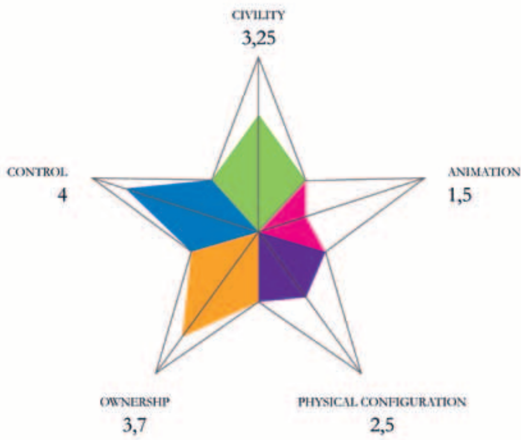
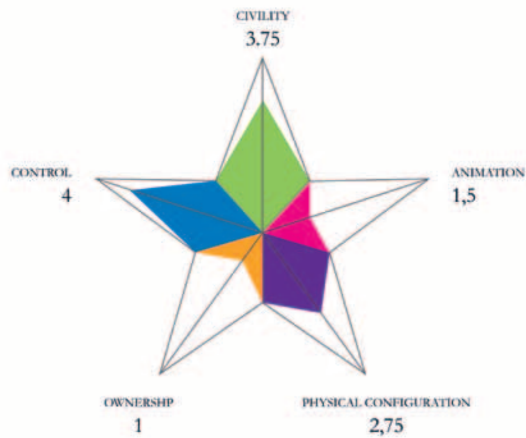
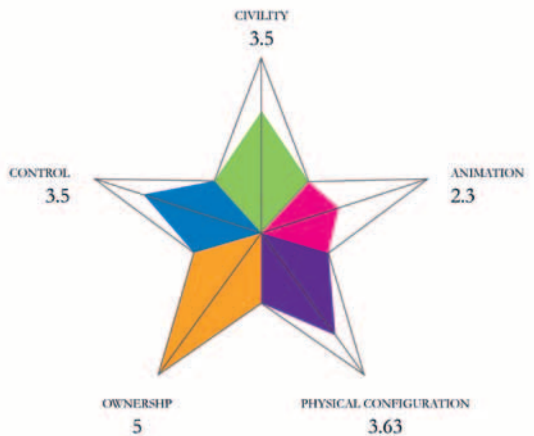
ASHGATE

Georgiana Varna

# Measuring Public Space: The Star Model




The Star Diagrams for the publicness of the three case studies considered for analysis: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# MEASURING PUBLIC SPACE: THE STAR MODEL

*This book is dedicated to Steve Tiesedell, without whose support and knowledge, this book could have never been written and to Henri, for the endless hours of priceless conversations, infinite patience and never-ending help.*

# Measuring Public Space: The Star Model

Georgiana Varna
*University of Glasgow, United Kingdom*

ASHGATE

© Georgiana Varna 2014

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Georgiana Varna has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Wey Court East
Union Road
Farnham
Surrey, GU9 7PT
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
110 Cherry Street
Suite 3-1
Burlington, VT 05401-3818
USA

www.ashgate.com

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**
Varna, Georgiana.
Measuring public space : the star model / by Georgiana Varna.
pages cm. -- (Design and the built environment)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-6745-8 (hardback) -- ISBN 978-1-4094-6746-5 (ebook) -- ISBN 978-1-4094-6747-2 (epub) 1. Public spaces. I. Title.
HT185.V37 2014
307.76--dc23

2014005023

ISBN 9781409467458 (hbk)
ISBN 9781409467465 (ebk – PDF)
ISBN 9781409467472 (ebk – ePUB)

# Contents

*List of Illustrations* *xi*
*List of Tables* *xv*
*List of Abbreviations* *xvii*
*Acknowledgements* *xix*

1 **Introduction** **1**
1.0 Why this Book? 1
1.1 The Dual Nature of Public Place and Publicness 4
1.2 A New Model to Measure Public Space 7
1.3 The Structure of the Book 10

**PART I CONCEPTUALISING PUBLICNESS**

**2 The Publicness of Public Space as a Cultural Reality: Defining a Standard for Public Space** **15**
2.0 Introduction 15
2.1 The Recent Evolution of Public Space Research 16
2.2 The Slippery Nature of the Concept of Public Space 19
2.3 Five Dimensions of Publicness 27
2.4 Defining an Ideal Public Space as a Standard of Publicness 52
2.5 The Interaction of the Five Dimensions of Publicness: Access and Power in the Public Space Debate 55
2.6 Conclusion 59

**3 The Publicness of Public Space as a Historical Reality: Understanding the Real Estate Development Process** **61**
3.0 Introduction 61
3.1 A Historical View On Public Space 61

3.2 The Real Estate Development Process and Public Space – Stages, Actors, Outcomes 68
3.3 Conclusions 77

**PART II MODELLING PUBLICNESS**

**4 The Star Model of Public Space: From Theoretical Construct to Methodological Tool 81**
4.0 Introduction 81
4.1 Stages in the Creation of the Star Diagram of Publicness 81
4.2 Choosing the Indicators 83
4.3 Calculating and Representing Publicness 90
4.4 Conclusions 94

**PART III ASSESSING PUBLICNESS**

**5 Glasgow's Experience of Waterfront Regeneration and the Creation of New Public Space 97**
5.0 Introduction 97
5.1 Waterfront Regeneration – A Worldwide Phenomenon 97
5.2 Waterfronts as Key Sites for Urban Regeneration and the Creation of New Public Space 100
5.3 Glasgow – 'Scotland with Style'? 106
5.4 The Regeneration of Glasgow's River Clyde Waterfront 115
5.5 Conclusions 139

**6 How Public are Glasgow's Public Places? A Case Study of Three Waterfront Sites: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw 141**
6.0 Introduction 141
6.1 Pacific Quay 142
6.2 Glasgow Harbour 172
6.3 Broomielaw 199
6.4 The Publicness of New Public Places Along the Waterfront of the River Clyde 227
6.5 Conclusions 230

**7 'A Journey of a Thousand Miles Starts with a Single Step' 231**
7.0 Undertaking the Star Model Experiment 231
7.1 Reflections on the Star Model Approach 233
7.2 The Star Model – The First Step in a Journey of a Thousand Miles 236

*Annexe 1 Interview Pro-forma* *239*
*Annexe 2 Observation Days and General Weather Conditions* *243*
*Annexe 3: Non-time Dependent Observation Pro-forma* *245*
*Annexe 4 Time Dependent Observation Audit Pro-forma* *251*
*Annexe 5 Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Pacific Quay* *255*
*Annexe 6 Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Glasgow Harbour* *257*
*Annexe 7 Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Broomielaw* *259*

*Bibliography* *261*
*Index* *273*

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# List of Illustrations

## LIST OF MAPS

6.1 The location of the three case studies in the broader urban layout of Glasgow

6.2 The site under analysis. (a) Location of the site in relation to the City Centre. (b) The delineation of the public place under analysis

6.3 The location of Glasgow Harbour in the urban grid of Glasgow and key elements of the site under analysis

6.4 The location of Broomielaw Walkway in the urban grid of Glasgow and key elements of the site. Courtesy of Miller Developments

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 Public space – a multidisciplinary approach

1.2 Different approaches to studying public space

1.3 Previous attempts to measure public space

1.4 The graphical representation of the book's structure

**PART I Conceptualising Publicness**

2.1 Modes of control in public space

2.2 The conceptual Star Model of Publicness

2.3 The accessibility of public space as a resultant from the five meta-themes of publicness

2.4 The five meta-themes of publicness as reflections of the concept of power

**PART II Modelling Publicness**

4.1 Stages in the development of the Star Model

4.2 The Star Model of Public Space and its 19 indicators

4.3 Stages in the development of the Star Diagram of Publicness

**PART III Assessing Publicness**

5.1 Examples of recent city branding strategies. (a) Amsterdam. Photo by George Rex. (b) Glasgow. Photo by Steve Tiesdell

5.2 (a and b) Examples of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in Newcastle. (c and d) Examples of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in Melbourne. Photographs by Steve Tiesdell

5.3 A regenerated Glasgow. Photo by Steve Tiesdell

5.4 The vision that has framed the redevelopment of Glasgow's City Centre since the 1980s. From 'The Potential of Glasgow City Centre' by McKinsey & Partners, courtesy of the former Scottish Development Agency and its successor agency Scottish Enterprise

5.5 Glasgow City Centre boundary and main development areas. Adapted from GCC 2009, City Plan 2

5.6 The Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre (SECC) – the first large public amenity building on the post-industrial waterfront of the Clyde. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

5.7 The development of the Clyde as a series of rooms. (a) Gordon Cullen's vision in the 1980s. Courtesy of Gillespies from *Glasgow City Centre and The Clyde: Continuing the Renaissance*, a report commissioned in 1990 by the former Scottish Development Agency. (b) GCC's vision in the 1990s. Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.8 Glasgow's development framework in 1997; many key opportunities are placed along the waterfront (GCC 1997). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.9 The Clyde Auditorium – *The Armadillo* – one of Glasgow's contemporary iconic buildings. Photo taken by Steve Tiesdell during the River Festival of 2009

5.10 The vision for the river's regeneration proposed by the GCC during the leadership of Charlie Gordon (GCC 2002). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.11 Animation on the banks of the Clyde during the River Festival of 2009. Photos by Steve Tiesdell

5.12 Examples of how the Scottish Government's focus on place making is translated in the Scottish Planning Policy (SPP 2010)

5.13 The vision for the redevelopment of the River Clyde's waterfront in the City Plan 2 (GCC 2009c). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.14 Examples of 'forgotten' public places on the Clyde's waterfront

6.1 Pacific Quay. (a) In the heyday of maritime activity, when it was known as Prince's Dock. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport. (b) Aerial view of the site today. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

6.2 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the site at Pacific Quay

6.3 The evolution of ownership patterns at Pacific Quay from 1990s to 2010s. Adapted and based on information from Scottish Enterprise

6.4 The proposed masterplan by Pacific Quay Developments Ltd in the 2000s

6.5 The Science Centre and Millennium Bridge

6.6 The BBC Scotland building at Pacific Quay. (a) Photo by Steve Tiesdell. (b) Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

