

EUROPEAN COST ACTION TU1204

People-friendly cities in a data rich world

Short-term Scientific Mission to Glasgow (STSM Glasgow)

Feb-March 2017

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(Brian Evans)

An age-old city is like a pond. With its colours and reflections. Its chills and murk. Its ferment, its sorcery, its hidden life.

A city is like a woman, with a woman's desires and dislikes. Her abandon and restraint. Her reserve – above all, her reserve. To get to the heart of a city, to learn its most subtle secrets, takes infinite tenderness, and patience sometimes to the point of despair. It calls for an artlessly delicate touch, a more or less unconditional love. Over centuries.

Time works for those who place themselves beyond time.

You're no true Parisian, you do not know your city, if you haven't experienced its ghosts. To become imbued with shades of grey, to blend into the drab obscurity of blind spots, to join the clammy crowd that emerges, or seeps, at certain times of day from the metros, railway stations, cinemas or churches, to feel a silent and distant brotherhood with the lonely wanderer, the dreamer in his shy solitude, the crank, the beggar, even the drunk – all this entails a long and difficult apprenticeship, a knowledge of people and places that only years of patient observation can confer.

It is in tumultuous times that the true temperament of a city – and even more so, of the coagulated mass of sixty villages or so that make up Paris – reveals itself.

Paris Noir-The Secret History of a City...Jacques Yonnet

Introduction

Despite their importance economically and culturally to the countries and regions in which they sit, cities today hold perhaps a surprising freedom to make their own fortune. While national governments are absorbed with the challenge of a continually more stressful global context, and with internal political, economic and social divisions at the national scale, it is left to the cities themselves to marshal collective energies and configure their individual trajectories. The manner in which cities respond to the challenge of forging success in the contemporary world is diverse, and is influenced by multiple factors including political and social ecology, physical and spatial character, and by history and the culture of leadership. The creative response of cities of course is not necessarily limited by a negative existing context, or the apparent absence of promising platforms. Creating the space to allow new ideas to emerge and alternative futures to be considered, can help cities be more agile in breaking free from business as usual. In some cases however, business as usual may be a luxury no longer in reach. Chronic industrial decline and the disappearance of a sustainable economic base may create a governance landscape which is more open to radical ideas, innovative strategies, and unpredictable stakeholder partnerships. The subject of this paper is the City of Glasgow, and the manner in which the City has forged a culture of collaborative urbanism among Glasgow's stakeholders, in moving from a city of industrial decline and economic underperformance to one of the UK's success stories in terms of successful urban regeneration and the creation of viable new economic sectors. In exploring the degree to which a strategic collaborative urbanism platform has been created, the brief requires a focus on three specific events in Glasgow's relatively recent history; [1] Tenement regeneration in the late 60s early 70s following severe storm damage [2] European City of Culture in 1990 [3] The Glasgow Visioning initiative of recent years. These events can be seen to represent critical points on the upward trajectory of the city and each represents a breakthrough in terms of policy, best practice, and strategic ambition. While the paper will focus on the three events above, there has been encouragement from the host institution[GSA] to reflect on these events within the wider urban framework, drawing in dimensions of Glasgow's physical and spatial character, the contribution of its institutional culture, and the manner in which economic sectors seek to project a narrative and colonize the spatial.

It is first useful however to provide some background context for the research. The research sits within an EU COST project ' People Friendly Cities in a Data Rich World'. The project seeks to explore the space between Urbanism and technology, putting forward the view that the focus on human

need has suffered due the culture of the 'Smart-City' movement's pre-occupation with sensor driven technology and the prioritization of objectives to generate efficiency in city utilities. The focus back on human need and 'people-friendly' tends to require an adjusted lens and a somewhat different city perspective. If the human need focus is slipping off the urban agenda, questions arise as to who is shaping cities, who is controlling the urban narrative, and who is writing the brief for the city's infrastructure. Concepts and methodology of sustainability place great emphasis on transparency, openness, and communication and on motivating citizens and stakeholders to achieve strategic change. Despite a consistent policy stance from the EU, citizens remain largely on the sidelines. One of the core problems is that the shaping of cities and urban plan-making remains largely a top-down culture, and that even when stakeholder and citizen groups form spontaneously outside the loop, they find that it is difficult to penetrate the top-down processes and culture.

This paper suggests that each of the words in the term 'collaborative-urbanism' provides helpful insight and direction into how citizens and urban stakeholders can be drawn into a productive relationship. Urbanism has this powerful thrust of acknowledging the complexity and grappling with the total organism of the city, of the need to create an awareness of it's major systems, it's scale differences, and how important it is to develop a relational type thinking. This is helped greatly by a holistic type perspective, which while facilitating a focus on specific areas, can help position such focus within a broader urban canvas.

Brian Evans[Professor of Urbanism at GSA] draws inspiration from the philosopher John Armstrong and stresses four dimensions to Urbanism; A collective system of values, the pursuit of happiness, the pursuit of social and economic success, and a high level of individual and collective intellectual and artistic achievement. Evans states that urbanists pursue urbanity- a consensual and dynamic state of civilization that we admire and aspire to. He contrasts the positive energy within urbanism with entropy, a state where a lack of positive energy, caused by natural forces[drought,flood, disaster] and man-made processes caused by the careless and senseless exploitation of people and resources. Collaboration on the other hand can be understood to be the process of citizens and stakeholders co-operating and working together to create a better city.

