CWWG.

Colomb, C. (2007) Unpacking new labour's 'Urban Renaissance' agenda: towards a socially sustainable reurbanization of British cities?. *Planning, Practice and Research*, 22 (1) February, pp. 1 – 24.

Cook, I. (2008) Mobilising Urban Policies: The Policy Transfer of US Business Improvement Districts to England and Wales, *Urban Studies*, 45 (4), pp. 773 –795.

Cook, A., Marshall, R. and Raine, A. (2001*)* Port and city relations: San Francisco and Boston, in Marshall, R. (Ed.) *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. London, Spoon Press, pp. 117 - 133.

Concise Science Dictionary (1991) Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Couch, C., Fraser, C. and Percy, S. eds. (2003) *Urban Regeneration in Europe*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing,

Couch, C. and Fraser, C. (2003*)* Introduction: the European context and theoretical framework in Couch, C., Fraser, C. and Percy, S. eds. *Urban Regeneration in Europe*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 1 – 16.

Couch, C. (2003) Rotterdam: structural change and the port, in Couch, C., Fraser, C. and Percy, S. eds. *Urban Regeneration in Europe*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 109 – 124.

Creswell, T. (2004) *Place: A Short Introduction*. Cornwall, Blackwell.

Davis, M. (1990) *City of quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles*. London, Pimlico.

De Jong, M. W. (1991) Revitalizing the urban core: waterfront development in Baltimore, Maryland. In Fox-Prezerworski, J., Goddard J. and de Jong, M. *Urban Regeneration in a Changing Economy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 185 – 198.

Dickens, C. (1990) *Hard Times*. New York , W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

Desfor, G., and Jørgensen, J. (2004) Flexible urban governance. The case of Copenhagen's recent waterfront development. *European Planning Studies*, 12 (4) June, pp. 479 – 496.

DETR (1998) *Sustainability Counts: Consultation paper on a set of 'headline' indicators of sustainable development*. London, HMSO.

DCLG (2009) *World class places: The Government's strategy for improving quality of place*. London, HMSO

Dick, M (1986) *Half of Glasgow's Gone*. Glasgow, Brown, Son & Ferguson.

Dovey, K. (1999) *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London, Routledge.

Dovey, K. (2005) *Fluid City: Transforming Melbourne's Urban Waterfront*. London, Routledge.

Dovey, K., and Sandercock , L. (2002) Hype and hope. Imagining Melbourne's docklands. *City*, 6 (1), pp. 83 – 101.

Doucet, B. (2010) *Rich Cities with Poor People. Waterfront Regeneration in the Netherlands and Scotland*, PhD thesis, Utrecht University.

Ellickson, R. C. (1996) Controlling chronic misconduct in city spaces: of panhandlers, skid rows and public space zoning. *Yale Law Review*, 105 (5), pp. 1165-1248.

Ellin, N. ed. (1997) *Architecture of Fear*. New York, Princeton Architectural Press.

Feldman, M. (2000) Urban waterfront regeneration and local governance in Tallinn. *Europe- Asia Studies*, 52 (5) July, pp. 829 – 850.

Ferriss, L. A. (2002) Studying and measuring civility: a framework, trends and scale. *Sociological Inquiry*, 72 (3), pp. 376 – 392.

Florida, R. (2004) *The Rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York, Basic Books.

Flusty, S. (1997) Building paranoia. In Ellin, N. ed. *Architecture of Fear*. New York, Princeton Architectural Press, pp. 47 – 59.

Flusty, S. (2001) 'The banality of interdiction: surveillance, control and the displacement of diversity. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, 25 (5), pp. 658 – 664.

Forty, A (2001*)* Give public spaces back to the people. *The Independent* [Internet], 16 May. Available from:<www.independent.co.uk/opinion/comentators/> [Accessed 10 September 2008]

Foucault, M. (1986) *Of Other Spaces*. Diacritis, 16 (1), pp. 22 – 27.

Fox-Prezeworski, J., Goddard, J. and de Jong, M. eds. (1991) *Urban Regeneration in a Changing Economy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Franck K,. and Paxson L. (1989) Women and urban public space. In Altman, I and Zube, E. eds. *Public Places and Spaces. Human Behaviour and Environment. Volume 10.* New York, Plenum Press, pp.121- 146.

Fraser, N. (1990) Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy, *Social Text*, 25/26, pp. 56 – 80.

Friedmann, J. (2007) Reflections on place and place-making in the cities of China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **31** (2), pp. 257-279.

Furbey, R. A. (1999) Urban 'regeneration': reflections on a metaphor. *Critical Social Policy*, 19 (4) November, pp. 419 – 445.

Fyfe, N. R. and Bannister, J. (1996) City Watching: closed circuit television surveillance in public spaces. *Area*, 28 (1), pp. 37 – 46.

García, B. (2004) Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: lessons from experience, prospects for the future. *Local Economy*, 19(4), pp. 312 – 326.

Garcia, B. (2005) Deconstructing the City of Culture: the long-term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies*, 42 (5/6) May, pp. 841 – 868.

Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Structure Plan Joint Committee (2006), *Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan 2006. The Twenty Year Development Vision.* Glasgow, Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Structure Plan Joint Committee.

Glasgow City Council (1996) *The River of Dreams.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (1997) *Glasgow: Planning for Development.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2002) *Glasgow's Clyde Waterfront Regeneration*. Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2003) *River Design Framework*, Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2004a) *Clyde Waterfront Regeneration. Annual Report 2004.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2004b) *Glasgow. State of the City Economic Monitor*. Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2005) *Clyde Waterfront Regeneration. Annual Report 2005*. Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2007) *Glasgow's Tourism Strategy to 2016*. Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2008) *Glasgow City Council Executive Committee. Report by Councillor George Ryan, Executive Member for Development and Regeneration. Broomielaw Pavilions Development.* [Internet] Available from: <http://www.glasgowcitycouncil.co.uk/committee_minutes/public/Documents/> [Accessed 22 November 2010]

Glasgow City Council (2009a) *Development Opportunities in Glasgow 2009.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2009b) *Glasgow Economic Review.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2009c) *City Plan 2.* Glasgow, Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow Economic Forum (GEF) (2007) *Glasgow Economic Audit 2007: Summary Report,* report prepared by SLIMS Consulting for the Glasgow Economic Forum, Glasgow.

Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (n.d.) *Reflections. The Story of Glasgow Harbour Part 1: 1999 – 2006.* Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd.,

Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (2005) *Major Road Works and Infrastructure Improvements.* Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd.

Glasgow Urban Design Panel (2007) Minutes of Glasgow Urban Design panel, Thursday, 31st May [Internet]. Available at:< www.gia.org.uk/GUDP/Minutes> [Accessed on 15 June 2010]

Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings. Using Public Space,* Skive, Arkitektens Forlarg.

Gehl, J. and Gemzøe, L. (1999) *Public Spaces Public Life - Copenhagen 1996.* Copenhagen, The Danish Architectural Press and The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture Publishers.

Gehl, J. and Gemzøe, L. (2000) *New City Spaces.* Copenhagen, The Danish Architectural Press.

Gibb, A (1983) *Glasgow. The Making of a City.* Kent, Croom Helm.

Gillespies in association with Price & Cullen; P A Cambridge Economic Consultants; Douglas Baillie Associates & Drivers Jonas (1990) *Glasgow City Centre and The Clyde: Continuing the Renaissance,* report for Scottish Development Agency and Glasgow District Council, Glasgow.

Gillespies (1995) *Glasgow Public Realm, Strategy and Guidelines,* prepared for Strathclyde Regional Council, Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Development Agency. Glasgow.

Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces.* New York, The Free Press.