6.7 The Clyde Arc. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

6.8 The public place under analysis at Pacific Quay, from top down, a walk from the main entrance point to the site, Bell's Bridge, west along the waterfront. (a) The walkway between the BBC and the river. (b) The square between BBC and the Science Centre's main building. (c) The walkway between the Science Centre main building and the river

6.9 New development in the Digital Media Quarter

6.10 Gareth Hoskins Architects 2004 masterplan for Pacific Quay. Courtesy of Gareth Hoskins Architects Ltd

6.11 Glasgow City Council's current masterplan for the area. With permission from 7N Architects

6.12 CCTV surveillance cameras at Pacific Quay

6.13 Aerial view of the Pacific Quay site, showing its connectivity with the city centre. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

6.14 Accessibility of the Pacific Quay site. (a) The connection from the eastern edge. (b) The connection from the northern edge, on Bell's Bridge

6.15 Sitting and walking opportunities on the observation site Pacific Quay. (a) During the River Festival. (b) During the observation period. (c and d) Sitting and walking opportunities on the observation site Pacific Quay during the observation period

6.16 The wind turbine at Pacific Quay, the only opportunity for active engagement and discovery for visitors

6.17 Elements of civility: tidiness, greenery and lighting at Pacific Quay. Courtesy of photographer Simon Swales

6.18 The Star Diagram for the public place created at Pacific Quay

6.19 The Fairfields shipyards in Govan, view from the new Glasgow Harbour river walkway

6.20 Glasgow Harbour. (a) Granary buildings during the industrial days. (b) Aerial view of the site today. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport

6.21 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the site at Glasgow Harbour

6.22 The original masterplan for Glasgow Harbour by KPF from 2000. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

6.23 The different types of development proposed at Glasgow Harbour in the current representation of the masterplan. Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (n.d.) *Reflections. The Story of Glasgow Harbour Part 1: 1999–2006*, Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd. Permission granted by Clydeport

6.24 KPF's proposal for pedestrian links and main pedestrian nodes in the Glasgow Harbour masterplan from 2000. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

6.25 The public space strategy in the Glasgow Harbour project as proposed by KPF in the 2000 masterplan. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

6.26 Bird's eye view of the proposed development at Glasgow Harbour as developed by KPF in their 2000 masterplan. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

6.27 Aerial view of the development undertaken so far at Glasgow Harbour. Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (n.d.) *Reflections. The Story of Glasgow Harbour Part 1: 1999–2006*. Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport

6.28 The river walkway at Glasgow Harbour. (a) Artist's impression from the original masterplan of KPF. (b) The built result on site today. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

6.29 CCTV cameras at Glasgow Harbour

6.30 The main pedestrian connection of the Glasgow Harbour new public place, Meadow Road Underpass, highlighted by the statue *Rise*

6.31 Cycle route signage and cyclists using the new walkway at Glasgow Harbour

6.32 Sitting and walking opportunities in the new public place at Glasgow Harbour

6.33 Signs of wear and tear of the greenery in place at Glasgow Harbour

6.34 The lighting of the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour

6.35 The Star Diagram for the public place developed at Glasgow Harbour

6.36 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the Broomielaw public place

6.37 Broomielaw in its heydays of being an active port. © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Special Collections

6.38 Custom House Quay today still awaiting redevelopment. Photos by Steve Tiesdell

6.39 Tradeston, view from Broomielaw, still awaiting redevelopment

6.40 The Richard Rogers winning bid for the Broomielaw Bridge. Courtesy of Richard Rogers Partnership

6.41 The new pedestrian and cycle bridge at Broomielaw

6.42 'The Ferry' river venue and the new pontoon in the close proximity of the new Broomielaw public place

6.43 The proposed pavilions by Capella Group

6.44 CCTV surveillance in the new public place at Broomielaw

6.45 Young people climbing the new Broomielaw Bridge

6.46 The barrier effect of Broomielaw Street for the adjacent public place

6.47 The connectivity of the new public place along the river. (a) Towards east at Custom House Quay. (b) Towards west at Anderson Quay

6.48 Formal and informal sitting opportunities in the new public place at Broomielaw

6.49 The only street vendor on site – a café in the vicinity of the Renfrew Ferry riverboat restaurant

6.50 Teenagers enjoying the new public place at Broomielaw

6.51 Green space created at Broomielaw

6.52 Lighting strategies in the new public place created at Broomielaw

6.53 Instances of incivility in the Broomielaw public space

6.54 The Star Diagram of publicness for the Broomielaw public place

6.55 The Star Diagrams for the publicness of the three case studies considered for analysis: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw

## List of Tables

2.1 Various definitions on public space and related terms
2.2 Descriptors of 'more public' and 'less public' for each dimension of publicness
5.1 The main policy documents that frame the Clyde's regeneration
5.2 The various services involved in the creation and management of public places in Glasgow
5.3 Public space definitions from the actors involved in the development of Glasgow's public realm

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| BDP | Building Design Partnership |
| CABE | Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment |
| CSJ | Centre for Social Justice |
| 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 |
| GCVJSP | The Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan |
| GCVJSPC | Glasgow and Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan Committee |
| GEF | Glasgow Economic Forum |
| IFSD | International Financial Services District |
| KPF | Kohn Pederson Fox |
| PQDL | Pacific Quay Developments |
| SDA | Scottish Development Agency |
| SECC | Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre |
| SEG | Scottish Enterprise Glasgow |
| WCP | Waterfront Communities Project |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to the late Dr Steve Tiesdell who was key in shaping my thinking regarding our urban environment and whose passion for creating better places has been a never-ending source of inspiration. Second, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. David Adams for his continuous support and valuable insights. Without these two exceptional academics, this book would have never been written. Third, I would like to thank the Adam Smith Foundation who has funded my study, giving me this great opportunity. Also, I would like to thank all the academics in the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow for their support 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 Mhairi McKenzie. I am addressing my sincere thanks to all those who willingly took part in this research, especially the planners in the Glasgow City Councils' Development and Regeneration Services. A special thanks goes to Damiano Cerrone for his great work with the images needed in the final stages of the book.

I would also like to thank my friends and family, who gave me the important moral support along the years when this research was undertaken, who were always there in time of need. My special thanks go to Jonathan Wood, Elodie Sellar, Peter McLean, Aga Labonarska, Sofia Vasilieva, Matti William Karinen and Reinis Plavins. Finally, I would like to express my affection and gratitude to my mother, Rodica Varna, who never stopped believing in me. And last but not least I will say 'Kiitos' to Tommi, for his love, support and insightful conversations that helped in the final, and hardest stage of completing this work.

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 1

# Introduction

## 1.0 WHY THIS BOOK?

This book stems from a personal belief that public space plays a key role in building the sustainable, socially equal and liveable cities of tomorrow. We are greatly concerned today with the sustainable development of our fast urbanising society (Human Development Report 2007/2008, UN Climate Change Conference Copenhagen 2009) and with finding ways to improve our cities so that they become more socially cohesive, environmentally friendly and economically competitive. Through their multiple functions and various roles, public places[1] are central to achieving urban sustainability, in all its three dimensions:

Firstly, from a social perspective, public places such as streets, parks, plazas, squares and so on, are the stages where new social encounters happen, where people relax and enjoy themselves *together, in other words,* where the city's public social life unfolds. 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 current economic crisis, such as 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 of the public, we must ask 'Which public?' while when we discuss the creation of a public place for the public, we must 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 an increased degree of control and surveillance measures (Lofland 1998, Davis 1998), especially after 9/11, has led to grave consequences, such as increased

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

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.

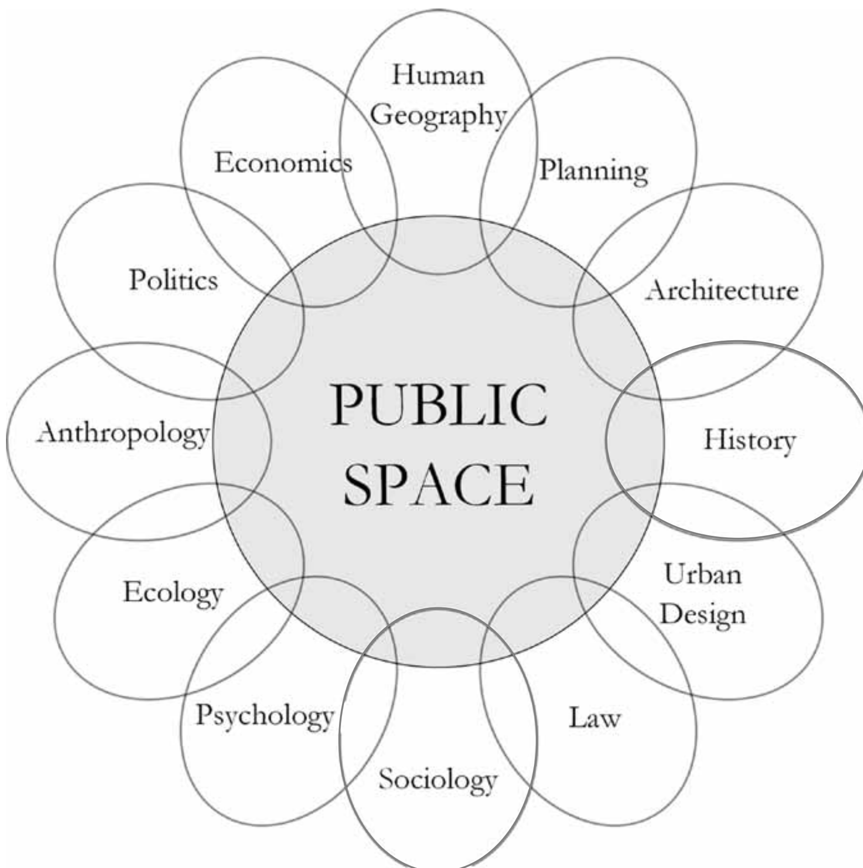
Secondly, from an environmental perspective, well-designed public places support pedestrian routes and public transport connections over car-based developments. Car dependency, one of the most polluting factors in our cities, together with the increase in global warming and the fast growth of urban population, have slowly led to a radical change in our approach to city planning and design. This has involved prioritising more compact cities based on walking and an interconnected public transport networks 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 a more sustainable city.