Here we have therefore a very rich notion of the purpose of a city, placing humans at the heart of things, and suggesting a holistic framework which spans the economic, social, and cultural spectrum. A city is also about how

we organize ourselves and devise systems to deliver the vision of urbanism outlined above. Urbanism suggests the need for a great deal of fluency and institutional agility between different spheres of urban activity. There is a tendency for city systems to become rigid over time, for inertia to set in, and for specialist sectors to default to a silo mind-set. A top-down culture increases the likelihood that systems will seldom be questioned, and that the prevailing status quo will not be challenged. This may no longer produce the success it has done in the past.

We live in a fast changing world however, where cities have to position themselves in a global context, which is becoming more inter-connected and more inter-dependent economically, environmentally and politically. In the last decade we have seen the convergence of global crises, environmentally [climate change], economically [financial system collapse] and socially [refugee migration and growing inequality]. The fact that the majority of the world's 7 billion now live in cities means that cities are the cause of increasing pressure on the earth's vulnerable infrastructures, but cities are also likely to provide the solutions, especially in a context where national governments are proving less than effective. Progressive cities are now shouldering responsibility for climate change, showing collaborative leadership in building supportive networks with other cities to share know-how, and learning how to align their own city-systems with more sustainable models. Those cities that are progressive environmentally are cities that have managed to build very positive relations with their citizens, and where bottom-up and top-down co-operate effectively. This means that the issue of scale has been addressed. In terms of city governance one could suggest three major scales; the global scale, the city scale, and the neighbourhood scale. While citizens can appreciate major problems at the global scale their primary reference is in relation to the locality in which they live, their neighbourhood. While acknowledging conceptually, the cumulative environmental impact of 7 billion people on the planet, there is a disconnect between their individual behaviour and the contribution of that behaviour at the larger scale. Nurturing a new citizen imagination that reconnects that individual behaviour to the scale of the city and the planet begins to ask questions about citizen engagement, and about how we view the role of the contemporary city.

Building a collaborative culture and drawing in the energy of citizens can develop differently in each city context. One of the initiatives within the 'People Friendly People' project was the establishment of reference cities, where approaches to citizen engagement and collaborative urbanism could be explored. Oslo provided the location for a 24 hour design challenge, held

in the Norwegian Architecture and design Centre. It involved multi-disciplinary teams working with a lead-user carrying some kind of disability, the objective being to make a difference through design to the life of the lead user. The City of Reykjavik also provided an interesting study, due in part to the backdrop of economic crisis, the fall of the government, and the election of a comedian as prime minister. The specific focus was on the Reykjavik suburb of Breidholt where the lord mayor appointed a champion of bottom-up politics in a locality which had a high ratio of immigrants and people with disability, but which also enjoyed good schools and social infrastructure. Dublin also became a reference city, providing an interesting case where severe economic downturn led to developer burnout, paralysis in construction, and where brutally restrictive budgets created a climate where there was space for innovation, where bottom-up was encouraged, and where alternative low cost initiatives could be trialed and prototyped.

The City of Glasgow is also a reference city. The prompt for the City's inclusion was due to the innovative work being carried out by the Glasgow Urban Lab and the creative role played by the GSA in shaping an urban research programme. The GSA felt that the manner in which the programme structure facilitated conversations on Glasgow, drew in a diverse range of urban stakeholders, and created opportunities for comparator research with selected cities abroad, constituted an interesting model for best practice in the area of collaboration and citizen engagement. The inclusion of Glasgow was also due to the city's story as a post industrial city, burdened by deep seated social problems and poverty, creatively searching for a viable economic base to sustain city and hinterland. In order to reflect more meaningfully on Glasgow's current issues and challenges, it is necessary to provide some relevant context. It is proposed to do this through a focus on three events in Glasgow's recent history which had a significant impact on the vector of the city's recovery; Tenement rehabilitation, European City of Culture, and Glasgow visioning.

Tenement Rehabilitation

The loss of heavy industry and ship-building on the Clyde, after the artificial boom from WW2, was the most severe and comprehensive economic collapse the city of Glasgow had experienced in over two hundred years, covering boom and bust in key products such as tobacco and cotton. In the early 1950s the living conditions and the physical fabric of the city had become seriously degraded. In the context of a city population growing from a base of 1 million, it was considered unrealistic that any programme of new housing[within Glasgow] could ever hope to meet with the demand. The 1946 Clyde Valley Regional Plan set the framework for the planned dispersal

of 300,000 Glasgow citizens to a series of 6 New Towns, beginning with East Kilbride in 1947. There was a positive response initially from Glaswegians, eager to get away from slum conditions, and the view among politicians and planners was that the New Towns strategy seemed a sensible one. By the 1970s however it was clear that the City was haemorrhaging population, and that its economy was becoming incapable of supporting a tax base. The West Central Scotland Plan of 1974 re-examined these policies, and by 1979 the Strathclyde Structure [Regional Authority for West Scotland] had re-asserted the housing capacity role of Glasgow. Key to this plan was the recycling of urban land within the City of Glasgow, supported by assisted urban regeneration, to provide a more balanced regional economy.

Previously, the 1964 City Plan had identified 29 Comprehensive Development Areas, many of them outside the central area. The objective was to replace 100,000 flats at a rate of 5000-6000 flats a year. The rate of implementation of this plan was so intense that by the 1970s, Municipal ownership extended to 66% of Glasgow's housing units at 190,000 flats. The first 10 years of this renewal went quite well. People were happy to get away from grim conditions. However it soon became apparent that the volume of units built was at the expense of neighbourhood facilities and services. Little effort was put into the community dimension. The first generation of residents however, were able to return to their city centre roots to access kinfolk and social life. The second generation had no such connections, were unhappy that local areas had not evolved a community fabric, and began to rebel. By the 1960s resistance was emerging to moving to these areas, and people were beginning to express a preference to remain in the over-crowded inner-city. Major improvement plans were put forward to deal with the edge estates that had been the subject of comprehensive renewal only a generation before, and thread in a framework of community facilities.