Goodsell, C. (2003) The concept of public space and its democratic manifestations, *American Review of Public Administration*, 33 (4), pp. 361 – 383.

Gomez, M. V. (1998) Reflective images: the case of urban regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22 (1), pp. 106 – 121.

Gordon, D. L. A. (1997a) Managing the changing political environment in urban waterfront redevelopment. *Urban Studies*, 34 (1), pp. 61 – 83.

Gordon, D. L.A. (1997b) Financing urban waterfront redevelopment. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63 (2), pp. 244-265

Gordon, I. and Buck, N. H. (2005) Cities in the new conventional wisdom. In Buck, N. H., Gordon, I., Harding, A. and Turok, I., eds. *Changing Cities: Rethinking Urban Competitiveness, Cohesion, and Governance*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1- 21.

Hall, S (2003) New Labour's double-shuffle, *Soundings,* pp. 10 – 24.

Graham News (2007) [Internet] Available at <www.graham.co.uk/publications>, [Accessed on 5 May 2010]

Habermas, J. (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

Hajer, M. and Reijndorp, A. (2001) *In Search of New Public Domain*. Rotterdam, NAI Publishers.

Harcourt, B. E and Ludwig J (2006) Broken Windows: New Evidence from New York City and a Five - City Social Experiment, *University of Chicago Law Review*, 73 (1), pp. 271 – 320

Hatcher, D. (2010) *Grosvenor sells Glasgow site to quango*. [Internet]. Available from <www.publicpropertyuk.com> [Accessed on 10 December 2010}

Healey, P. (1992) Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory. *Town Planning Review*, 63 (2) April, pp.143 – 162.

Hemphill, L, Berry, J and McGreal, S. (2004) An indicator – based approach to measuring sustainable urban regeneration performance: part 1, conceptual foundations and methodological framework. *Urban Studies*, 41 (4) April, pp. 725 – 755.

Hillier, B (1996) Cities as movement systems. *Urban Design International*, 1(1), pp. 47 – 60.

Hochleutner, B. R. (2003) BIDs fare well: The democratic accountability of business improvement districts. *New York University Law Review*, 78 April, pp. 374 – 404.

Holden, A. and Iveson, K. (2003) Designs on the urban: New Labour's urban renaissance and the spaces of citizenship. *City*, 7 (1) April, pp. 57 – 72.

Hoyle, B. (2000) Global and local change on the port-city waterfront. *Geographical Review*, 90 (3) July, pp. 395-417

Hoyle, B. (2001) Lamu. Waterfront revitalization in an east African port-city. *Cities*, 18 (5), pp. 297 - 313.

Hoyt, L. (2004) *The Business Improvement District: An Internationally Diffused Approach for Revitalization*, Washington, D.C., International Downtown Association, pp. 1 – 65.

Hoyt, L. (2005) Planning through compulsory commercial clubs: business improvement districts. *Economic Affairs*, 25 (4), pp. 24–27.

Hoyt, L. and Gopal – Agge, D. (2007) The Business Improvement District model: a balanced review of contemporary debates. *Geography Compass*, 1 (4), pp. 946 – 958.

Human Development Report (2007/2008*), Fighting climate change: Human solidarity in a divided world.* New York, UNDP.

Iveson, K. (1998) Putting the public back into public space. *Urban Policy and Research*, 16 (1), pp. 21-33.

Jauhlainen, J. S. (1995) Waterfront redevelopment and urban policy: the case of Barcelona, Cardiff and Genoa. *European Planning Studies*, 3 (1), pp. 3 – 23.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, Random House.

Jackson, J.B. (1980) The Discovery of the Street. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, New York, The Free Press, pp. 75 – 86.

Jackson, J.B. (1984) The American Public Space. in Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, New York, The Free Press, pp. 276 – 291.

Justice, J. and Skelcher, C. (2009) Analysing Democracy in Third-Party Government: Business Improvement Districts in the US and UK. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33 (3), pp. 738-753.

Kane, C. (2010) Our first truly digital building – Pacific Quay. BBC [Internet], 9 March. Available from < www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/spacesand places/2010/03/pacific_quay.shtml> [Accessed on 20 December 2010]

Keating, M. (1988) *The City that Refused to Die – Glasgow: The politics of urban regeneration.* Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press.

Killian, D. and Dodson, B. J. (1996) Forging a postmodern waterfront: urban form and spectacle at the Victoria and Alfred Docklands. *South African Geographical Journal*, 71(1), pp. 29 – 40.

Knox, P. (1987) The social production of the built environment: architects, architecture and the post – Modern city in Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. eds. (2007) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Elsevier, pp. 114 – 125.

Knox, P. and Ozolins P. eds. (2000) *Design Professionals and the Built Environment*. Chichester, Wiley.

Kohn, M. (2004) *Brave New Neighbourhoods: The Privatization of Public Space*. London, Routledge.

Kohn Pederson Fox (2000) Masterplan for the Glasgow Harbour Development, Glasgow

Korthals Altes, W. K. (2002) Local government and the decentralisation of urban regeneration policies in the Netherlands. *Urban Studies*, 39 (8) July, pp. 1439-1452.

Koskela, H. (2000) 'The gaze without eyes': video-surveillance and the changing nature of urban space, *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (2), pp. 243-265.

LaFarge, A. ed. (2000) *The Essential William H. Whyte*. New York, Forham University Press.

La Grange, R. L., Ferraro, K. F. and Suponcic, M. (1992) Perceived risk and fear of crime: The role of social and physical incivilities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29 (3), pp. 311 – 334.

LeGates, R. T. and Stout, F eds. (2003) *The City Reader*. New York, Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwells.

Leith, J. A. (1991) *Space and Revolution; Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789 – 1799*. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Levy, P. (2001) Paying for public life. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 15 (2), pp. 124–131.

Llewwlyn Davies (2000) *Urban Design Compendium*. London, English Partnership/Housing Corporation.

Lofland, L.H. (1998) *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory*. New York, Aldine de Gruyter.

Loukaitou – Sideris, A. and Banarjee, T. (1998*) Urban Design Downtown: Poetics and Politics of Form*. Berkley, University of California Press.

Lovatt, A. and O'Connor, J. (1995) Cities and the night time economy. *Planning Practice and Research*, 10 (2) May, pp. 127 – 134.

Low, S. (1997) Urban public spaces as representations of culture: the plaza in Costa Rica. *Environment and Behaviour*, 29 (1) January, pp. 3 – 33.

Low, S. (2000) *On the Plaza: the Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin, University of Texas Press.

Low, S. & Smith, N. eds. (2006) *The Politics of Public Space*. London, Routledge.

Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

Lynch, K. (1965) The Openness of Open Space. In Banerjee, T. and Southworth, M. eds. (1991) *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*. Cambridge Mass, MIT Press, pp. 396 – 412.

Lynch, K. and Carr, S. (1979) Open Space: Freedom and Control, in Banerjee, T. and Southworth, M. eds. (1991) *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*. Cambridge Mass, MIT Press, pp. 413- 417.

MacLeod, G. (2002) From urban entrepreneurialism to a ' revanchist city'? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow's renaissance. *Antipode*, 34 (3), pp. 602 - 624.

Madanipour, A. (1999) Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities? *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 26, pp. 879 – 891.

Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. London, Routledge.

Madanipour, A (2004) Marginal Public Spaces in European Cities. *Journal of Urban Design*, **9** (3), pp. 267 – 286.

Marcuse, P. (2005) The 'threat of terrorism' and the right to the city. *Fordham Urban law Journal*, 32 (4), pp. 767 – 785.

Marshall, R. ed. (2001a) *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. London, Spon Press.

Marshall, R. (2001b) Waterfronts, development and World Heritage cities: Amsterdam and Havana. In Marshall, R. ed. *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*, London, Spon Press, pp. 137 – 159.