Thirdly, from an economic perspective, high quality public places are characterized by a high pedestrian footfall, supporting local businesses, especially 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.

When one tries to research the publicness of places, it slowly becomes apparent that the *public space* concept itself is a fairly slippery term. This can be explained by the perception of publicness being subjective, by the complex nature of real public places and by the inherent ambiguous meaning of publicness. Firstly, on an individual level, public space is a subjective, personal construct and each individual will have a different view on what constitutes a good public space for him/her. Secondly, on a more practical level, the 'real', built public places are complex socio-cultural, political and environmental products of a social group. Each actor in the process of creating a public place will have their own conceptualisation of what makes a public space public and bring to the table different skills, experiences, motivations and objectives. Finally, on a theoretical level, the existence of various disciplinary understandings of public space creates much confusion around the meaning of the terms 'public space' and 'publicness' of space. The first aim of this book is therefore to bring some light in understanding what public space is.

At a first glance, the contemporary public space of our cities has become a highly contested and controversial topic (see Atkinson 2003, Raco 2003). Debates on the 'politics of space' (for example, 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 and 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 militarisation and securitisation of space through CCTV and other express security measures; exclusion from public space; the emergence of gated communities; the Disneyfication of public spaces; etc.




1.1 Public space – a multidisciplinary approach

Apart from the field of urban design and planning, public space is also the subject of a growing academic literature from the social sciences and humanities (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 approaches towards understanding 'public space' (Figure 1.1).

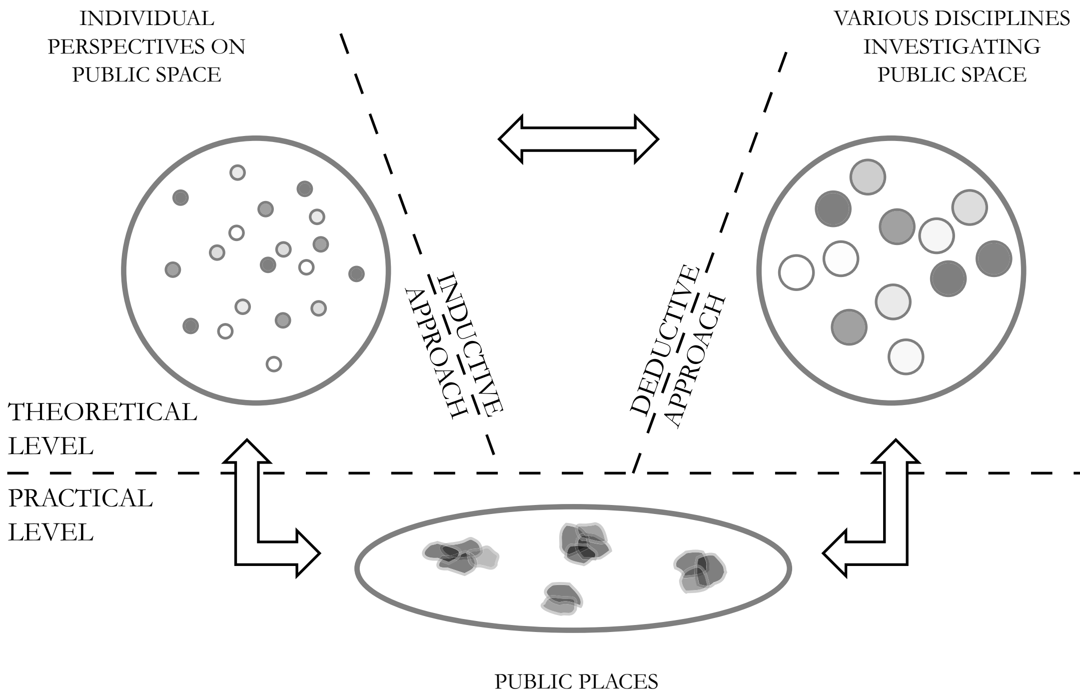
What these various accounts seem to have in common though is a sense that something has been lost. Many of these voices come from the American academia, pointing out that a commonly accepted standard of 'publicness' of public space has been tainted by the intrusion of economics and politics of fear and control (Sorkin 1992, Mitchell 1995, Davis 1998, Zukin 2000). This gave this book its starting point – to question if indeed contemporary public places are less public than they could/should be. In order to do this, and clarify the concept of public space, this study proposes a new way to assess the publicness of space, both as *a cultural* and as *a historical* reality. Moreover, it proposes a new quantitative model to measure public places, the Star Model of Publicness. These ideas will be briefly introduced in the following section.

## 1.1 THE DUAL NATURE OF PUBLIC PLACE AND PUBLICNESS

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 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: 22)*

It can be therefore argued that reflecting broader political, economic and social concerns, a social group holds at a certain point in time a common understanding of what makes a public space public. This is then translated in the various public places built in the urban realm. If one could grasp this generally held view on the best practice of public places and determine what key characteristics are considered as giving a certain place its 'quality of being public' or '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, in a deductive manner (see Figure 1.2).




1.2 Different approaches to studying public space

On one hand, this academic literature presents a large amount of information about a multitude of public places and as a result, common themes can be found that describe many of them. On another hand, the various professionals (architects, planners, politicians, lawyers, etc.) who are involved in the practical creation of public places are trained and educated in a common paradigm of place making, described in the scientific community. The commonly held view of what a 'quality' 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*. We are aware that the meanings of the terms culture and cultural can be largely debated; here by describing a public place as a cultural artefact, we understand its creation as a reflection of society's views, beliefs, norms and ideas regarding what a public place should be. There are noticeable differences between Trafalgar Square and Tiananmen Square; however, 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 whether there is a universal model for 'publicness'. For the time being, the fact that publicness is a cultural reality means that here, according to the consulted literature, an ideal for public space can be grasped only as a reflection of the western thought in general, at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. This anchoring in time is due to the fact that, at the same time with being a cultural reality, a public place is also a *historical construct* and its publicness *a historical reality*. As the western society changed in time, so did the understanding and the physical representations of

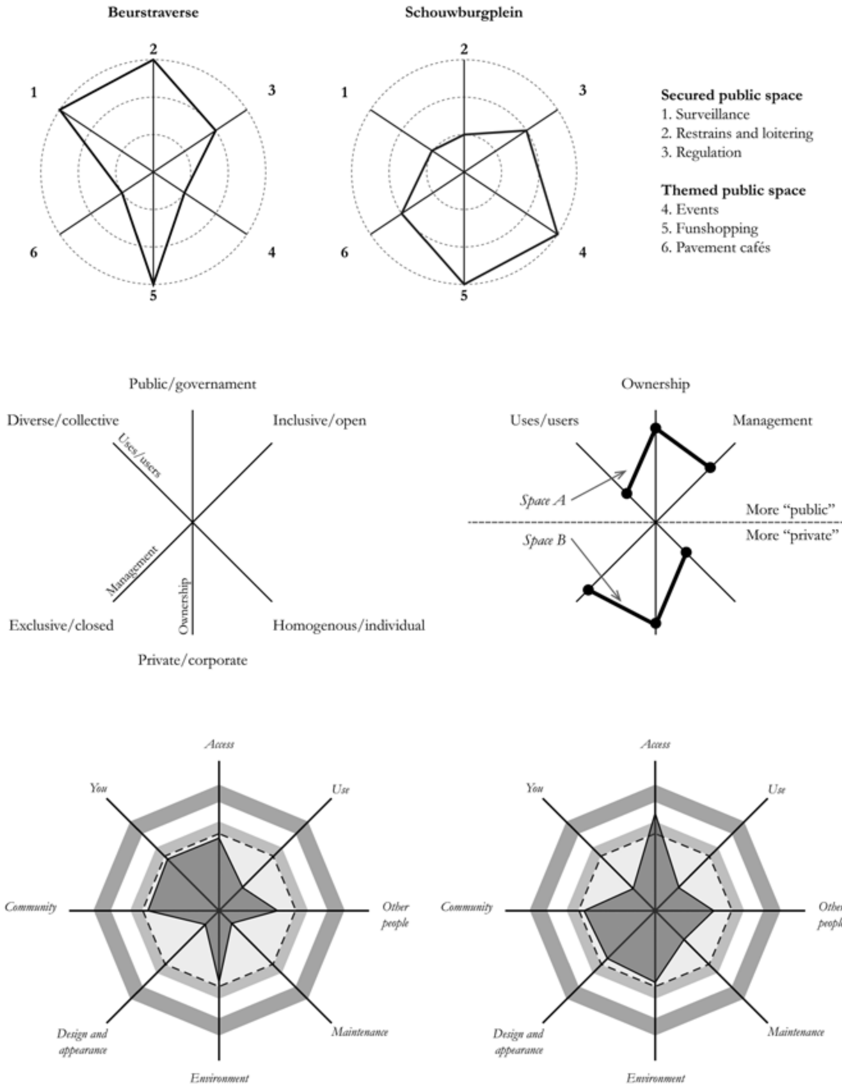
public space; as such, during different time periods, public places were created according to different ideas and ideals of publicness. The ideal of publicness of the ancient Greeks reflected in the agora where women, foreigners and slaves were not allowed to take part (Mitchell 1995) seems inappropriate for the contemporary western society's values. This means that an ideal public space and a standard for its publicness can only be defined for public places, built in the UK and generally in the western world, in the last 50 years or so.

Publicness as a historical reality is understood here not only on this macro-level, but also on a micro-level. This means that at a certain point in time, each public place's publicness results from a particular historical process of production, commonly known as the land and real estate development process. It has to be acknowledged from the very start that in this book, publicness is conceptualised as something 'out there', something measurable, independent of the human consciousness. The critical realist approach taken here asserts therefore that firstly, there is a real thing called 'publicness' and secondly, that this can be understood by investigating the structures and processes that generate this quality of public places. There is no such thing though as a perfect observer of the reality, as the cultural background and experiences of each of us influence the ways in which publicness is conceptualised. Therefore publicness can always be grasped from a subjective 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. This indicates that no public place can be a perfect reflection of the commonly held ideal of publicness because public places are created through 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.