At this time in the late 1960s, despite demolition, there were still thousands of flats closer in to the city centre, many over 100 years old, the vast bulk of which were in serious neglect. In 1968 nature intervened with one of those severe one in a hundred year storms, and inflicted city-wide damage on the tenement housing stock. The extent of the damage concentrated minds, and a committee chaired by Professor Barry Cullingworth, found that 'Scotland's older housing' could be brought back to useful life, if ways could be found to organize their rehabilitation. The problem of diverse ownership made the task all the more difficult. In 1969 the Cullingworth proposals were supported by legislation, making the concept of area improvement rather than comprehensive development a possibility.

There were a number of key benefits resulting from the turnaround. The major ones being the cost was found to be considerably lower, and communities could be kept together. The project also aligned with a strengthening culture of residents becoming more concerned about their homes and more willing to become involved in the process of securing their future. The mechanism devised to facilitate the rehabilitation process became the Community Based Housing Association. The Housing Associations, involving residents themselves, were able to deal with the housing problem without disruption to their communities. As well as Housing Associations being able to access new grant assistance, each privately owned tenement building of 6-8 flats could, through a mutual agreement, receive the grants to upgrade as well as benefit from professional assistance from the City Authority.

From the perspective of urbanists viewing these events from the Glasgow of today, the Tenement Rehabilitation scheme must be seen as an important turning point. Firstly, the recycling of brownfield sites is fundamental to sustainable best practice. The Hafen-City master-plan, for example, places the regeneration of brown-field sites at the top of a list of themes underpinning sustainability. Secondly, the creation of 'Place' in cities is much more likely to be successful if you are not starting from scratch, and if you have even a weakened urban framework and fabric to build on. Thirdly, the emergence of the Housing Association model brought residents firmly into the process, and ensured that a sensibility towards community values would inform the process. Many cities would envy the platform which the Glasgow Housing Associations provide, ensuring that there is a politically aware and technically able resident power base, thereby mediating polarization between the social and private housing sectors. Fourthly, the stewardship role of the City Council became affirmed, partly because the export of the population problem to regional Scotland was in a sense a prolonged emergency, which may have undermined the morale of Glasgow's urban governance, while the Tenement Rehabilitation programme brought citizens and Council into a constructive working relationship. This opened up new possibilities for the Council, providing confidence to let go of the reins a bit, and revealing new skill-sets in the crafting of good neighbourhoods.

European City of Culture

There can be great delight in a dark horse winning a race, but even more so when that horse subsequently justifies the faith placed in her, and produces the goods over the longer season. Not many outside of Glasgow, and perhaps few within the City, would have dreamed that the City could land the title of European City of Culture for 1990. Many may not have given

Glasgow much chance even within the UK, when there was stiff competition from 8 other cities including Edinburgh, Liverpool, Leeds, Bristol, Cardiff, Bath, Swansea and Cambridge. Having secured the UK nomination, the odds seemed still long, when considering the heavyweight profile and cultural pedigree of previous winners including Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin and Paris.

Yet Glasgow had aligned itself with the original thrust of the European City of Culture idea put forward by the Greek cultural minister Melina Mercouri in 1983, that Culture, Art and Creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and economics. The City Fathers also had a long-term project to reconstruct the city around cultural production. The key motive of Glasgow was a desire to demonstrate a new face as a European post-industrial city, geared to growth, and using the Arts as a means of communicating it's renaissance. The City can be seen to be building a series of platforms throughout the 1980s. The tag 'Glasgow's miles better' helped people dwell on the positive up-lift evident in the city, the Burrell museum opened in 1984, and a hugely successful UK Garden Festival attracted 3 million plus to Pacific Quay at Govan in 1988. The City Centre was also getting attention: a report by Mc Kinsey stressed the developmental potential of the cultural industries specifically, while stressing consumer services more generally. Indeed a study carried out by John Myerscough in 1988, indicated the relative strength of the cultural sector in Glasgow as a component of Glasgow's economy. Glasgow Action, a high powered lobby group, built on the work of McKinsey, and were instrumental in Gordon Cullen putting forward his urban legibility diagram, showing the spine of Buchanan, bookended by retail magnets north and south, and flanked by Merchant City to the east and the Blythswood mixed-use entertainment quarter to the west.

In winning the 'City of Culture' title, Glasgow was able to present a city with strong collections, a city with a legacy of great architecture, and a city with an a contemporary working community of acclaimed artists. Glasgow also could show an array of cultural institutions, could show the city had experience in arranging collaboration between those institutions, and was capable of marketing the City of Culture as it had done with the 'Miles Better' campaign. Once the title was granted, the drive and finance came from the Local Authorities. The revenue support was 32 million sterling, nearly all of which came from Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council, with 27 million supporting the programme itself. Glasgow broke new ground in going for an all-encompassing year-long programme which was structured around: [a]A programme by Glasgow's regular arts institutions,[b] a sub-

programme of centrally initiated promotions, independent projects, and support to the work of the main institutions [c] A range of initiatives across education, social-work, community events, and celebrations. The community events and celebrations had a budget of over 5 million, and the social work a budget for 3.7 million.