Marshall, R. (2001c) Remaking the image of the city: Bilbao and Shanghai in Marshall, R. ed. *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. London, Spon Press, pp. 53 - 73.

Massey, D. (2005) *for space*. London, Sage.

Massey, D.B. and Catalano, A. (1978) *Capital and land: Landownership by capital in Great Britain.* London, Arnold.

MacKay, D. (2006) The changing nature of public space – CCTV. *Security Journal,* 19, pp. 128 – 142.

McCarthy, J. (1998) Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging: the case of Rotterdam. *Cities*, 15 (5) October, pp. 337 – 344.

McIvor, A. (2010) Glasgow City Council issues spending cuts warning. *BBC* [Internet] 24 June Available from < http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10394337> [Accessed 20 November 2010]

McIntosh, S (1991) Atlantic Quay International Class. *The Herald Scotland* [Internet], 27 March. Available from: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen> [Accessed 30 November 2010]

McMahon, M. D. (1996) The birthplace of the revolution: public space and political community in the Palais – Royale of Louise – Philippe – Joseph D'Orleans, 1781 – 1789, *French History*, 10 (1), pp. 1 – 29.

Mean, M. and Tims, C. (2005) *People Make Places: Growing the Public Life of Cities*. London, Demos.

Mensch, J. (2007) Public space. *Continental Philosophy Review*, 40, pp. 31 – 47.

Miles, M. (2000) After the Public Realm: Spaces of Representation, Transition and Plurality. *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, 19 (3), pp. 253 – 261.

Millie, A. (2009) Respect and city living: contest or cosmopolitanism? In Millie, A. ed. *Securing respect. Behavioural expectations and anti – social behaviour in the UK*. Bristol, Policy Press, pp. 193 – 218.

Millie, A. and Herrington, V. (2005) Bridging the gap: understanding reassurance policing. *The Howard Journal*, 44 (1) February, pp. 41 – 56.

Millspaugh, M. L. (2001) Waterfronts as catalysts for city renewal. In Marshall, R. ed. *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*. London, Spon Press, pp. 74 – 85.

Mitchell, D. (1995) The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85 (1), pp. 108 – 133.

Mitchell, D. (2003) *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York, Guildford Press.

Mumford, L. (1961) *The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and World.

Nagel, T. (1995) Personal Rights and Public Space. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 24 (2), pp. 83 – 107.

Nasar, J. L. (1998) *The Evaluative Image of the City*. London, Sage.

National Planning Framework for Scotland 2 [Internet]. Available from <http://www.scotland.gov.uk> [Accessed 4 September 2010]

Nemeth, J. and Schmidt, S. (2007) Toward a methodology for measuring the security of publicly accessible spaces. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 73 (3), pp. 283 – 284.

Nemeth, J. and Schmidt, S. (2011) The privatization of public space: modeling and measuring publicness. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 38 (1), pp. 5 – 23.

Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. (1999) The Fortress, the Panoptic, the Regulatory and the Animated: Planning and urban design approaches to safer city centres. *Landscape Research*, 24 (3), pp. 265 – 286.

Ogilvie, D., Egan, M., Hamilton, V., Petticrew, M. (2004) Promoting walking and cycling as an alternative to using cars: systematic review, *BMJ,* [Internet], Available from <www.bmj.com/content/329/7469/763.full.pdf > [Accessed 2 August 2010].

Oldenburg, R. (1999) *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York, Marlowe & Company.

Olmsted, F. L. (1870) Public parks and the enlargement of towns. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press, pp. 222 – 263.

Orum, M. A. (2010) *Introduction*. In Orum, M. A. and Neal, P. Z. eds. *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space*. New York, Taylor and Francis, pp. 13 – 17.

Orum, M. A. and Neal, P. Z. eds. (2010) *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space*. New York, Taylor and Francis.

Pacione, M. (1995) *Glasgow: the Socio-Spatial Development of the City.* Chichester*,* Wiley and Sons.

Parkinson et al. (2006) *State of the English Cities: A Research Study*. London, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Stationery Office.

Peet, R. (1999) *Theories of Development*. New York, The Guilford Press.

Phillips, T. and Smith, P. (2006) Rethinking urban incivility research: strangers, bodies and circulations, *Urban Studies*, 43 (5-6), pp. 878 – 902.

Planning etc. (Scotland) Act (2006) [Internet], Available from <http://www.legislation.gov.uk > [Accessed 1 April 2010]

Porta, S. and Latora, V. (2008) Centrality and cities: multiple centrality assessment as a tool for urban analysis and design. In Haas, T. ed. *New Urbanism and*

Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future. New York, Rizzoli International, pp. 140 – 145.

Pucher, J. and Buehler, R. (2010) Walking and cycling for healthy cities, *Built Environment*, 36 (4) December, pp. 391 – 414.

Punter, J. (1990) The privatisation of the public realm. *Planning Practice and Research*, 5 (3), pp. 9-17.

Punter, J. (2007) Design – led regeneration? Evaluating the design outcomes of Cardiff Bay and their implications for future regeneration and design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12 (3) October, pp. 375 – 405.

Punter, J. ed. (2010) *Urban Design and the British Renaissance*. London, Routledge.

Raco, M. (2003) Remaking place and securitising space: urban regeneration and the strategies, tactics and practices of policing in the UK, *Urban Studies*, 40 (9) August, pp. 1869 – 1887.

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placesness*, London, Pion.

Riddell, J. F. (2000) *The Clyde. The Making of a River*. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

Robertson, J. (1981) The current crisis of disorder. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press, pp. 472 – 498.

Rodriguez, A., Martinez, E. and Guenaga, G. (2001) Uneven redevelopment. New urban policies and socio-spatial fragmentation in metropolitan Bilbao. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 8 (2), pp. 161 – 178.

Sandercock, L., and Dovey, K. (2002) Pleasure, politics and the public interest: Melbourne's riverscape revitalization. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 68 (2), pp. 151 – 164.

Scottish Planning Policy (2010) [Internet], Available from < http://www.scotland.gov.uk> [Accessed 9 September 2010]

Sennett, R. (1977) *The Fall of Public Man.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sennett, R. (1990) *The Conscience of the Eye: the Design and Social Life of Cities.* London, Faber & Faber.

Shaftoe, H. (2008) *Convivial Public Spaces: Creating effective public places*. London, Earthscan.

Shaw, B. (2001) History at the water's edge. In Marshall, R. ed. *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities.* London, Spon Press, pp. 160 – 172.

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin*. London, Routledge.

Sitte, C. (1889) Monuments and plazas. In Glazer, N and Lilla, M ed. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, The Free Press, New York, pp.48 – 59.

Starr, R. (1984) The motive behind Olmsted's park. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press.

Scruton, R. (1984) The Public Interest. In Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press, pp. 13 – 25.

Sklair, L. (2006) Iconic architecture and capitalist globalization. *City*, 10 (1) April, pp. 21 – 47.

Sorkin, M. ed. (1992) *Variations on a theme park: the new American city and the end of public space*. New York, Hill and Wang.

Staeheli, L., and Mitchell, D. (2008) *The People's Property? Power, Politics, and the Public*. New York, Routledge.

Stevens, Q. (2006) The design of urban waterfronts. A critique of two Australian 'Southbanks'. *Town Planning Review*, 77 (2) pp. 173 – 203.

Stevens, Q., and Dovey, K. (2004) Appropriating the spectacle: play and politics in a leisure landscape. *Journal of Urban Design*, 9 (3) October, pp. 351-365.