The author thought that two approaches could be taken when trying to delineate a standard of publicness. Apart from a *deductive* approach (Figure 1.2) adopted here, there could be an *inductive* study undertaken where a large number of individuals' conception of 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). However, these studies also stress that the publicness of a public place is a perceived reality, based on each individual's memories, experiences and personality. Therefore, even though a standard of publicness was defined through the Star Model approach, the author understands that publicness is not only a concept capable to be measured and analysed, but also a subjective construct. In terms of making real public places, this means that we can always aim to create *more public places* for *more publics* but *a public place for all publics* is a utopian dream.

## 1.2 A NEW MODEL TO MEASURE PUBLIC SPACE

In order to understand and measure the publicness of a public place as a snapshot, reflecting a cultural reality at a certain point in time, the Star Model was created. This however was built upon several original and valuable attempts of analysing and quantifying different aspects related to the publicness of space as shown in Figure 1.3.




1.3 Previous attempts to measure public space

*Sources*: (top) 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, Routledge. (middle) 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.52–3, Pion Ltd. (bottom) CABE Spaceshaper a publication by former CABE.

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. Their intuitive attempt at quantifying one of the key issues related to public space has been pivotal at the start of this research. 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 that of the Dutch authors quoted above 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 study, their model was found as looking not specifically at the 'publicness' of public places but only from the point of view of control in public space and consequently all their indicators subscribe to this explicit agenda. At the same time, although their model was deemed as contributing significantly to a more pragmatic interpretation of public space, it did not manage to capture the multi-dimensional and complex nature of 'publicness'. In consequence, it could not have been used here. This was due largely to it being quite a general study, with indicators taking only the values 0, 1 and 2 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 work is an important standing stone for the present book, 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: 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: 4). This project shows the growing interest of the government and the general research community in improving public places, and 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 (for example 'You', 'Community' and 'Other People'). 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, no 'perfectly' objective model can be created and the Star Model has its own 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 developing this book. They brought confidence that this book 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, 2011) and more objective than CABE's.

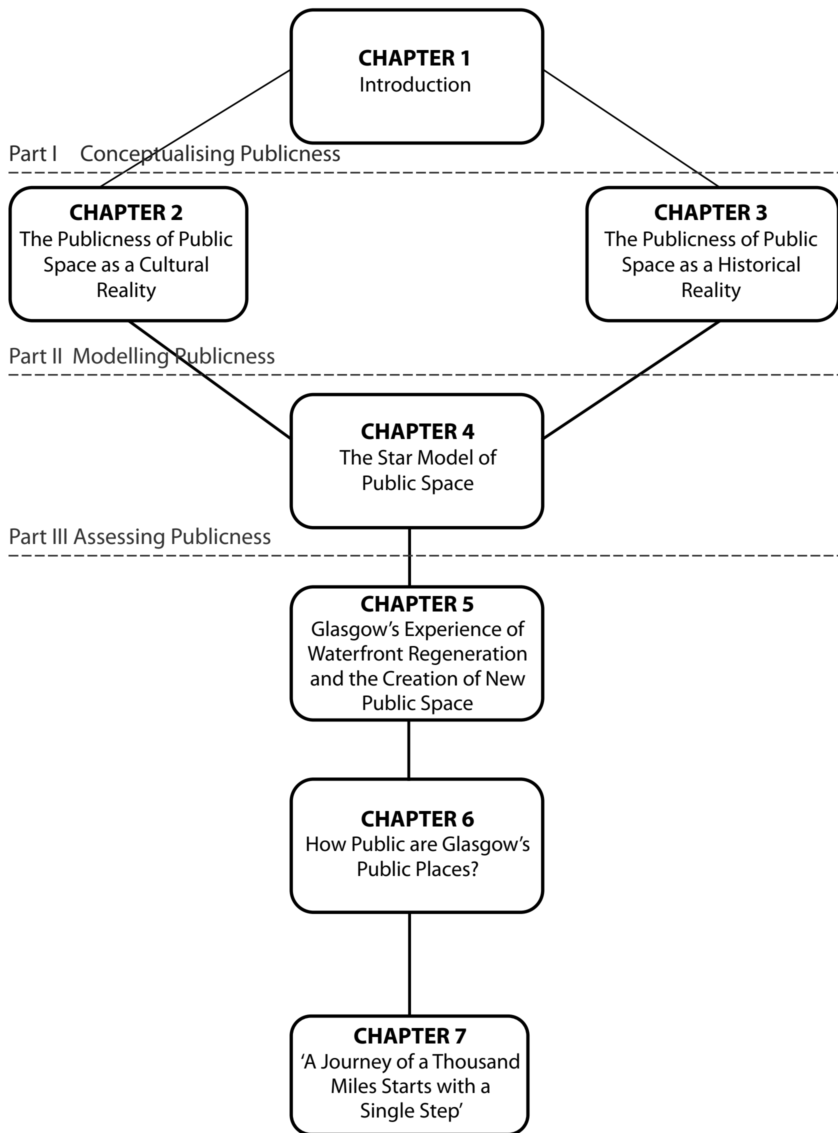
The creation of the Star Model of Publicness is deemed important for several reasons. Firstly, the model brings a long sought theoretical contribution in the field by offering an objective and inclusive method, to compare and contrast public places so that knowledge exchange is made possible and lessons are learned from the success and/or failure of different projects.

Secondly, the model should be useful in the planning process and public place creation as it provides a much needed decision support tool that can help overcome delays, which cause so many projects to be compromised in terms of quality or simply fail to deliver. The model describes and measures a given public place and furthermore, it represents it by a Star Diagram, a clear and comprehensive visual representation of the site's publicness. Therefore it is meant as a useful tool for facilitating information exchange in the land development process while also imposing certain standards of quality. It is the author's firm belief that urban planning and urban design should have a stronger position in the real estate development process by imposing quality standards and contributing more actively in assessing the quality of completed developments. In this respect, the model enhances the field by contributing broadly to the area identified by John Punter (2010: 326) as 'proactive development control', filling the gap made by the absence of a complex but universal criterion for determining the 'publicness' of public places.

Thirdly, 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.

Fourthly, the model can be used by anybody with particular interest in a public place wanting to understand its publicness. 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 feed back 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 creation of this model, its application and testing, as well as its potential for enhancing the research and practice of urban design, are the concern of this book. Its structure is presented in the following section.




1.4 The graphical representation of the book's structure

## 1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The first part of the book consists of three chapters and is concerned with conceptualising the publicness of public space as a dual nature concept. After the introduction, the next two chapters each focus on one aspect of publicness as a cultural reality and as a historical reality. The second part consists of one chapter and it is focused on the development of the methodology presented in this book. The focus of this part is on the transformation of the Star Model from a theoretical construct to a practical tool to measure public places. The third part consists of three chapters and is concerned with the practical application of the theoretical

framework developed so far. Firstly, it introduces the city of Glasgow and its recent experience in public space creation, as the general background for the case studies employed. Secondly, it shows how three new public places created in the last 30 years on the post-industrial waterfront of the River Clyde in Glasgow have been assessed using the framework set here. The last and seventh chapter concludes the book and sets out avenues for further research.

Chapter 2 presents the main issues related to the terminology and definitions used in the field of public space research, 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-Second World War period. It explores the key writings on the topic, with the aim of detailing five common meta-themes, which are defining for the publicness of public space: *Ownership*, *Physical configuration*, *Animation*, *Control* and *Civility*. These have been gathered in the Star Model of Public Space, according to which publicness is described as a multi-dimensional concept that results from the synergic interaction of the five meta-themes. The model reflects the standard for public space held today, in the western world generally, and UK in particular.

Chapter 3 is concerned with explaining publicness as a dynamic historical reality. Its focus lies on showing how each public place is shaped by the people and events that have been part of its creation process. 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. After a short historical view on public space creation in cities, the chapter presents the main characteristics of the land 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 among the key actors involved in real estate development.

The second part of the book is concerned with modelling the publicness of public space. Comprised of one chapter, Chapter 4**,** it describes the choice of methods for assessing public space, both as a historical construct and as a cultural artefact. The creation and calibration of the Star Model is described and the reasons behind the selection of Glasgow and the three case study public places are presented. 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.

Chapter 5 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 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.

Chapter 6 presents the results of testing this new approach for assessing public spaces. All three case study public places are described in terms of both their

historical development and their publicness ratings. More, the publicness of each site is graphically represented in a Star Diagram of Publicness and conclusions are drawn about their publicness.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, reflects on the key findings of this research, and draws conclusions across the entire project. The book's strengths and weaknesses are critically reflected on and recommendations for future research are made. As such, the model can be greatly improved through large scale testing in different cities, and by being placed under discussion in different forums of debate.

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. Public places are a crucial part of our everyday lives; they are the stage where the social life of the community unfolds and are a key link in creating the sustainable city of tomorrow. The key message of this book is that more clarity and rigor in the field of public space research is needed; it is hoped that this study will contribute to the opening up of the field in this direction, ultimately leading to the creation of *more public, public places for more publics*.

# PART I
# Conceptualising Publicness

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 2

# The Publicness of Public Space as a Cultural Reality: Defining a Standard for Public Space

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

An inquiry into any field of research starts with defining the concepts at hand and in this light, Chapter 2 aims to understand how public space has been defined and conceptualised so far in the main writings on the topic. These create a rich and diverse multi-disciplinary literature which is here analysed in order to find out what are the key traits of publicness; in other words, those specific 'elements' that make a public space, public. As the literature on public space is heterogeneous, coming from different time periods, geographical areas and scientific domains of inquiry, the temporal and spatial dimensions of this study are first delineated. Moving on, this chapter reviews, analyses and synthesis a large part of this literature. It is organised in five main parts, plus introduction and conclusion. After a short inquiry into the recent evolution of public space research, the second part shows the high level of ambiguity that exits in the various attempts of defining and conceptualising public space. The author aims at untangling the meanings of the slippery terms 'public', 'place' and 'space' and describes the arguments for the terminological choices made here. The main part of the chapter shows how five main themes or dimensions of publicness come across as key for defining and possibly measuring public space: ownership, control, physical configuration, animation and civility. Based on this (formal) distinction and on the discussion of each meta-theme as a discrete entity, the fourth section of the chapter gives the author's own definition of what an 'ideal of' public space means. It is fully acknowledged that this is a mental construct and its role is that 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 slippery boundaries between; the five-lateral dissociation has therefore mainly a structural purpose, aiming to clarify the complex nature of publicness. However, two areas of interaction among the meta-themes are discussed, in the last part of the chapter: a public place's accessibility and the complex notion of power. In the conclusion, it is acknowledged that

despite the existence of a wide range of multi-disciplinary studies on public space, five common themes can be identified and used to define the 'publicness' of public space. These form the building blocks for the Star Model of Publicness.