It is almost impossible at this stage to grasp the participatory energy, the happening buzz, and the feel good factor generated by the year-long festival. In carrying out interviews with a range of committed Glaswegians, for the purposes of this paper, almost all went misty-eyed and smiled at the memory of how big a thing it was for Glasgow to pull off, how intense the city felt full of visitors, exotic performers and curious media, and how the city was challenged not to merely spend but to leverage this cultural munificence in a strategic way for the future. Glasgow was wise to document and assess the Year. The City appointed John Myerscough again, who had been instrumental in developing the field of cultural economics, to scientifically assess the impact of Glasgow's year as Cultural Capital. He looked at a number of key areas including ; Statistics for attendance, analysis of the 1990 market for Glasgow's cultural programme, an assessment of the economic and social impact, and a look at post-1990 opportunities. The momentum provided by the year-long programme led to a significant increase in attendance across the board, theatre for example up 32% on 1989, galleries and museums up from 4.7 million to 6.6 million, and outdoor and community events up from 6.6 million to 8.3 million. The new Glasgow Royal Concert Hall had a major impact on local audiences as did the renovated Mc Clellan Galleries. The Burrell had a very good year, making up ground which it had lost, since the big numbers achieved in the opening years. Visitors made up 10% of audiences and 74% of them said they would return. Myerscough also carried out attitude surveys, with almost all residents believing that the 1990 Programme had improved the public image of Glasgow, while 61% believed that it made Glasgow a more pleasant place in which to live. There was little support[16%] for the view that the programme was only for visitors.

In a city like Glasgow which always shows a dogged capacity to poke irreverent fun at the city's negative stereotypes, it would indeed be surprising if the Year of Culture brought all citizens into even temporary harmony. There were indeed criticisms, some of the harshest coming from the 'Workers City' group, who questioned the merit of devoting so much funding to arts and culture while Glasgow suffered from deep-rooted structural poverty and unemployment. The author James Kelman, an outspoken member of the 'Workers City' group, suggested that under the umbrella of Capital of Culture, the City was being run as if it was a public company, having to

operate in an expanding free-market economy, being made attractive to private shareholders, in line with inevitable privatization. Kelman also railed against the branding of the area now known as Merchant City, forcing Glaswegians to remember some of the darker sides of the City's trading history and the fortunes it made for some.

It does not seem surprising perhaps that in a city with an intense interest in the arts and culture, that there would be some resistance to the idea of a comprehensive top-down programme, and that artists antennae might indicate a need to keep their distance from any hint of bourgeois colonization. There was a resolute indie scene in the 90s in Glasgow of which the City was proud. Hannah Mc Gill writing in the Scotsman in Sept 2015, and reflecting on Capital of Culture, suggests that the show put on in 1990 provided a shot of cultural confidence, a secure spot on the international arts radar, and a defined mainstream arts establishment against which to rebel.

A number of research works have tried to assess the Year of Culture in terms of its strategic significance. Beatriz Garcia states that Glasgow through its approach has demonstrated it is possible to change the narrative of a city, and in so doing has created a discourse that has lasted until today. In a report commissioned by the EU 'European Capitals of Culture-successful strategies and long-term effects' [Garcia, Tamsin Cox,] the authors place Glasgow at the forefront of the discussion, asserting that the vehicle of European City of Culture has become a key platform for city positioning, and a catalyst for economic and cultural regeneration.

'Future Glasgow 2011-2061

The context for the Visioning project 'Future Glasgow is contained in a report to City Council in December 2010. Given the impact of the global economic environment, and the process of review by government of strategy and operational priorities, it is argued that it is opportune and timely to examine the City's strategic direction. The exercise is part seen in the context of the Mc Kinsey and Cullen reports of the 1980s which reflected on the role of the city centre, and pushed for active partnership and place-marketing. Future Glasgow would also be seen in the context of other City Visioning exercises which set a strong identity, and a clear vision for the future. The report of Dec 2010 also saw the project aligning with current work of the City Council, including the setting up of the Glasgow Economic Commission, and the need to respond to the honour bestowed on the City by the Academy of Urbanism, which granted Glasgow the title of European City of the Year for 2010. Glasgow City Council however saw the project as being typified by an explicit focus on working in partnership, encouraging participation and input from all city stakeholders, and providing a sound basis for future social,

economic and environmental action. 10 key work-streams would help structure the process of consultation, and covered; Economic strategy, Tourism, Planning and Development, Health, 'Worklessness', Education, Housing, Transport, Sustainable Development, and City Centre. Thematic workshops would support the process for each theme, reviewing assets, opportunities and challenges, examining global good practice, and identifying the future vision for each theme.

In his introduction to the report in 2011, Gordon Matheson, the leader of Glasgow City Council, deepened the social and cultural thrust of the Visioning, placing the citizens of Glasgow centre-stage in the exercise. While acknowledging the tremendous scale of investment over 30 years in the business, social, and educational infrastructure of the city, he also referred to great challenges facing Glasgow including poor health, poverty, and unemployment, and to the many social issues including drink, drugs and sectarianism. He stated the need for the city to become more resilient to counter the damage caused by de-industrialization in the 60s and 70s. In response he affirmed the true character of Glasgow to be the strength of its people; warm, welcoming, resilient and adaptable. He stated the next chapter in the City's evolution would be achieved by building on Glasgow's assets; creativity and pride, world-class Arts and Culture, educational strengths, the heritage of the city-centre, and the City's many great neighbourhoods. This evolution, he stated will start with the aspirations expressed by citizens for the kind of city they want Glasgow to be.