Stewart, S. (2006) The GBP60m bridge that's now GBP22m. Council asks for new plan after original costs soared. *The Herald Scotland* [Internet] 16 May. Available from: <www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen> [Accessed on 21 August 2010]

Strong, T. and Hénaff, M. (2001) *Public Space and Democracy*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Taylor, N (1998) *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*. London, Sage.

Teir, R. (1993) Maintaining safety and civility in public spaces: A constitutional approach to panhandling. *Louisiana Law Review*, 54(2), pp. 285 – 338.

Tibbalds, F. (1992) *Making People Friendly Towns*. Essex, Longman.

Tiesdell, S. (2010) Glasgow: renaissance on the Clyde? In Punter, J. ed. *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance*. Oxon, Routledge, pp. 262 – 280.

Town and Country Planning Act (Scotland) (1997) [Internet], Available from < http://www.legislation.gov.uk > [Accessed 15 September 2010]

Tuan Yi-Fu (1977) *Space and Place: The perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Tucker, M. (2008) The cultural production of cities: rhetoric or reality? Lessons from Glasgow. *Journal of Retail and Leisure Property*, 7, pp. 21 – 33.

Unwin, N. C. (1995) Promoting the public benefits of cycling. *Public Health*, 109 (1) January, pp. 41 – 46.

Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance*. London, Spon.

Urban Task Force (2005) *Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance*. London, Spon. [Internet], Available from: <www.urbantaskforce.org/UTF_final_report.pdf> [Accessed 20 April 2008]

Van Melik, R., Van Aalst, I. and van Weesep, J. (2007) Fear and fantasy in the public domain: the development of secured and themed urban space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12 (1), pp. 25 – 42.

Vindevoegel, F (2005) Private security and urban crime mitigation: a bid for BIDs. *Criminal Justice*, 5 (3), pp. 233 – 255.

Waterfront Communities Project (WCP) (2007) *The Cool Sea. Waterfront Communities Project Toolkit*. Edinburgh, WCP.

Webster, C. (2007) Property rights, public space and urban design. *Town Planning Review*, 78 (1), pp. 81 – 102.

Whyte, W. H. (1959) *Securing Open Space for Urban America: Conservation Easements*, in LaFarge, A. ed. (2000) *The Essential William H. Whyte*. New York, Forham University Press, pp. 141 – 158.

Whyte, W. H. (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Washington DC, Conservation Foundation.

Whyte, W. H. (1988) *City. Rediscovering the Centre*. New York, Doubleday.

Wilkinson, S. and Reed, R. (2008) *Property Development*. Abingdon, Routledge.

Wilson, J. Q. and Kelling, G. L. (1982) The Police and Neighbourhood Safety, *Atlantic Monthly,* March, pp. 29-38

Wood, R., and Handley, J. (1999) Urban waterfront regeneration in the Mersey Basin, North West England. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 42 (4), pp. 565 – 580.

Wu, W. (2004) Cultural strategies in Shanghai: regenerating cosmopolitanism in an era of globalization. *Progress in Planning*, 61 (3) April, pp. 159 – 180.

Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, University Press.

Young, I.M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkley, University of California Press.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Zukin, S. (2000) Whose culture? Whose city*?* In Orum, M.A. and Neal, Z. P. (2010) eds. *Common Ground? Readings and Reflections on Public Space*. New York, Taylor and Francis, pp. 110 – 117.

Internet sites:

www.cabe.co.uk

http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk

www.clydeport.com

www.clydewaterfront.com

www.garethhoskinsarchitects.co.uk

www.glasgow.gov.uk

www.glasgowharbour.com

www.heraldscotland.com

www.lfsdglasgow.co.uk

www.landengineering.co.uk

http://news.stv.tv/scotland

http://partick.eveningtimes.co.uk/area/particks-past-1.html

www.pps.org

www.richardrogers.co.uk

www.saferglasgow.com

www.scotish-enterprise.presscentre.com

www.skyscrapercity.com

www.thefreedictionary.com

Annexe 1 - INTERVIEW PRO FORMA

INTRODUCTION (5 MIN)

Purpose of the research

Explaining who I am, the research and why the person is being interviewed. Presenting the Ethics Form and the options the interviewee has.

FIRST PART (5 – 10 MIN)

The publicness of public space

The research is about public space and the publicness of public space. Public space is an often taken for granted term, but in reality it is a complex and fairly ambiguous concept. As part of the research, a conceptual model for analysing the publicness of public space has been developed and to start, I would like to explore what is your understanding of public space…

SECOND PART (15 – 20 MIN)

The development story

Inquiring into the development process of the particular site (stages, actors, outcomes)

Questions:

- What was your role in the development process?
- How did the development start – what were the main vision, objectives…?
- What was the role of public space in the overall project? (was it a key consideration? If yes, why? If not, why not?)
- Were there any key moments in the development process that you consider affected the overall result (and especially the public places)? Were there any decisions that you consider, in retrospect, as not necessarily the right ones? (were there any moments when things could have been done differently?)
- How did the relationship between the public and the private sectors worked? (any frictions, disagreements? – especially related to public space)

THIRD PART (20 – 30 MIN)

The new public place (the product)

Discussion under the five meta-themes and keeping in mind the indicators (show pictures when necessary).

1. **Ownership**
   - Who owns the new public palace? Who owned it before? (if a public actor – did the Council take interest in acquiring the new public place? Reasons?)

2. Physical configuration

- Macro – design: connectivity, visibility, accessibility
  - ask about crossings/public walkways and cycle routes in each cardinal point . In addition the issue of fences (if present – why are they there? Will the public place be fenced in the future?)
  - issues to keep in mind (In Pacific Quay – the connection south – car parks, lack of development in the central part of the site; In Glasgow Harbour – the bridge to Govan and the sinking of the expressway – why weren't they realised?; in Broomielaw – the barrier re[resented by Broomielaw St.)
- Micro – design: furniture – sitting opportunities; pavements; public art/other elements of active engagement; active frontages
  - why were the benches positioned like this, why the particular materials...
  - was a particular consideration places on paving materials?
  - was there a focus on 'interesting elements'? (public art, elements for play for children etc.)
  - why are there no active frontages in the surrounding buildings? (In Pacific Quay - why two large occupiers and not a variety of smaller building blocks? In Glasgow Harbour – why were there active frontages present in the masterplan and lacking on site; In Broomielaw – the large office buildings adjacent to Broomielaw St., the presence of the future pavilions)

3. Animation

- Issues such as: what were the main categories of users the development was intended for? (locals, tourists?) – was the place meant as a touristic destination?
- Was there any particular concern for the future uses of the new public place? (what should the main activities be?)
- Generally the new public places seem empty (especially Pacific Quay and Glasgow Harbour). Why do you think this is happening, especially when the plans/documents portray a regenerated, vibrant waterfront? Do you think (are there any plans) to enhance animation on the waterfront (and on the water – why is the Clyde lacking activity?)

4. Control

- discuss the issues of police/guards presence; CCTV cameras (why are they present in each public place?); signs deterring behaviours and sadistic street furniture
- was the new public place meant as an inclusive type of public place or was it a concern to exclude certain users? (pristine new spaces to attract tourists and businesses?)

5. Civility

- discuss the management regime – who is in charge with maintaining and cleaning the public place? (were other management mechanisms considered?)

- discuss the green space – who is in charge of maintaining it? (the Green Network strategy on the waterfront – was that taken into consideration in the new public places?)
- Public toilets – there are none present - why?
- Lighting – was there a focus on the lighting strategy? What kind of lighting is in place? (was there a concern for the ambience in the evening and night time? – warm vs. cold lighting)

FOURTH PART (10 – 15 MIN)

Concluding remarks

- the publicness of new public places on the waterfront on the whole
- how would you like to see the waterfront in 10 years' time? (where do you think regeneration was most successful and why?
- Anything you would like to add?