## 2.1 THE RECENT EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC SPACE RESEARCH

Public space research is a fairly recent area of investigation. Lyn Lofland (1998) asserts in 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. (Lofland 1998: xv)*

In order not to add more confusion in a field already marked by ambiguity, subjectivism and disparate empirical evidence, it should be stated from the onset that this book is written in the western world, by a researcher with a European formation. Furthermore, this study is founded mainly in the Anglo-Saxon public space literature written during the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first.

The foundations for the contemporary view on public space were laid in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when two famous studies, Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and William H Whyte's *Securing Open Space for Urban America: Conservation Easements* (1959) were published. In the following decade, during the 1970s, three key philosophical writings appeared: two on the nature of space and place, Lefebvre's *The Social Production of Space* in 1974 and Relph's *Place and Placelesness* in 1976, along with a meditation on the nature of public life and society, Richard Sennett's *The Fall of the Public Man* (1977). Alongside other efforts, these helped create a shift in the perceptions and understandings of urban public space, leading to the 1970s to be 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 and Gemzǿe 2000: 7)*

Later on, in the 1980s, two key writings 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 1960s work on the 'Street Life Project'. During the same decade, other disciplines brought important contributions to the field; the edited collection *The Public Face of Architecture*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, published in 1987 was followed by the 1989 English translation of the breakthrough analysis of the public sphere concept by Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (appeared first in German in 1962).

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 increased interest in public space was the deindustrialisation of many important cities, seeking to reinvent themselves and placing 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: 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:

> *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: 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 deindustrialization 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: 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. (Dovery and Sandercock 2002: 161)*

In parallel with an increase in the production of new and 'regenerated' public places, the quotes above suggest one other key reason for the recent increase in public space research – a growing concern with their quality. It seems that something is changing in the nature of urban public places around the world. This change has been 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 (…) 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. (Tibbalds 1992: vii)*

Later on in 2001, Tridib Banerjee rhetorically asks, ‘What is the future of public space?’ and identifies three principal trends that together ‘… represent fundamental shifts in the way public life and public space are conceptualised and in the values associated with them’ (Banerjee 2010: 10). The first trend is related to the privatisation and ‘commodification’ of public goods on the background of the governments’ diminishing role in providing public amenities. The second one is connected to the fast increasing phenomenon of globalisation. 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 second part of this chapter, when the analysis of publicness will be undertaken. 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 recent public space research. As Banerjee (2001), concisely summarises:

> *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. (Banerjee 2001: 12)*

Understanding this narrative of loss marked a crucial point in the present investigation because if something has been lost therefore new public places are less public than they should/could be. It results that there must be a commonly held ideal of what public space is/should be that can act as a standard against which public places can be compared to and possibly measured. Therefore, this research first asked, if indeed this decline of public spaces is a real phenomenon and second, if this were the case, what would be the best way to describe, as objectively as possible, the ‘publicness’ of a public place. In other words, can one measure or quantify the publicness of a place so that it can be shown that a decrease has actually happened? This gave rise to the following questions:

- Are there certain key characteristics that describe any public space/place and if so, what are these?
- In case these universal traits of ‘publicness’ exist, are there different ‘shades of publicness’, in other words can they be measured and ranked on a certain scale?
- 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’? In other words, is there a way to define a normative value of ‘publicness’ one can use as a standard for measuring existent public places?

These questions are answered systematically in the present chapter. To answer the first question, it was decided to analyse the existing 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 of public space and their grouping in five thematic clusters are presented in the following section.

## 2.2 THE SLIPPERY NATURE OF THE CONCEPT OF PUBLIC SPACE

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

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 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. An example is the excerpt below from Atkinson (2003) where 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. (Atkinson 2003: 1832)*

Due to a lack of clarity on the part of many authors but also to the recent emergence of the field of public space research, a clear, cross-disciplinary definition, useful for this research could not be found when investigating the main writings on the topic. What was found instead was a wide variety of definitions and terms (Table 2.1). As Table 2.1 shows, different authors use different concepts such as: 'urban public space' (Brown 2006), 'public space' (Carr 1992, Mitchell 2005, Gehl and Gemzøe 1996, Harvey 2006, Madanipour 2003), '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). Other authors before have encountered this, such as Staeheli and Mitchell (2008: 117), who, 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'.

Table 2.1 Various definitions on public space and related terms

| Nr | Author(s) | Title of work and year of publication | Term | Definitions |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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. (2006: 10) |
| 2 | Lofland, L. | *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory (1998)* | Public realm<br>Public space | 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. (1998: 9)<br>The term 'public space' covers a diversity of legal connections between the public and the space. (1998: 8) |
| 3 | Carr *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. (1992: xi)<br>There are three primary values that guide the development of our perspective: We believe that public places should be responsive, democratic and meaningful. (1992: 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. (2004: 11) |

| 5 | Zukin, S. | *The Cultures of Cities (1995)* | Public space<br>Public space /public culture<br>Urban 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. (1995: 8)<br>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. (1995: 45)<br>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. (1995: 259)<br>… 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. (1995: 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. (2003: 13)<br>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. (2003: 34) |
| 6.2 | Staeheli, L. and 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. (2008: 116)<br>… 'public space' is a slippery, complicated and shifting kind of space. (2008: 117) |
| 7 | Low, S. | *On the Plaza: the Politics of Public Space and Culture (2000)* | Urban public place<br>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. (2000: 47)<br>What is significant, however, is that public spaces are important arenas for public discourse and expressions of discontent. (2000: 204) |

Table 2.1 Various definitions on public space and related terms. *Continued*

| Nr | Author(s) | Title of work and year of publication | Term | Definitions |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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. (1996: 15) |
| 8.2 | Gehl, J. and 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. (1999: 10) |
| 9 | Tibbalds, F. | *Making People Friendly Towns (1992)* | Public realm<br>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. (1992: 1)<br>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. (1992: 14) |
| 10 | 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. (2003: 4)<br>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. (2003: 112) |
| 11 | Orum, A. and 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. (2010: 1) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 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. (1984: 15) |
| 13 | Jackson, J.B. | *The American Public Space (1984)* | 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. (1984: 277) |
| 14 | 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. (2007: 31) |
| 15 | 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. (2003: 370) |
| 16 | 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. (2008: 4)<br><br>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. (2008: 4) |

In the opinion of Carmona *et al.* (2008) 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 described these terms differently. To avoid similar confusion here, it is felt that several early clarifications need to be made. In the first place, the focus of this work lies on urban public space. As such, the researcher subscribes to Low and Smith's (2006) 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. (Low and Smith 1996: 3)*

Secondly, although there is a growing significant literature on the new forms of public space generated by the rapid development of the internet, the interest here lies on physical public places, in a similar way described by 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. (Zukin 1995: 45)*

Thirdly, the focus lies mainly on public sites, labelled in the literature both 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. (Madanipour 2003: 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.

### A Short Reflection on the Terms 'Space', 'Place' and 'Public'

Space has been conceptualised more than often, in a rather more scientific and philosophic way than place. It 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 asserted that the mind has its own

system of structuring the world, in which time and space are a priori categories. The understanding of space changed again with Einstein's theories 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. This paved the way for a growing concern with space, 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: 22)*

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: 257)*

Place has been the major concern of geography, 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 an 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.

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. (Madanipour 2003: 109)*

Problems in understanding the meaning of the concept 'public' arise because of the complex nature of the two entities 'society' and '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. On the other hand, he identifies the blurring of the boundary between

state and society as another important source for uncertainty in the matter. Jackson (1984) shares Madanipour's view of the dual meaning of the word public as referring both 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. (Jackson 1984: 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. (Jackson 1984: 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 sharp inequalities existing in society and gradually, women, ethnic and sexual minorities, and other groups have claimed their right to be part of 'the public' (see Fraser 1990 and also Atkinson 2003). Nevertheless, 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'. (Scruton 1984: 14)*

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 make 'appearance' into 'reality':

> *The term 'public' (…) 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. (Arendt 1958: 5)*

The discussion on the meanings and definitions of the three terms 'space', 'place' and 'public' is inexhaustible. We will conclude this part now by making first the decision 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, due to 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 resonates Relph's (1976) understanding of the two concepts:

> *In general it seems that space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places. (Relph 1976: 8)*

It needs to be acknowledged though that 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 meaningless?)? (Massey 2005: 6)*

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

A second decision is to acknowledge that although the terms public space and public place are used throughout this book, there is no such thing as 'the public' but 'publics' that together occupy a certain geographical area at the same time. Having made these clarifications, the remaining part of this chapter presents a cross-disciplinary review of the public space literature, organised according to five themes or 'dimensions of publicness': ownership, control, physical configuration, animation, and civility.

## 2.3 FIVE DIMENSIONS OF PUBLICNESS

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. These have been called *dimensions of publicness* and have been summarised under the following headings: ownership, control, physical configuration, animation, and civility.