The full report is extensive and includes very powerful responses expressing hopes for the future of Glasgow. There is a great deal of emphasis on a diversity of topics related to economic success, hoping Glasgow will link entrepreneurial energy with its educational base, that start-ups will be supported, and that it will be a top city internationally for creativity and enterprise. There is also a great deal of emphasis on social and neighbourhood ambitions, and a heartfelt desire that all Glaswegians are enabled to reach their potential. The view is expressed that Glasgow has to move away from a dependency model of public health, and instead nurture participation and team-work in community events, that the basis of a healthy life should be available to everyone; good housing, clean air, healthy food, and that people must be allowed to have more control over their lives, from the workplace to the local community. The visioning report includes many memorable quotes, one of my favourites is: ' I hope in 2061 we are mixed and diverse, and peoples contributions and creativity valued, and people are hopeful and feel accepted'

Overall, 2700 people were involved in the consultation process, accessed through a range of events and consultation processes. These ranged from youth groups, to multi-cultural festivals, to focus groups, community groups, seminars and school events. Politicians were involved from across the political divide, as were experts in education, business, environment, transport, culture, housing and numerous other specialist areas. Two important messages came across: That Glasgow must focus on improving the quality of life for everyone, and that citizens and institutions must work together better in radically different ways to make this happen. It is difficult to know what the long-term impact of 'Future Glasgow' will be. Its power is in the expression of values about the kind of city Glasgow aspires to be, and it is hoped these values will guide policy, strategy, and indeed investment in the decades ahead. It seems that Glasgow citizens have been energetic and responsive in grasping this opportunity. They want co-operation and collaboration in the city's institutional life, they want consolidation, competitiveness, inventiveness, and creativity economically, they want significant inroads and traction on social issues, they want success but also competency, and they want a big role in building and co-creating the successful neighbourhoods of Glasgow in the future. It is a little strange therefore that Glasgow City Council has not yet adopted this powerful document.

The 'Given' City and Future City

In the space of a relatively short but intense study visit, it is challenging to absorb sufficient material to enable one to put one's finger on the pulse of a city and at the end write a piece that might be useful. The enormous time-scale is also daunting, stretching from the late 1960s [Housing regeneration] to 2061 [Glasgow Visualization]. Being always in the 'here and now' we make a clear distinction between looking back and looking forward: we could use the term, the 'Given City' to refer to the city we have produced in the past, the city we have now, and the term, the 'Future City' to the city we will produce in the decades ahead. Looking backwards we can appreciate the great changes that have occurred in a city over time, and reflect on what factors, circumstances, and players shaped the trajectory which has produced the 'Given City'. Looking forward, it's a different kind of mental exercise. To imagine the 'Future City' is to free ourselves from incrementalism and the oppression of day-to-day management regimes, and reflect on the kind of city we will shape for ourselves in the future. The legibility of a city under various themes is also a consideration in this type of study visit. The three-dimensional physical city is acutely tangible, while sectors of city activity may not be as visually pronounced or as neatly patterned in the spatial fabric. There is always ambiguity, overlap, and interesting collision and even

absence. The physicality of a city, and the quality of its buildings and public spaces can often be at odds with certain city narratives.

“ On a clear day the relationship between what we see, and know, is never settled”[Installation in museum in Vilnius, Autumn 2016

The Spatial and Sectoral City

In the remainder of this paper, it is proposed to draw on the spatial/physical city as a complement and counterpoint to sectors of city activity, and processes of urban governance, gleaned in interviews and accessed through desk-research. The location of my accommodation also had a bearing on how I observed the physical city. I had the good fortune to be housed in an airbnb in DryGate beside the Cathedral precinct, and at the northern end of High St. As well as providing a location in the historic heart of Glasgow, an area little known to me, it also meant I would take many different routes westwards through central Glasgow as I walked daily to the GSA. A further influence intellectually was the opportunity to attend a public lecture by Winy Maas [MVRDV Architects] who is now working on a framework plan for part of central Glasgow on behalf of Glasgow City Council. In the lecture he ruminated on the theme of ‘ego to we-go’ reflecting on urbanism and the collective design patterns that emerge from our individual and atomized human needs and desires. While highlighting some of Glasgow’s challenges, including inner-city residential and traffic culture, he challenged Glaswegians to explore more radical solutions by recounting how his working home, the City of Rotterdam, has reinvented itself through innovative architecture, cultural investment, and urbanism inspired strategies. The lecture was exactly the kind of stimulation and broad-brushed scene-setting my study-visit required, roaming over the interface of modern lifestyle, technology, urban design, and the role of modern city economy.

Positive Glasgow Leadership

It is clear from the story of Glasgow’s regeneration that a strong vision has driven the sequence of successes achieved by the city. Leading and co-ordinating this charge has been a City Council able to build a city partnership with the confidence to pitch for ambitious targets, and fund deeply in the full knowledge of risk of failure. The series of major events hosted by the city, including the UK Garden Festival, European City of Culture, and latterly the Commonwealth Games, are each diverse, and have been won against stiff competition. Each successful hosting has gained new competencies, achieved greater credibility for the city, and left a broader legacy of infrastructure ranging from big-event spaces to hotel and entertainment venues. This strengthening role as a host city for big and small

events has dovetailed neatly with Glasgow's search for a new economic base. A high quality retail core of international standing, developing in tandem with an emerging visitor/tourism sector, has colonized much of the fine fabric of the central city area. The regeneration of the Merchant City has provided both visitors and Glaswegians with a new destination Quarter, peppered with authentic food offers, pubs and cultural venues. Other achievements should also be mentioned, the creation of a critical mass of activity in the area of International Financial Services, and the consolidation and growth of the City's University sector. One of the key achievements of City Leadership in Glasgow has been the ability to bridge economic strategy with the sphere of Arts and Culture. Despite making consistent efforts to achieve a balance between livelihood and livability, most cities are challenged to establish a framework where Arts and Culture are seen to underpin quality of life, as well as constituting a substantive economic and employment sector.