Thank you,
I hope to meet you again

Annexe 2 – OBSERVATION DAYS AND GENERAL WEATHER CONDITIONS

Date (2009)	Day of the week	Case study public place	Temperature	Humidity and wind
20th September	Sunday	Glasgow Harbour	Mean: 10°C[1] Max: 16°C	81 11km/hour
25th September	Friday	Broomielaw	Mean: 14°C Max: 15°C	85 17km/hour
28th September	Monday	PQ and SECC	Mean: 14°C Max: 15°C	92 21km/hour
5th October	Monday	Glasgow Harbour	Mean: 8°C Max: 14°C	82 7km/hour
11th October	Sunday	PQ and SECC	Mean: 10°C Max: 14°C	76 17km/hour
16th October	Friday	Glasgow Harbour	Mean: 9°C Max: 14°C	82 4km/hour
19th October	Monday	Broomielaw	Mean: 9°C Max: 12°C	92 5km/hour
23rd October	Friday	PQ and SECC	Mean: 10°C Max: 13°C	92 9km/hour
8th November	Sunday	Broomielaw	Mean: 9°C Max: 14°C	90 4km/hour

---

[1] Data from: www.wunderground.com

Annexe 3 – Non-Time Dependent Observation Audit Pro-Forma

1. PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION

---

1. MACRO DESIGN: CROSSINGS

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Crossing points present in all cardinal directions

4 = Crossing points present in only three cardinal directions

3 = Crossing points present in only two cardinal directions

2 = Crossing points present in only one cardinal direction

1 = None

FIELD NOTES

---

2. MACRO DESIGN: PUBLIC WALKWAYS

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Connecting the public place in all four cardinal directions

4 = Connecting the public place in three cardinal directions

3 = Connecting the public place in two cardinal directions

2 = Connecting the public place in one direction

1 = None

FIELD NOTES

---

1. MACRO DESIGN: CYCLE ROUTES

5	4	3	2	1
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = The public place is connected in all cardinal directions by cycle routes

4 = The public place is connected in three cardinal directions by cycle routes

3 = The public place is connected in two cardinal directions by cycle routes

2 = The public place is connected in only one cardinal direction by cycle routes

1 = The public place is not connected by cycle routes in any cardinal direction

FIELD NOTES

---

2. MACRO DESIGN: FENCES

5	4	3	2	1
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = No physical restrictions to access (no fences)

4 = Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: lower than the average person's height/small fence or tall fence, higher than the average person's height but see through; access points present in three or four cardinal directions

3 = Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: lower than the average person's height/small fence or tall fence, higher than the average person's height but see through; access points present in one or two cardinal directions

2 = Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: opaque fence, higher than an average person's height; access points present in three or four cardinal directions

1 = Fence surrounding the site; type of fence: opaque, higher than the average person's height; access points present in one or two cardinal directions

FIELD NOTES

1. MICRO DESIGN: SITTING OPPORTUNITIES

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Presence of benches at regular intervals, mainly along the edge of the site; benches are designed to be comfortable; there are many informal sitting opportunities (more than two types) such as: decks, statues or fountain plinths etc.; there can be landscapes of sitting opportunities (amphitheatre type)

4 = Presence of benches at regular intervals, mainly along the edge of the site and positioned towards the main viewing landscape (the public place or the river or the main attraction) or towards the main pedestrian flow; benches are not comfortable and are not positioned necessarily to facilitate conversation; there are many informal sitting opportunities (more than two types) such as: plinths, decks etc.

3 = Presence of benches in one or two clusters , they are not positioned at regular intervals, often being too far apart and as such missing in key areas of the site and not necessarily directed towards the main viewing landscape or pedestrian flow; benches are designed to be comfortable; there are one or two types of informal sitting opportunities

2 = Presence of benches in one or two clusters , they are not positioned at regular intervals, often being too far apart and as such missing in key areas of the site and not necessarily directed towards the main viewing landscape or pedestrian flow; benches are not comfortable; there are one or two types of informal sitting opportunities

1 = No benches and no informal sitting opportunities

FIELD NOTES

2. MICRO DESIGN: WALKING OPPORTUNITIES

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Even and easily walkable surface on the entire paved area of the site

4 = Even and easily walkable surface in more than approximately 75% of the paved area of the site

3 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 50% and 75% of the paved area of the site

2 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 25% and 50% of the paved area of the site

1 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately below 25% of the paved area of the site

FIELD NOTES

3. MICRO DESIGN: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND DISCOVERY

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = More than three different elements (statues, fountains, opportunities for play etc.) for active engagement and discovery

4 = Three different elements for active engagement and discovery

3 = Two different elements for active engagement and discovery

2 = One element for active engagement and discovery

1 = No elements for active engagement and discovery

FIELD NOTES

---

4. MICRO DESIGN: ACTIVE FRONTAGES

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = More than 15 premises every 100 m; more than 25 doors and windows every 100m; large range of functions; no blind facades and few passive ones; much depth and relief in the building surface; high quality materials and refined details

4 = 10-15 premises every 100m; more than 15 doors and windows every 100m; moderate range of functions; a few blind or passive facades; some depth and modelling in the building surface; good quality materials and refine details

3 = 6-10 premises every 100m; some range of functions; less than half blind or passive facades; very little depth and modelling in the building surface; standard materials and few details

2 = 3-5 premises every 100m; little or no range of functions; predominantly blind or passive facades; flat building surface; few or no details

1 = 1-2 premises every 100m; no range of functions; predominantly blind or passive facades; flat building surfaces; no details and nothing to look at

FIELD NOTES

---

2. CONTROL

1. CONTROL TECHNOLOGY: CCTV CAMERAS

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = No cameras

4 = Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; covert type of surveillance - cameras are hard to see

3 = Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; overt type of surveillance - cameras are highly visible

2 = A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are hard to see

1 = A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are highly visible

FIELD NOTES

1. CONTROL BY DESIGN: SADISTIC STREET FURNITURE

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = No sadistic street furniture

4 = Presence of one element of sadistic street furniture and only in one or two places across the site

3 = Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in several places throughout the site (less than half of the area)

2 = Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in multiple places throughout the site (more than half of the area)

1 = Presence of multiple elements of sadistic street furniture (more than three) throughout the entire site

FIELD NOTES

2. CONTROL BY DESIGN: SIGNAGE

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = No signs deterring behaviours

4 = Sign(s) deterring one behaviour

3 = Sign(s) deterring two behaviours

2 = Sign(s) deterring three behaviours

1 = Sign(s) deterring more than three behaviours

FIELD NOTES

3. CIVILITY

1. CIVILITY: PHYSICAL MAINTENANCE AND CLEANSING REGIME OF HARD LANDSCAPED AREAS AND STREET FURNITURE

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = The place is spotless – tidy and clean, no rubbish or clutter and no signs of vandalising; bins are present throughout the entire area and are in good state (not broken and not overspillling)

4 = The place is generally tidy and but there are slight signs of wear and tear; bins are present throughout most of the area and are in a good state (not broken and not overspillling)

3 = The place presents several untidy and dirty areas (less than 50% of the site); there might be one or two areas with signs of vandalizing such as graffiti or broken elements (of pavements or street furniture); there are few bins looking untidy (some may have broken elements or may be overspillling)

2 = The place is generally untidy and dirty (between 50% and 75% of the area), several signs of vandalising may be present (broken street furniture or pavements, graffiti); there are few bins, may be overspillling or broken

1 = The place is very untidy and dirty (more than 75% of the area); there are many instances of broken elements (street furniture or pavements) and vandalising, such as graffiti; there are only one or two bins in a bad state (broken or overspillling) or they might be missing completely