## Ownership

Taking forward the previous discussion about the complex meaning of the term 'public', this section describes one of the concepts most frequently associated with the 'publicness' of public space, its ownership status. 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' (2008: 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 above in Table 2.1), 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: 1)*

When referring to the urban landscape, he finds that this public/private distinction is crucial for the way in which society has always been organised (Madanipour 2003: 1). This is clearly noticeable in the contemporary capitalist societies, as Setha Low and Neil Smith (2006) point out in their Introduction to the edited volume of *The Politics of Public 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: 4)*

Therefore, the division of the human habitat into public and private places is fundamentally based on the concept of ownership, which appears to be a first key characteristic for the publicness of public space. On a superficial level it seems that space can be divided in two general categories, public and private space '… and there appears to be a rough consensus – at least theoretically – about which is which (Lofland 1998: 8). Weintraub (1997) sees the dichotomy public/private space within four fields of discussion: state vs. market, community vs. state or market, society vs. personal space and society vs. family. In this book, the duality public/private space will be considered only according to the first opposition, 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, related to the ownership status of public space 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 has been seen by several academics as stemming from the carefully organised and designed space of consumption and imagery of Disneyland and 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: 16)*

In this respect, the keen observer of New York's public life, the sociologist Sharon Zukin (1995) points out that 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: 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. As Zukin (2000) points out:

> *… 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: 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: 25)*

Although there are voices supporting BIDs as 'contributing to the well-being of the public sphere' (Briffault 1999: 473) and 'contributing new energy, new resources and new leadership' to America's downtowns (Levi 2001: 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. (Cook 2008: 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: 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: 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: 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 privatisation she labels 'domestication by cappuccino'. From this discussion, it can be seen that there is a close connection between ownership and control, the latter being detailed in the next part of this chapter. For now, it is to be noted that the increasing phenomenon of privatisation of public space has influenced a general thinking of a loss in publicness across the writings on public space; it seems that the contemporary public places are not as public as they could/should be. Before presenting the different degrees of publicness according to ownership, a short discussion will be undertaken on the relationship between democracy and public space.

*Democracy and public space*

In this work, we have decided to consider that a public place is *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*. This 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 representative democracy.

The relation between public space and democracy does not refer solely to the issue of ownership. Public places are considered in different disciplinary fields (such as 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 fall of the Soviet Union is often associated with the demolition of the Berlin Wall. 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 as '… a symbol of the wealth and intransigence of a globalized privatized economy under siege' (Stevens and Dovey 2004: 363). 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. 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. It needs to be stressed though that 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: 35)*

In relation to the importance of people taking temporary control over a public place, there is a general view today 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' as one of the key contemporary philosophers of the city Richard Sennett (1977) has expressed in the 1970s. Another well-known American geographer, J.B. Jackson, reinforces this view in the 1980s, identifying 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 (Jackson 1984). The issue of political manifestation as a basic human right in public space will be tackled in the following part when the publicness dimension of control will be discussed. For now, it will be concluded that the distinction between public and private is fundamental to understanding public space. It appears that a growing blurring between the two has taken place recently, resulting in the existence of different degrees of ownership.

*Degrees of publicness according to ownership*

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: 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. In this respect, the American urban planner Peter Marcuse (2005: 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 that is 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: 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. As a result, ownership, as the first dimension of publicness, is defined here as following:

> *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.*

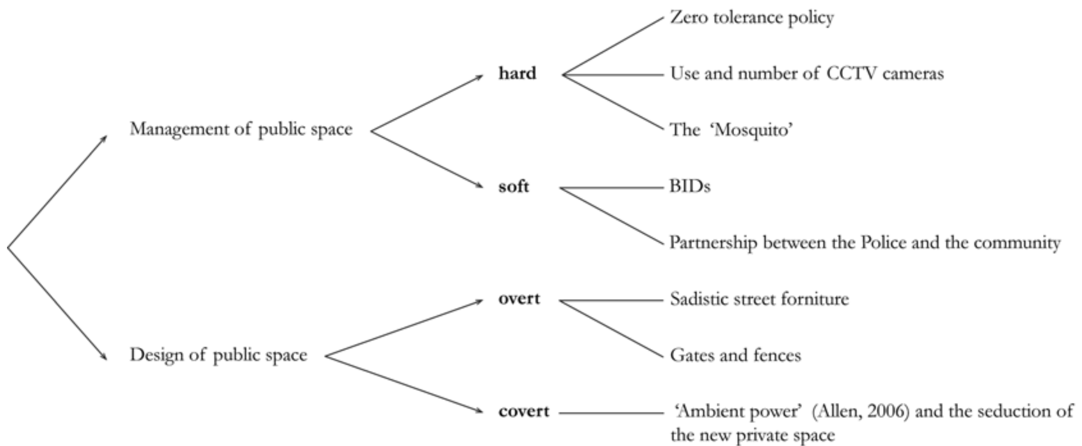
### Control

In the quest of trying to understand what makes a public space, public, it was discovered that a large part of the public space literature is focused on the quintessential function of public space to be the arena where people can take part in urban life and freely speak and assembly. This is intrinsically linked to the previous discussion on the close relation between the concepts of

democracy and public space; many authors, among which Carr *et al*. (1992), Mitchell (2003) and Goodsell (2003) consider the quality of a public place to be 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 where the people can express their dissatisfaction with a certain state of affairs. As a result, they are the places where the fundamental rights guaranteed by a democratic society, such as the right to speak freely and gather, 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 Koskela (2000), Atkinson (2003) or Raco (2003).

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 Don 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: 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: 128). Another author that shows how the publicness of public space has slowly diminished is the American political scientist, Margaret Kohn. In her *Brave New Neighbourhoods* (2004), she 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 lawsuit, 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: 52). This was a very important matter because in order to get an initiative on the ballot, groups had to gather signatures, including a certain percentage from the voting population. In a country petitioners are forbidden access to supermarkets and where many automobile-oriented suburbs have no other public gathering places, the space in front the post office was one of the few places for political expression (Kohn, 2004: 53). Taking into consideration these two examples and generally looking at the contemporary practices of securitising public space (Atkinson 2003, Raco 2003, Flusty 2001, Zukin 1995), it seems that they fall into two broad categories: the management and the design of public space (Figure 2.1).

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 hosting difference, unexpected encounters and freedom of expression. They range on a broad scale from 'hard' to 'soft' methods (Loukatiou – Sideris and Banerjee 1998: 183–5).




2.1 Modes of control in public space

*'Hard' methods of control in public space*

*The 'zero – tolerance policy'* Adopted by New York's former mayor Rudy Giuliani, the zero-tolerance policy involved the punishing of minor criminal behaviours and the pursuing of all the 'unwanted' and the 'undesirables' from public places. As Macleod (2002) explains:

> *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: 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).

Similar policies have been also attempted in Britain with the scope to diminish negative behaviours in public places. An example is Operation Spotlight, which was introduced in Glasgow in 1996 in order to deal with violence, drinking on the streets and begging. As Atkinson (2003) points out, this was meant to deal with the following felonies '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: 1837).

*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 15 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 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 (see Fyfe and Bannister 1996, Koskela 2000, Raco 2003). 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 visions of a dystopian future. 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 employed for the protection of private property or of top-secret institutions, it has become a 'policing' method of public space (Koskela 2000: 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 issue, which is created by the extensive use of close circuit television. If, for centuries, safety in urban public places 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? As Koskela sharply points out, the contemporary city comes closer and closer to Jeremy Bentham's '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: 252–253)*

*'The mosquito'* A new method used to prevent young people from 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: 28). It has been called 'the mosquito' and it shows that more and more public places are managed according to a certain idea of 'sanitised' 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 and free use of all those who wish to enter it.

*'Soft' methods of control in public space*

*Police partnerships* One of the best examples 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: 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 the 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 antagonistic with the 'zero-tolerance policy' and reflects an understanding of power as a co-operative force that brings people 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: 1838)*

The subject of the policing of public space begs a much more in depth study, which cannot be tackled here. What should be kept in mind from the above discussion is that there is a wide array of different methods of managing control in public places, ranging from 'hard' to more 'soft' ones. In addition, 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 to more covert and 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.

*Overt measures of control by design in public space*

*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 deter people from inhabiting certain places. Atkinson (2003) 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 (Atkinson 2003: 1834). He argues that these 'improvements' are actually '… "designing out" the already socially excluded' (Atkinson 2003: 1834).

*Covert measures of control by design in public space*

*Ambient power* 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: 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' have been banned from the Bluewater retail centre in Kent, UK (Millie 2009) in a similar manner to a person wearing a T-shirt with the logo 'Give peace a chance' in the Crossgate Mall in New York, USA, was considered a criminal offender (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. It is interesting to note here the view of the Australian architect and urban designer Kim Dovey (1999) who argues the more subtly power is embedded in the built environment, the more effective it is:

> *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: 2)*

*Degrees of publicness according to control*

From the above discussion, it results that there is a close relationship between public space and control and a strong presence of a political dimension in the discussion on the publicness of space. 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 'fragile' 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: 13)*

We showed that indeed today there is an increasing tendency of controlling new public places, resulting in the creation of environments where the potential for unpredictable social encounters, which are the basis for a healthy and diverse public life, is being diminished. This has translated in a large array of modes of control related both to the management and the design of public places in close connection to the privatisation of public space discussed previously in this chapter.

For the present research, in relation to control, the 'more public' situation is where the freedom of individuals is safeguarded in the public place. 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: 396). Together with Carr, 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: 415):

> *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: 415)*

In respect to this, it was decided that an ideal 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 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: 183–185) term 'soft' or 'passive' control or 'symbolic restrictions', passively discouraging undesirable activities.

Many commentators give a flavour of the '*less public*' situation. Oc and Tiesdell (1999), for example, identified four approaches to creating safer environments.[1] A less public space in terms of 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: 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) and secondary security personnel. Similarly, for Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998: 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: 48–49).

To conclude, in trying to understand, define and describe the publicness of public space, the researcher must observe and investigate the control measures and policies that are put in place and that affect the overall publicness of a site. Moreover, the chain of political decisions that lead to a built public place must be traced and analysed as each public place is a result of a certain development process and its publicness is a historical reality, as it will be described in more detail in Chapter 3. For now, as a second dimension of publicness, control is defined in this research as following:

---

[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.

> *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.*

**Physical Configuration**

As part of the built environment, public places are often described through their physical characteristics. For example Brown (2003: 10) defines public space as including '… formal squares, roads and streets, but also vacant land, verges and other 'edge-space' while Tibbalds (1992: 1) 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'. The disciplines of urban design, planning and architecture frame the debate on the physical characteristics of public places. 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 (that is beyond-the-place) and its *micro-design* – the specific design features of the place itself (that is within-the-place).