Urban Landscapes of Value

In terms of relating success in sectors, to the legible city on the ground, I am reminded of the approach of Kees Kristiansen[KCAP] to Dublin's Inner City. He compared the economic, social, cultural, and environmental landscapes of value in Dublin[2006] within the arc of the canals, and found them to be far below comparator cities such as Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Zurich, Bilbao and Zagreb. At the time Dublin was feeling relatively comfortable with levels of urban regeneration achieved over two decades. The reality was that pockets and clusters of high-quality redevelopment co-existed alongside deprivation and neglect. This sense of unevenness was probably much more apparent to an outsider, and especially an urbanist with a brief to compare big-picture progress in Dublin with a number of major European cities. The upshot of the report was to cause Dublin to reflect on its regeneration programme, and to consider how the twin pillars of diversity and spatial unity could be combined in driving towards the longer-term sustainable regeneration of Dublin's Inner-city.

Like Dublin, Glasgow can point to extensive investment in its urban fabric, and to area-based regeneration frameworks. Building projects have been complemented by well designed and executed public realm initiatives, for example in Buchanan St and in Merchant City. Similar to Dublin, Glasgow has had to respond to urban decay and neglect which has impacted on extensive tracts of a very large city-centre footprint, and regeneration in the case of both cities has not always resulted in visual and functional urban-connectedness. My daily walks across Glasgow helped me form strong impressions of the city, which blended with and reinforced the knowledge I had stored up from previous visits. I also walked from the Byers Road area in

the West End to High St, both by day and night. On one very sunny February day, I took a great loop-walk down High St to Glasgow Green, took in the new Glasgow City University, and walked the full length of the Clyde to the Riverside Museum. A little intuition was needed to chart a route from here to Kelvingrove Museum which was buzzing with life, and in the darkening late winter afternoon I made my way eastwards through the great Victorian Park, the exalted tower of Glasgow University sitting within its long stately reach, and the changing linear route of the park providing constantly arresting views of villa houses and exuberant civic buildings, lights coming on to provide a glimpse of interior Glasgow lives. The body tiredness and serenity was soon interrupted by the growl of a half submerged motorway, before I threaded my route to the GSA for a well deserved coffee, and then home through the precincts of Strathclyde University to enjoy a craft beer in Babbity Bowsters and reflect on a memorable day.

I have no doubt in declaring Glasgow to be a great walking city. It has great parks, provides extensive river frontage, has great streets, and has richly contrasting urban neighbourhoods. The city also enjoys an amazing topography with city streets incorporating severe gradients that have been exploited by architects and add strongly to the sense of place. One is never far from the awareness that here is a city that was once great in the past, but there are also strong signals that the city wants to be great again. In the meantime however, brownfield sites and urban decay convey a sense of fragmentation, unevenness and conflict but perhaps also indicate potential.

Thoughts On Some Current Glasgow Issues

- Movement; The culture of car movement and vehicular access becomes ever more dominant in cities, until alternative value systems begin to challenge it, and put forward competing strategies. Cities approach the challenge of re-balancing in favour of the pedestrian, in different ways. Usually there is a major priority to invest in public transport but current best practice is to complement this with cycling and walking infrastructure. One gets a strong sense of a very dominant car culture in Glasgow, where apart from a limited number of pedestrianized zones, the walking experience is regarded as secondary. In addition a cycling culture is not particularly visible in the city.
- Urban legibility/Unity: Building a mental map of Glasgow tends to be a challenging exercise that takes time. There are indeed a number of cohesive and highly legible 'urban quarters, a legacy of Glasgow's past achievements in urban design and the art of civic mixed use, weaving commercial, residential and a range of public and civic

buildings into the urban landscape. The overall feeling however can be one of fragmentation and disconnection. A quick search of maps of Glasgow on the internet reveals that there is little consistency in how Glasgow's spatial character is interpreted and conveyed graphically. Frequently the motorways and A-Roads are given a primary emphasis, while extensive precinct areas of the central grid bleed one into another. It is also difficult to navigate mentally from the historic core and the attractions round Glasgow Cathedral to the West End magnets of Glasgow University and the vibrant spine of Byers Road. Linking these two bookends of central Glasgow has got to be part of the strategic answer to the Future City. This could be achieved by building the first line of a contemporary tram system for Glasgow.

- Strategic Public Realm; The Public Realm of a city exists at two scales, the strategic city-scale, and the local neighbourhood scale. Projects are usually designed and delivered at the local scale but they should sit within a strategic framework. A public-realm strategy is critical in building an overall sense of unity and cohesiveness and should display sensibility to local character as well as macro inter-connectedness. Dublin has some of the same problems as Glasgow. In 2004 the City commissioned a Legibility Study, which mapped 90 visitor attractions and built on a previous character-area study in the early 90s, which had mapped 25 inner-city character areas defined by street-pattern, urban-design, building character, economic activity, and stakeholder communities. A key contribution of the study was to emphasize the strap-lines of inter-connection that were needed to pull segregated city character-areas into a closer relationship. Framework plans drawn up over a 20-year period have tended to align closely with the character areas. The major Public Realm Strategy of recent years in Dublin has drawn heavily on both the character area thinking and the legibility study, producing a strategic map of key walking routes and congregational spaces. Included in this network, is the public realm of the River Liffey, and the Grand Civic Spine linking Christchurch in the Historic Core, with Parnell Square Cultural Quarter north of the river, by way of College Green, and O Connell St, Main St, Ireland. A number of thoughts occur as to how Glasgow might apply some of these ideas in addressing the challenge of building city legibility and a strategic public realm.
- City Spines and Magnets ; Grids are tricky: on the one hand they are supremely legible, at the same time they disperse energy and make it difficult to create focus or suggest the boundary of a city neighbourhood. The street is the basic building block of the city, and