FIELD NOTES

2. CIVILITY: PHYSICAL MAINTENANCE AND PROVISION OF GREEN AREAS

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				**low publicness**

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Tidy, trimmed, healthy

4 = Tidy and just slight signs of wear and tear

3 = Several signs of deterioration (broken or unhealthy looking trees, trampled or missing grass)

 2 = Serious signs of deterioration, green space looks overgrown and untidy

 1 = No green space

FIELD NOTES

3. CIVILITY: PHYSICAL PROVISION OF BASIC FACILITIES: PUBLIC TOILETS

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**

high publicness	low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = Present, easy to find and well maintained; free access

4 = Present, easy to find and not well maintained, free access

3 = Present, hard to find , well maintained, free access

2 = Present, hard to find , not well maintained or toilet with paid access

1 = No toilets

FIELD NOTES

---

4. CIVILITY: PHYSICAL PROVISION OF BASIC FACILTIES: LIGHTING

5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
high publicness				low publicness

DESCRIPTORS

5 = All areas of the site are well lit, there are no dark corners, the light is warm and creates a pleasant and safe ambience; there may be multiple lighting strategies

4 = There are only one or two areas in the site that are not properly lit and look dark; otherwise approximately more than 75% of the area is well lit; the light is warm or friendly; there may be more than one lighting strategies

3 = Only approximately half of the area is well lit with several dark areas; there is no particular consideration of the type of lighting – standard and one type of lighting strategy
2 = Only approximately 25% of the site is well lit, there is generally a dark and unfriendly, unsafe ambience, one type of lighting

1 = One or two lights or no lights at all across the site; the site is predominantly dark, unfriendly, unsafe; lights may be broken or vandalized

FIELD NOTES

Annexe 4 – TIME – DEPENDENT OBSERVATION AUDIT PRO FORMA

BACKGROUND INFORMATION						
Observation Time						
Observation point						
Weather conditions	Overcast		Raining		Windy	
	Sunny		Average day temperature		Calm	

CONTROL PRESENCE	
Police officers	
Private guards	

ANIMATION	
Presence of street vendors	
Presence of street entertainers	

ANIMATION – DIVERSITY OF USERS						
Total number						
Age	Children	Teenagers	Young	Middle Aged	Pensioners	
Gender	Female					
	Male					
Ethnicity	White		Black		Asian	Other

ACTIVITIES				
Type of activity	**Users**	**Time spent**	**Users**	**Time spent**
Passing through				
Strolling				
Standing				
Sitting down				
Cycling				
Jogging				
Playing				
Eating				
Drinking				
Walking the dog				

Walking the baby (mothers/fathers with baby prams)				
Other				

M	**W**	**C**
	B	**T**
		Y
	A	**M**
		P
F	**W**	**C**
	B	**T**
		Y
	A	**M**
		P

NOTES

Annexe 5 – Interviews

Charlie Gordon, former leader of the Glasgow City Council (2009) *Interview with Charlie Gordon, former leader of Glasgow City Council.* By Georgiana Varna. Queen's Park Football Club, Lesser Hampden, Glasgow.

Euan Jamieson, managing director Glasgow Harbour Ltd., property director of Clydeport (2009)*Interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director Glasgow Harbour Ltd., property director of Clydeport.* By Georgiana Varna. Clydeport Headquarters, 16 Robertson St., Glasgow.

Tom McInally, spokesman for Clydeport and independent planner (2009) *Interview with Tom McInally, spokesman for Clydeport and independent planner.* By Georgiana Varna. McInally Associates, 6 Newton Road, Glasgow.

Nina Baker, politician, councillor for Anderston/ Glasgow City Centre (2009) *Interview with Nina Baker, politician, councillor for Anderston/ Glasgow City Centre.* By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Jim Fitzsimons, developer, chief executive Capella Group (2009) *Interview with Jim Fitzsimons, developer, chief executive Capella Group.* By Georgiana Varna. Capella Group, 6/7 Blythswood Square, Glasgow.

Craig Millar, spokesman for Scottish Enterprise (2009) *Interview with Craig Millar, spokesman for Scottish Enterprise.* By Georgiana Varna. Scottish Enterprise Headquarters, Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies (2009) *Interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies.* By Georgiana Varna. Gillespies, 21 Carlton Court, Glasgow.

Willie Miller, freelance urban designer (2009) *Interview with Willie Miller, freelance urban designer.* By Georgiana Varna. Willie Miller Urban Design, 20 Victoria Crescent, Glasgow.

Jim Armour, Graham Construction (2009) *Interview with Jim Armour, Graham Construction.* By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Alin Collin, architect BDP (2009) *Interview with Alin Collin, architect BDP.* By Georgiana Varna*. BDP Headquarters*, 15 Exchange Place, Glasgow.

Graham Forsyth, architect Coopers Cromar (2009) Interview with Graham Forsyth, architect Coopers Cromar. By Georgiana Varna. Coopers Cromar Headquarters, 457 Sauchiehall St., Glasgow.

Ethel May Abel, planner in charge with the River Clyde, Development and Regeneration Services, Glasgow City Council (2009)*Interview with Ethel May Abel, planner in charge with the River Clyde, Development and Regeneration Services, Glasgow City Council.By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council: Glasgow*

Blair Greenock, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services (2009) *Interview with Blair Greenock, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services.* By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Fotula Adrimi, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services (2009) *Interview with Fotula Adrimi, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services*. By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

William Douglas, project manager for Broomielaw public realm improvements, Glasgow City Council, Land and Environmental Services (2009) *Interview with William Douglas, project manager for Broomielaw public realm improvements, Glasgow City Council, Land and Environmental Services.* By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Bill Love, operations manager for Glasgow City Council, Community and Safety Services (2009) *Interview with Bill Love, operations manager for Glasgow City Council, Community and Safety Services.* By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Elaine Murray, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services (2009) *Interview with Elaine Murray, planner Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services*. By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.