Regarding macro-design, every public place is part of a greater physical environment and therefore its location, boundaries and connections are fundamental for influencing its publicness. As Hillier stated:

> *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: 42)*

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

1. Centrality and connectivity

   Places that are strategically well located (those with centrality and connectivity) within a city's movement pattern have 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. At the same time, it is unlikely that a place is ever 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.

2. 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: 48–49) describes this as 'stealthy space', referring to places that cannot be found, are camouflaged or obscured by intervening objects or level changes and as 'slippery space', which designates places that cannot be reached due to contorted, protracted or missing paths of approach.

3. Thresholds and gateways

Thresholds and gateways can obstruct the physical accessibility of a place. These may be largely symbolic and passive (for example changes of flooring materials or the transition from an open to a roofed place), or physical and active (for example gates or manned checkpoints). The latter is Flusty's (1997: 48–49) 'crusty space', referring to places that cannot be accessed, due to obstructions such as walls, gates, and checkpoints. Thresholds are important because they become decision points (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 certain users (for example steps excluding wheelchair users) make the place less public. The explicit presence of gates and fences can be also seen not only as physical obstacles but also as a control measure, 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: 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: 659).

In terms of *micro-design*, many voices argue that places should be designed in order to support a vibrant public life, which can happen when different needs of people in public space are fulfilled. 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: 255). These will be discussed in more depth in the following section of this chapter, when the animation dimension of publicness will be presented.

Two key studies, from both sides of the Atlantic, 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 that in the design of a public place, of crucial importance are sitting opportunities:

> *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: 157)*

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

Sitting opportunities can be divided into 'primary' or formal seating referring to the benches and chairs and 'secondary' or informal sitting opportunities such as stairways, pedestals, ledges, steps, plinths and so on (Gehl 1996: 163). Related to the ubiquitous benches, although their positioning should be carefully matched to the layout of each site, two characteristics have been highlighted as key 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 (for example the river, a good vista, the central part of 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: 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: 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.

From this discussion, it seems as a general rule of thumb that although the social and physical context varies from location to location, resulting in each public place having its own identity and character, 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: 14).*

The urban design writings suggest that apart from offering these two basic 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 encourage users to actively engage with the environment and 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: 154).*

In addition to these elements of micro-design, the urban design literature advocates for 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: 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:

> *… 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: 41)*

Apart from these particular physical macro and micro-design elements, in the configuration of a public place the weather conditions need to be taken into account. This is a very important consideration, especially in the cities of Northern and Western Europe. Gehl and Gemzøe (1999) provide an illustrative comparison 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: 30).

*Degrees of publicness according to physical configuration*

To conclude this brief overview of key physical design elements that influence the publicness of public places, we will state that in this research the '*more public*' situation relates to a place 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 to those elements that meet the basic human needs, more plainly the different physical opportunities for people to sit, walk or actively engage with the environment.

The 'less public' situation relates to a lack 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 (for example 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: 451)*

To conclude, physical configuration, as the second meta-theme of publicness, is defined here 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 and so on).*

## Animation

A distinct and constant strand in the past decades literature on public space, focuses on the use of public space and its necessary presence for fulfilling basic human needs. Among the most important writings documenting the different behaviours and various activities that occur in public space 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, Jan Gehl's study *Life Between Buildings* (1996) and in Latin America, Setha Low's *On the Plaza. The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (2000). Whether the case studies are the Latin American plazas (Low 2000), the New York's redeveloped parks (Zukin 1995), 'the third places' of the western culture (Oldenburg 1989) or the public space of the French Revolution (Leith 1991), these writings share a common preoccupation with people's behaviours and actions in public space and how these change over time.

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, echoing back to the Greek Antiquity with 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 and so forth, which become 'artefacts of the social world' (Low 1997). As such, next to being a legal entity, a space for the freedom of individuals and a design object, public space is also a social and anthropological construct:

> *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: 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: 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: 147)*

In more concrete terms, the human needs in particular relation to public space that have been identified by Carr *et al.* (1992) as 'comfort', 'relaxation', 'passive engagement', 'active engagement', and 'discovery', as mentioned previously. Carmona *et al.* (2010) add a sixth – display, relating to both visibility and self-presentation in public space (see also Strong and Hénaff 2001) while Quentin Stevens in his *Ludic City* (2007), discusses a seventh need, play. These will be briefly presented in the next paragraphs.

*Comfort and relaxation*

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: 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 when talking about the presence of '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: 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 for squares and walkways and other public places designed with the 'entire public' in mind, or what Henri Shaftoe (2008) named 'convivial spaces', 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.

*Passive engagement*

This involves '… the need for an encounter with the setting, albeit without becoming actively involved' (Carr *et al.* 1992: 103). The primary form of passive engagement is people watching. Places that respond to this need are the 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: 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: 19) found out that New York's plazas were 'not ideal places' for 'striking up acquaintances', and that, even in the most sociable ones, 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: 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, creating valuable exchanges and connections.

*Play*

In his *Ludic City* (2007), Stevens argues that although there are many conceptualisations of play in the literature and variations across cultures and individuals, this can be seen as an escapist behaviour from everyday life, involving four main elements: non-instrumental actions, often encounters with strangers, a separation by boundary conditions and rules from the everyday and the enactment of particular activities through which individuals 'test and expand limits' (Stevens 2007: 27).

Regarding the activities performed in public places, as a reflection of the needs described above, 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 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. It is proposed here that on a smaller scale than Jan Gehl's or Whyte's studies, in order to find a public place as 'very public' 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, where all types of publics express themselves or it is a deserted, empty place.

*Degrees of publicness according to animation*

In this research, we understood that the animation of a public place can also be understood as scalable from a'more public' situation where there is a co-presence of a high diversity of users, engaged in a wide variety of activities to a 'less public', with empty, deserted urban places. 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. However, it is acknowledged that this theoretical position is based on the author embracing the value of a vibrant and rich public life as a measure for a healthy society. The author's 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 co-presence of such diversity. (Franck and Paxson 1989: 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: 44)*

It has to be kept in mind though, that although certain public places are created for specific categories of uses and users (for example, children's playgrounds, skate parks, tennis courts and so on), 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 '*less public*' situation of these places is when there are only a few people (or a homogenous public) engaged in a few activities, often 'necessary activities' (Gehl 1996), or in the extreme case no public(s), 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. Therefore, the definition of animation here is as following:

> *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.*

**Civility**

A fifth and last dimension of publicness is concerned with the maintenance of public places according to certain standards, so that they are clean, friendly and inviting areas, we called their civility. This fifth dimension of publicness 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: 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: 924)*

Although civility is not a theme as explicit as the other four, 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'. (Tibbalds 1992: 1)*

Madanipour (2004) also refers to the image of a public place that should not be marked by litter and decay when he states that:

> *… 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: 279)*

A key quality here is that the place appears to be maintained and 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: 52), we take 'the needs of others seriously'. (Banister et al. 2006: 920)*

Out of the five dimensions of publicness, this is the most difficult to delineate. Civility is another 'slippery term', which has 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: 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: 3) highlights this core

tension, calling for '… more civility and vigorous enforcement of community norms in the form of policing and laws against begging and loitering …' and others '… and arguing that the vitality of public space comes from its diversity, heterogeneity, and even its disruptive quality'. Lynch and Carr (1979) identify 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: 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: 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 according to Wilson and Kelling's (1982: 31) broken windows theory of crime prevention. 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: 316). Therefore in the support of clarifying the concept, 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: 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: 74)*

*Degrees of publicness according to civility*

In respect to our research, 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. Also the presence of public toilets, both a prerequisite for the cleanliness of the environment and for attracting users from different age categories more sensitive to this, for example children and the elderly.

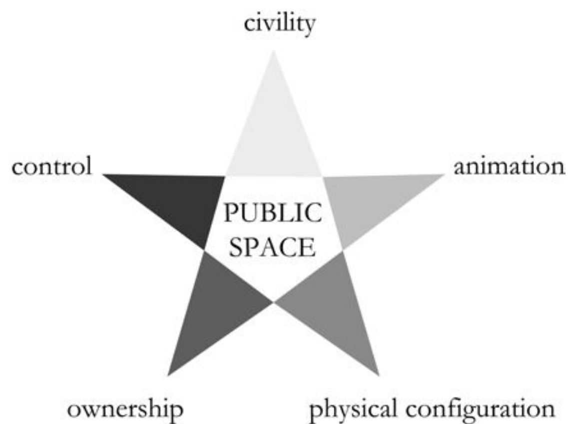
The 'less public' situations are where places are either over-managed or under-managed (Carmona 2010a). Carmona (2010a: 125) observes how many critics, particularly practice-based critics, focus on what they see as under-management, painting a picture of '… a rubbish strewn, poorly designed and insecure 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 following:

> *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.).*

## 2.4 DEFINING AN IDEAL PUBLIC SPACE AS A STANDARD OF PUBLICNESS

Several of the key public space writers also have found out that public space is a complex, multi-faceted concept. Kohn's (2004: 11) definition of public space, for example, has three core dimensions – 'ownership'; 'accessibility'; and 'intersubjectivity' (the kinds of encounters and interactions that a place facilitates). Carmona (2010b: 276) expands this to include 'function'

and 'perception'.[2] Defining her ideal of the 'unoppressive city', Iris Marion Young (1999, 2000) highlights 'accessibility', 'inclusion' and 'tolerance of difference' (openness to 'unassimilated otherness') as core dimensions. Based on earlier work by Benn and 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). Németh and Schmidt (2007, 2011) highlight three dimensions: 'ownership', 'management' and 'use/users'. In the discussion so far, we have identified five key dimensions of 'publicness': ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility. Through their synergic interaction, where the sum of all is greater than the parts added together, they create the publicness of public space. In order to illustrate this, the Star Model was created (Figure 2.2). All dimensions were found to vary from a 'more public' to 'less public' situation (Table 2.2).