also makes up the network that might constitute a focus area within the bigger picture. The street is also linear, and has within this linearity, a suggestion of permanent movement and momentum. It's like a stream in which the fish continue to move, until they reach the trout pool, where they can stop and take in the surroundings. Cities need to create multiple 'trout-pools' at different scales, helping to generate legibility and memorable focus and enable strong mental maps to be formed in the imagination of both resident and visitor alike. A number of areas remain under-exploited in Glasgow in this regard. The river is very conscious in the mind of Glaswegians, both in terms of it's rich industrial past, and also it's potential. The 'string of pearls' has long existed as an alluring image. It is perhaps surprising that the City has stood off the project of the river for so long. Bilbao decided to scour out it's rusted industrial corridor, leaving intact the 18th Century planned city on one side, and the 19th Century planned city on the other, creating a campus context for civic buildings and a new public realm. Glasgow has been cautious to date, yet the magnets of Glasgow Green and the Riverside Museum, represent great bookends on the Clyde's northern bank. It is a plus that little damage has been done to date, and virtually full access has been preserved along the old campshires. While there is a tangible sense of vitality and public life evident on some stretches, the integration of the spine of the River Clyde as a backbone of the public realm of the city remains an elusive objective.

The role of High Street as a potential nexus to draw together powerful elements of Glasgow's true historic core remains strangely neglected. Staying in DryGate, I was acutely conscious of wonderful urban connection between Glasgow Cathedral and Glasgow Green and the River Clyde. While unique urban experiences like the Necropolis, and the Merchant City with its contemporary architecture and careful approach to conservation, sit close by, High St remains dominated by fast traffic, the signals of dereliction and a somewhat indifferent approach to design quality.

Nearby, the emerging campus of the University of Strathclyde , represents a further opportunity. The map of the character areas of inner-city Dublin, is illuminated by a number of special campus precincts, including that of Trinity College and Dublin Castle. These have been added to, with the redevelopment of Grangegorman as a new home for the Dublin Institute of Technology, and St James's as the new home for the National Children's Hospital. A different culture

of design prevails in urban campus areas, compared to the traditional character of the city-street. There is often a strong sense of perimeter, within which the walking experience is enhanced, landscaping and courtyards are exploited, and architecture is informed by the civic. Something interesting is emerging in the environs of the University of Strathclyde. The learning role and social life of the embryonic campus is beginning to spill out onto adjacent streets and enrich the public life of the city. The creation of new public space is becoming a feature of new architecture, and is adding to the multiple green courtyards which offer alternative routes to explore hidden treasures like the city-park on Rotten Row. That said, the public roads through the area are still very vehicular orientated and make little concession to the changing landscape around. Glasgow Roads Engineers could have great fun in adopting this project as an International pilot.

Institutional Innovation

In coming to terms with Glasgow's issues and the challenge of creating a sustainable and resilient 'Future City', Glasgow has been exploring new forms of institutional partnership. A key influence has been the work of the 'Urban Lab' set up under the umbrella of the Glasgow School of Art. The idea behind the Lab was to build a working partnership between Higher Education Institutes and Local Government Agencies to produce new insights into how the city could be understood. The idea was to balance research on the one hand, with its demand for focus and precision, with the breadth of urbanism and its concern to grapple with many inter-related elements always in flux.

'Glasgow Conversations'

An example of the innovative Lab programme was the initiative called 'Glasgow Conversations'. Carried out in 2012, it was led by an American economist and planner, Anne Markusen. Involving a multi-disciplinary core team, a carefully chosen set of cross-cutting topics were selected for exploration under a workshop format. The themes spanned the spectrum of social issues, inequality, city identity and economy and included questions such as: What makes a distinctive city? How can we improve Glasgow's health? What will Glasgow's economy be like in 2031? What will be the weight of Arts and Culture in Glasgow's future? What is the relationship between growth and inequality? Any one of these themes could justify a lengthy study by itself, and each workshop threw up a further half-dozen sub-themes. Combining the discipline of economist and urban planner, Markusen brought a unique perspective to the process, encouraging a raw openness,

and a reflection on the chronic and stubborn social issues of the city, as well as thinking creatively about aligning sectors in the shaping of an economic future

Glasgow and Portland[Oregon]

The City Lab enabled a further major study comparing contexts in Glasgow and Portland, Oregon, when it explored factors and circumstances which prompt the Creative City. The study was carried out over 2014/15 by senior students at Mackintosh School of Architecture, and the report, 'The Creative City, Connecting People, Place, and Identity' was edited by Aaron Borchardt. The research looked at the influence of culture, climate and urban form on the creative dimension of the city, and the degree to which techniques of co-creation can be brought to bear on city futures. The study set out the initial context for each city under headings including; location, climate and land-use, historic evolution, urban form and demographics. It then went on to reflect on the current scope for the creative industries generally, and how the cultural life of a city finds expression through events and festivals. Also how physical infrastructure and city spaces can work and be exploited, how a sense of place and identity can stem from the involvement and participation of people, and how a city adapts and innovates.