Gerry Grams, architect, City Design Advisor Glasgow (2009) *Interview with Gerry Grams, architect, City Design Advisor Glasgow*. By Georgiana Varna. Glasgow City Council, Glasgow.
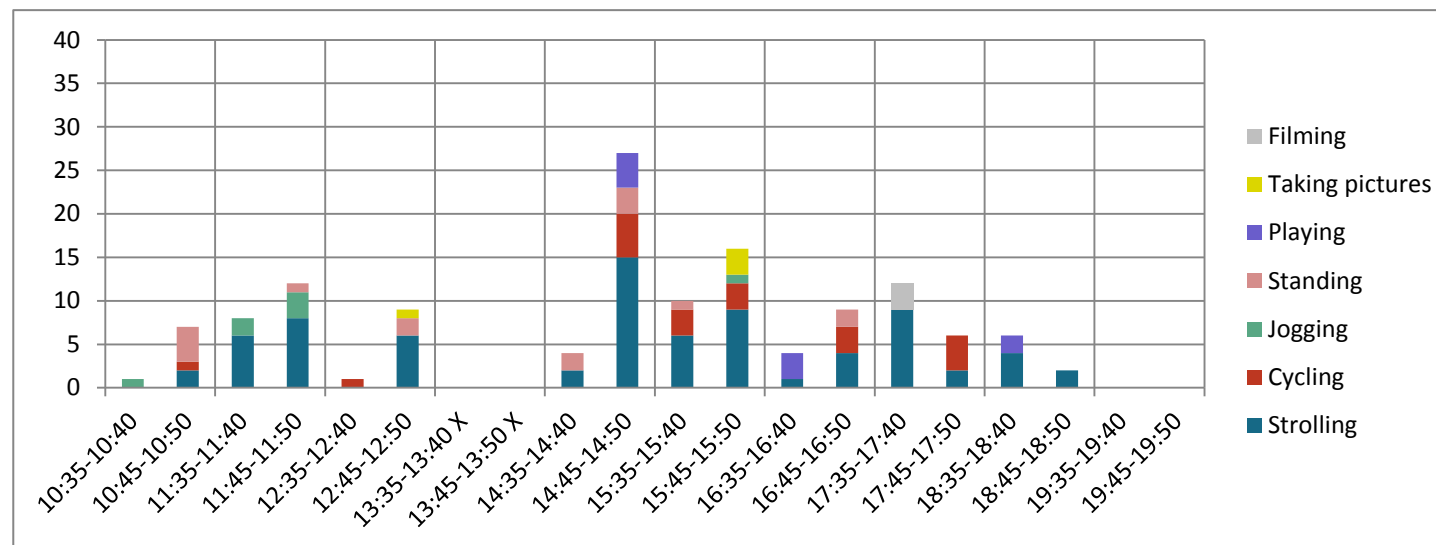
Annexe 6 - The detailed observations for the public place at Pacific Quay (the :35 - :40 interval represents the first observation area P1 while the :45-:50 interval represents the second observation area P2)
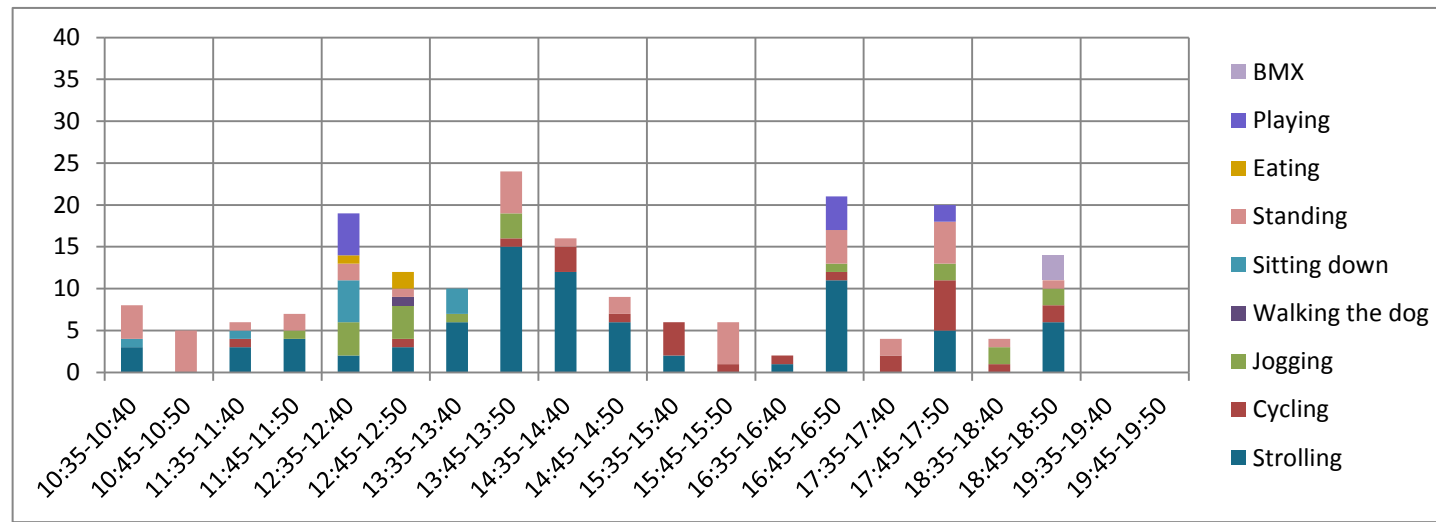
Observations performed on Monday
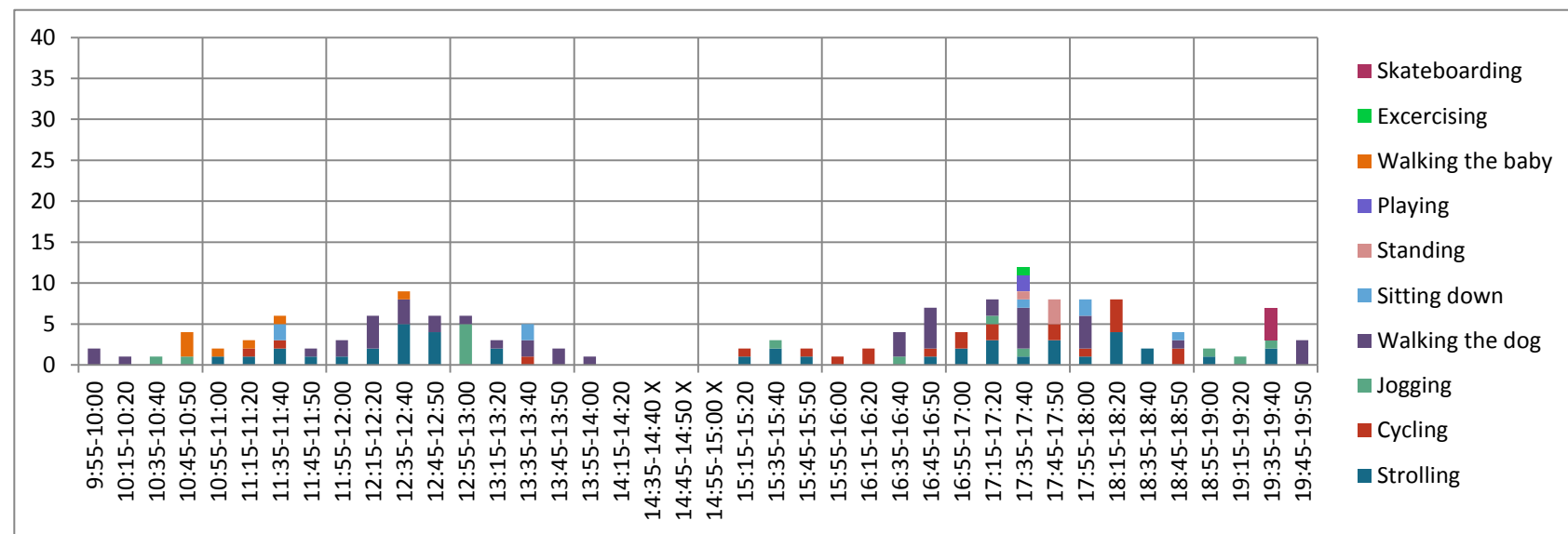28.09.2009
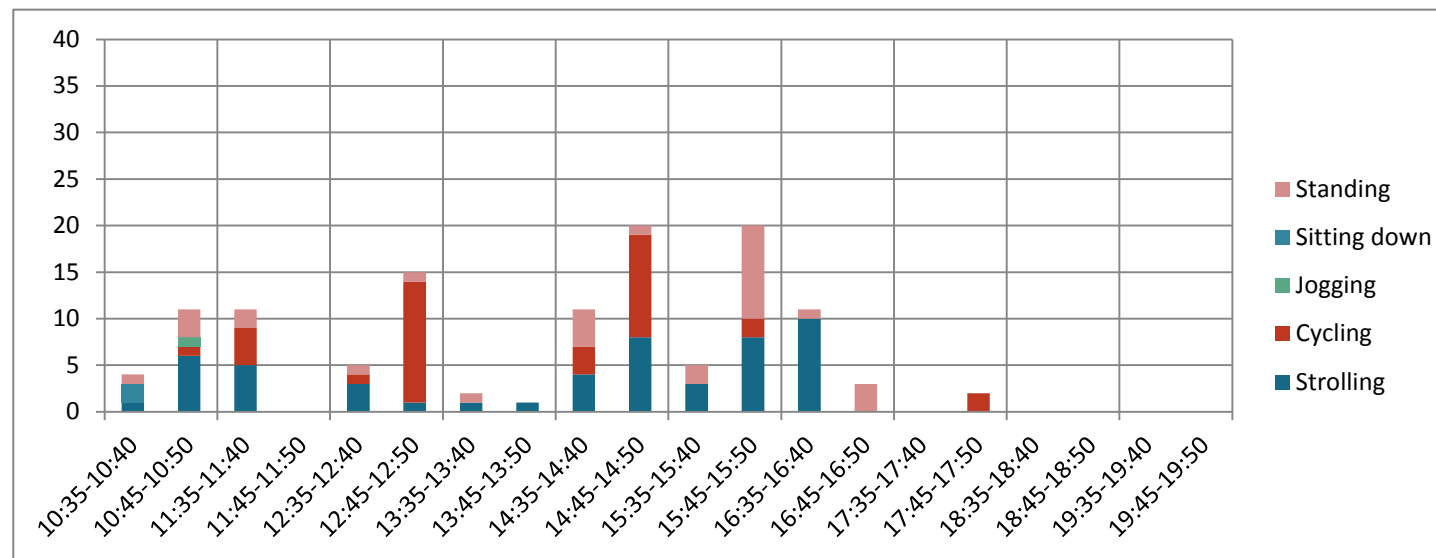
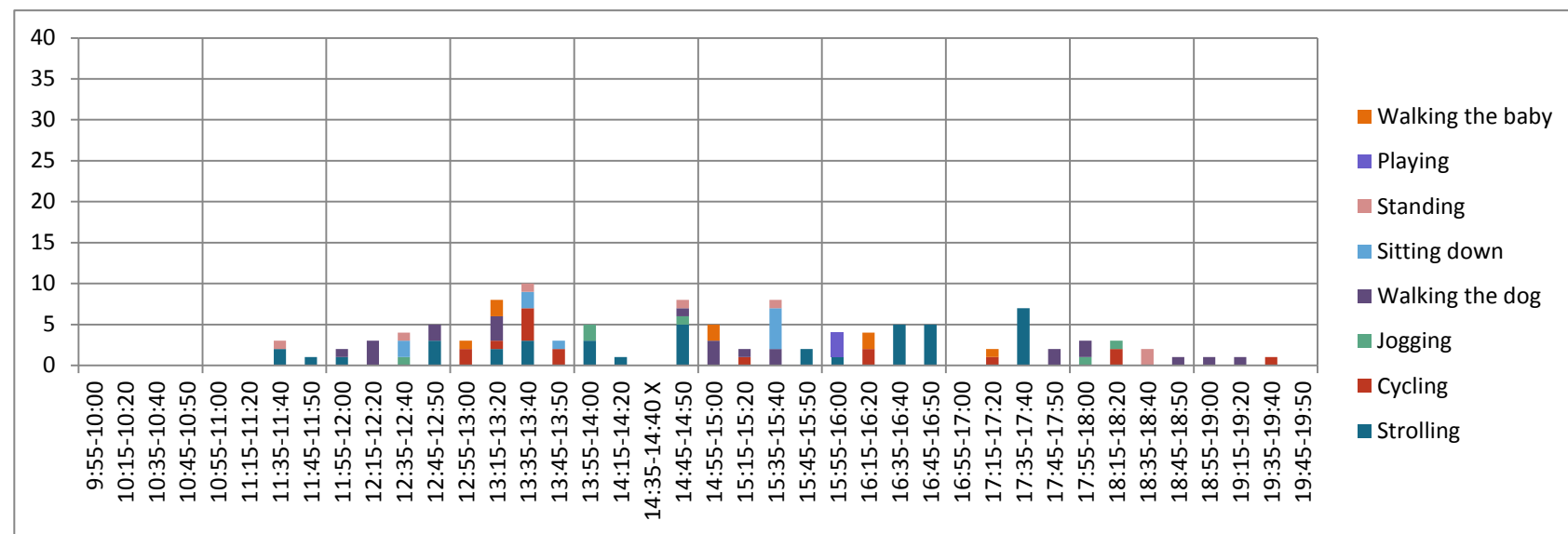