The research then began to select case studies for each city, based around specific aspects of the urban realm. These included;[a] Festivals [b] The Urban Living-Room, an evaluation of a major congregational space in each city [c] The Creative Street [d] Creative Café culture [e] Street Food. The research found that in the case of Portland there was a strong sense of ownership of the city, that citizens got out there to influence lots of projects, and that this attitude spilled out into a visible animation into the public realm, and the topics explored above. The report suggested that Portland could best be understood within four frameworks: "Convergence", groups working together "Ecological Resilience", "Living on the Edge" and "Entrepreneurship" All of Portland's urban design projects require a minimum of two to three of the above in order to go forward. In the case of Glasgow the research acknowledged the great strides made by the city and the achievements in building a creative sector based on a platform of Arts and Culture. While acknowledging different demographics, history, and climate, it did point to a somewhat different ecology of urban governance and participatory citizenship. In looking at festivals and events, it found the culture of Glasgow to be energetic but to be quite a top-down one. It found the public realm of Portland to be more socially animated than Glasgow. In assessing a major space for example, George Square was evaluated, and was found to be much less used, due perhaps to the fact that it is surrounded on all sides by vehicular traffic.

City of Creative Production

The 'City of Creative Production' was an event hosted by the GSA in 2016, and struck a resonance with the Glasgow-Portland project. The conference/workshop explored the wide-ranging terrain of what makes a creative city, and the elements of a supportive ecology which produces ideas, through to design and production. The event explored eight thematic and inter-connected areas including; Policy and Strategy, Leadership, Ecology, Narrative, Stickability, Inclusion, Future-proofing, and Property/Incubation. The format included two questions to participants in relation to these 8 themes: [1]What questions do we need an answer to ? [2] What could we do if we had answers to these questions ? Many viewpoints put forward therefore were in the form of questions. How can Glasgow shift from a concept of Creative Industries, to the reality of a Creative Economy? How should Glasgow conceptualize the Cultural and Creative Business links ? Does Glasgow have a clear rationale for investment in Infrastructure to support the Cultural Economy? Why do so many communities feel excluded ? Why does Glasgow lose it's best designers ? Are academic institutions collaborating re common objectives ? How can we make Arts a realistic career for students from dis-advantaged backgrounds ?

The conference was attended by leaders and stakeholders from academic, business, and public service spheres, and indicated an awareness of the complexity of the design eco-system, and of the need to draw creative partners, academic institutions, mentors, and producers, into a dynamic partnership. There was a need expressed for 3rd Spaces, and Creative Hubs, providing an open accessible and neutral meeting ground, perceived as neither University or commercial.

Conclusion and Moving Forward

As a major city in the UK and internationally, Glasgow has grown greatly in stature and it's trajectory has been on a consistently upward curve since the difficult decades of the 1960s and 70s. The city has slowly built a new and sustainable economic platform focused on services, tourism, retail, and the creative economy. Glasgow has also linked economy, regeneration, and the sphere of Arts and Culture to inspire its own ambition internally, and to project a successful new image externally as a creative city. It is all the more impressive that this tangible and sustained progress has been achieved against a backdrop of deeply rooted social issues, including unemployment, poverty and poor health.

Despite this difficult context the City of Glasgow has consistently shown innovation and ambition in meeting its strategic challenges, perhaps not so

surprising, considering an intellectual and formidable legacy of invention and design that crossed many sectors. This paper has explored three events in Glasgow's relatively recent history, the emergence of Community Based Housing Associations, the European City of Culture, and Future Glasgow, reflecting on how each episode has extended the scope for citizen engagement and expression, and moved Glasgow City Council into a more collaborative and partnership role.

City leadership and the governance of cities cannot be the preserve of City Councils alone. The shaping of a city must be a collective enterprise, and collaboration must draw in the energy and imagination of multiple city stakeholders. This paper has shown how new models of institutional co-operation are being trialed in Glasgow, particularly under the framework of City Lab at the GSA. These initiatives are enabling 'big-conversation' on the city to take place between stakeholders from a wide range of sectors and backgrounds. We have also seen how Glasgow is being enabled to look outwards and compare factors and circumstances in its own context, with those in selected foreign cities. While these initiatives are helping to engender a sense of collaborative leadership in the city, one has to ask whether the model of collaboration has opportunities to go further. We recall one of the key findings of 'Future Glasgow' was that in improving the quality of life for all, 'our citizens and institutions must work better together and in radically different ways'. It is reasonable to infer from this that there is some level of dissatisfaction with citizen engagement and that Glasgow still needs to look at how the city is shaped and who gets the opportunity to shape it.

One could argue that the initiatives brokered by City Lab involve multi-disciplinary stakeholders from mainly top-down and perhaps from sideways in. There are relatively few stakeholders from the bottom-up. We have seen a great emphasis in Glasgow on the Creative City, and the Arts and Culture themes and also an acknowledgement that Glasgow's intractable social problems are proving very difficult to tackle. In many cities some of the best social ideas and energy come from the edge and from the marginalized. One of the major challenges of collaborative urbanism is to draw citizens into research and to enable the production of an evidence base. Participatory citizenship needs to be enabled by a new form of bottom-up infrastructure. In our 'People Friendly Cities' project we have suggested that the collaborative contribution of citizens could be strengthened through; enabling citizen conversations, gathering local knowledge, interpreting/configuring evidence, 'making' the city, and nurturing stewardship. Glasgow already has an impressive platform on which to build the next chapter of collaborative leadership with all its citizen stakeholders.

Draft
20th March 2017
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