Observations performed on Friday
23.10.2009

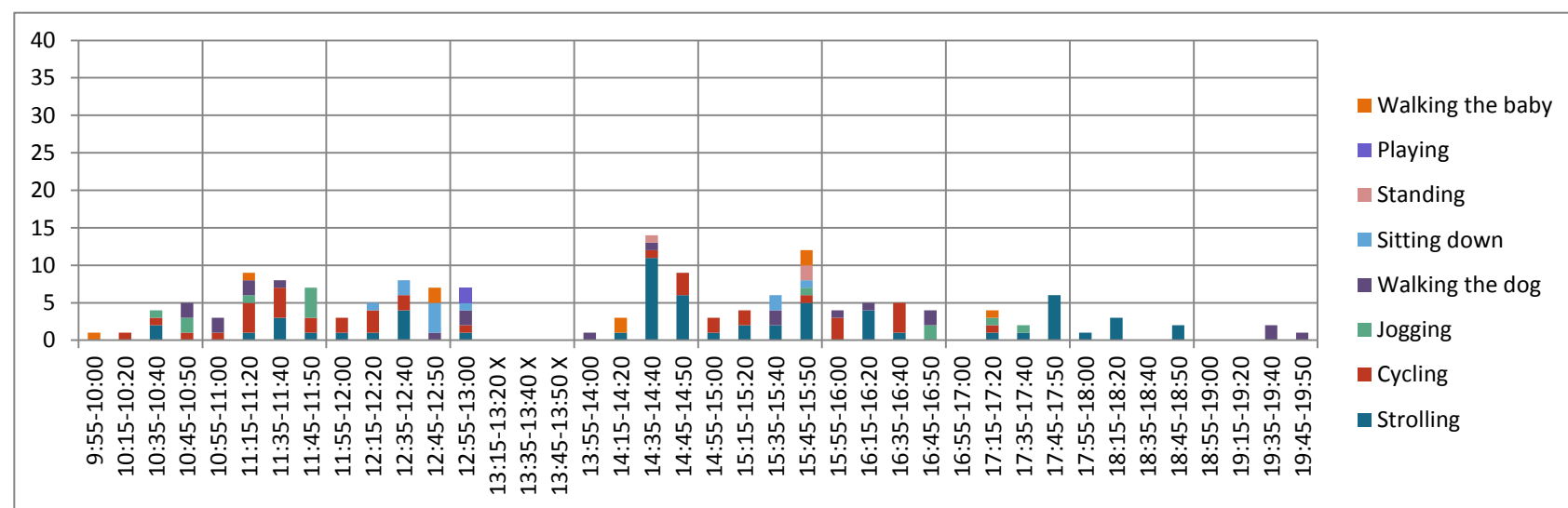Observations performed on Sunday
11.10.2009

Annexe 7 – The detailed observations for the public place in Glasgow Harbour (the :55 - :00 interval represents the first observation area, O1; the :15-:20 interval represents the second observation area,O2; the :35-:40 interval represents the third observation area, O3 and the :45-:50 interval represents the fourth observation area, O4)

Observations performed on Monday

5.10.2009

Observations performed on Friday

16.10.2009

Observations performed on Sunday
20.09.2009

Annexe 8 – The detailed observations for the public place in Broomielaw (the :55 - :00 interval represents the first observation area, B1; the :15-:20 interval represents the second observation area,B2; the :35-:40 interval represents the third observation area, B3 and the :45-:50 interval represents the fourth observation area, B4)

Observations performed on Monday

19.10.2009

Observations performed on Friday

25.09.2009

Observations performed on Sunday

08.11.2009