2.2 The conceptual Star Model of Publicness

Table 2.2 Descriptors of 'more public' and 'less public' for each dimension of publicness

| More public | | Less public |
|---|---|---|
| Publicly owned space with public use | **OWNERSHIP** | Privately owned space with public use |
| Free use and a comforting police presence | **CONTROL** | Overt and oppressive control presence – human and electronic surveillance; highly visible security presence |
| 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 |
| Cared-for; well-kempt; inviting | **CIVILITY** | Untidy, vandalised, dirty and uninviting |

[2] Carmona (2010b) then offers a continuum from 'clearly public to clearly private space', featuring 20 space types in four groups, but does not explain the necessary trade-offs between the various dimensions.

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 attracts 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 above illustrates the common understanding found by the researcher of what constitutes a 'very public' or 'idyllic' public place today in the UK and in the Western world generally. It is a normative statement defining a standard of publicness that all public places should strive to attain, and in relation to which they can be measured. 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: 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:

> *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: 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 as 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. Firstly, 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: 133)*

Secondly, 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. With this in mind, the author set herself the task to translate this ideal for public space in a tool to measure real public places. The process of this transformation, the trial application of the tool and the preliminary results are the concern of the remainder of this book. Before this though, this chapter will end with a short discussion on two key concepts that lie at the interaction of the five themes described so far: access and power.

## 2.5 THE INTERACTION OF THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF PUBLICNESS: ACCESS AND POWER IN THE PUBLIC SPACE DEBATE

The delineation of the five meta-themes, as pointed out before, is mainly a logical exercise; in reality they interact 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.

### 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 her 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: 67)*

In the Star Model, 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. 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.[3] 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 have a high level of physical accessibility. 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. Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) identify three types of access: 'statutory access', 'physical access' and 'mental' or 'psychological access'. Their distinction is employed in this book as following:

- The first type 'statutory access' refers to access 'established through property relationships' (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008: 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.

[3] 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.

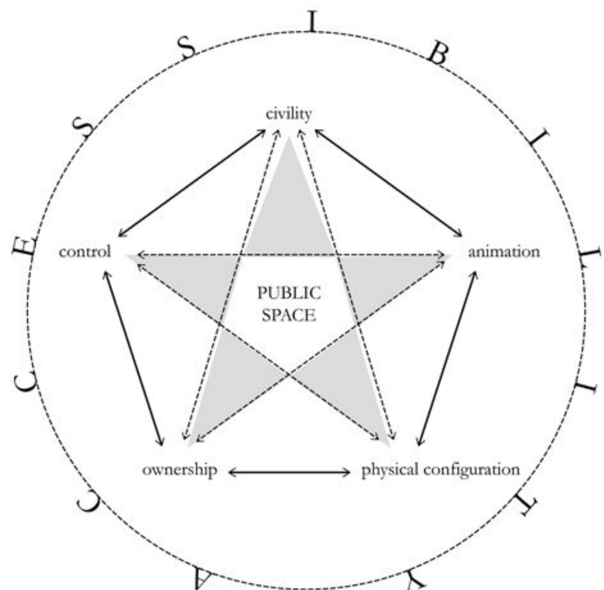
- The second type refers to physical access which Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) have conceptualised as including both the physical barring of access to a place but also the feeling of accessibility, how one perceives a place as accessible or not:

  *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: 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.

- 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 dimensions 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 (or accessibility) 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 (Figure 2.3).




2.3 The accessibility of public space as a resultant from the five meta-themes of publicness

## 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:

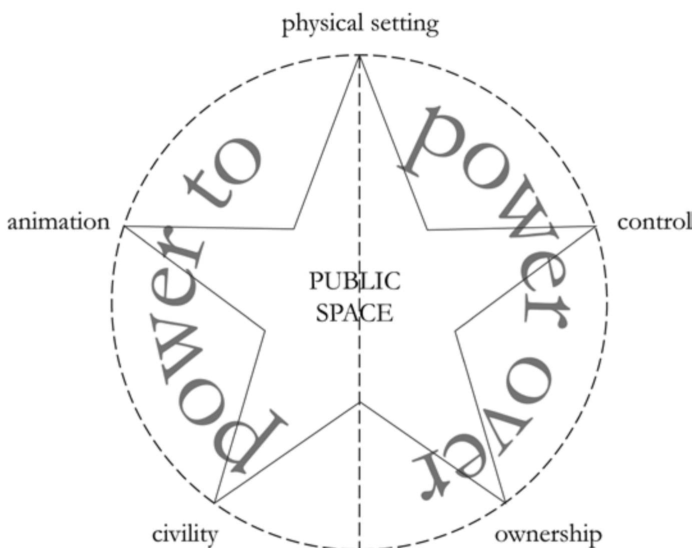
> *… we need to understand the power relationships that operate in public space. By controlling space, individuals and groups create the power to shape other relationships, including relations between people who aspire to be included in the public. (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008: xxiii)*

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: 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 2.4).

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

2.4 The five meta-themes of publicness as reflections of the concept of power



force that links actions, actors and circumstances in creating positive outcomes. 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 forms of power are employed: 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. 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.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

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 50 years or so. 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 firstly with clarifying the concept of public space and presenting a short recent history of public space research. Secondly, each dimension of publicness has been detailed and their variation from a 'more public 'to a 'less public' situation explained. Following this, a definition for the public space standard was found, referring to the last decades of public place creation mainly 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 lie at the interaction of 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.

# 3

# The Publicness of Public Space as a Historical Reality: Understanding the Real Estate Development Process

## 3.0 INTRODUCTION

So far this book has aimed to understand the publicness of public space as a cultural reality, as it is formulated and described today, in the western world. This chapter brings an insight into the historical nature of publicness, the other side of the coin. Each public place is created as part of a larger urban fabric. This means that at a certain point in time its publicness is influenced first, on a macro level, by the historical context governing the production of that particular place, and second on a micro level by the social actors involved in its construction. We start by presenting a short history of public space creation. We then move on to detail the post-Second World War 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. After presenting the current debates in planning and urban design theory, attention will be paid to the different actors involved in the real estate 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 in general and public places in particular. We conclude this chapter with a discussion on the particularities of public space creation and we show how publicness is a social construct.

## 3.1 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 links this major change in human history to three main reasons:

a. economic reasons – the storage of food surplus,
b. military reasons – the defensive needs of settlements to face enemy attacks, and

c. 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: 21) to the present day when more than 50 per cent 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: 22)*

As pointed out in Chapter 2, 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 for this purpose several of the politically underrepresented categories of the population were present in the space (Carmona *et. al*. 2008, Madanipour 2003). Other social activities, such as the performance of spectacles and festivities gave the opportunity for all 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' (Madanipour 2003: 194). Several characteristics of placemaking today 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: 24). This can be a reason why although the *de facto* application of the principles of democracy in the ancient agora were contradictory to the 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,

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

religious and political functions (Carmona *et al.* 2008). Among these, was the archetypal forum, which hosted a variety of mixed uses (Mumford 1961) similar to the Greek agora, and was designed according to rigorous principles theorised by the famous Roman architect Vitruvius in the first century BC:

> *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: 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: 25)*

This issue has been touched upon in the previous discussion on power in relation to publicness and it will be touched upon again later in this chapter in relation to current placemaking 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.

In the Middle Ages, the 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. Also, this historical period saw the first urban civic squares being developed from small marketplaces, such as Piazza San Marco in Venice (Carr *et al.* 1992: 55). These were to evolve into the majestic plazas of the Renaissance period. Although the marketplace and the space for religious congregation were key pillars for the public life of the medieval urban settlements, the quintessential public space of this time 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: 289)*

Carmona *et al*. (2008) point out that in the enclosed urban medieval settlements, the streets gained two qualities which arguably have permeated the principles and practices 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. Both of these traits of publicness have gained importance in the creation of public places today; the writings of Jane Jacobs (1961) and William H. Whyte (1980), promoting the diversity and vibrancy of the street and 'small urban spaces', echo the importance of the medieval urban street in contemporary cities. However, in the current day and age, the question remains whether can we really design diverse and vibrant urban spaces or whether these can only grow organically as part of a 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: 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 plans, such as by Filarete, of Sforzinda in Italy, in the fifteenth century (Madanipour 2003: 199) and by the new civic plazas, such as the Place Royal, today Place des Vosges in 1605 Paris (Carmona *et al*. 2008: 26). These new developments marked a clear and distinct development of urban public space:

> *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: 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: 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 linear grid patterns, enclosing a central square as well as lateral ones. Penn and Holmes devised the first of these plans in 1682 for Philadelphia and this became the norm for most North American cities (Carr *et al*. 1992).

The revolutionary wave that swept across Europe in the eighteenth century showed the fragile relationship between power and public space in ways not conceived before. The public places designed to reflect the authority of the ruling, aristocratic classes were now the stage of protest for the disempowered and unsatisfied categories of the population (Leith 1991). The new large boulevards designed to better facilitate commercial activities or to permit an easier movement of military troops, allowed for much more visibility of the elite's wealth in the eyes of the plebeian class; this showed in a clearer way than ever before, 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: 370). (Carr et al. 1992: 58)*

This brief historical analysis shows that the publicness of a public place is deeply anchored and influenced by a specific time period and therefore it can be assessed only in fixed temporal and geographical coordinates. Furthermore, it suggests that the overarching themes describing public space in the contemporary period are a reflection of historical events and traditions. The ideas and practices of urban placemaking of the ancients, in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance have been greatly impacted in the modern era by the industrial revolution at the end of the eighteenth century and the two world wars in the twentieth century. This will be detailed in the following section.

### From Modern Utopian Plans to Contemporary 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 aristocrats' 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: 29). The first public parks appeared in the 1820s in Germany (Carr *et al*. 1992: 62) and became a common site in most cities on the European continent but also in the New World. Here, a parallel phenomenon of rapid increase and diversification of the urban population led to the development of many parks and playgrounds during the so-called

Reform movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Carr *et al*. 1992). The provision of these new public parks was part of a broader, more coherent movement to actively intervene in city design and urban development. The overall aim was to improve the quality of life and the health of city dwellers, which suffered a steep decline in the industrial age.

The most illustrious figure of the large-scale development of the American public places was Frederik Law Olmsted. The unhealthy conditions of the industrial city on mainland Europe, which reflected in a life expectancy of 26 years in London and 17 years Liverpool in 1860, 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 was of '... 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: 245). Although criticised for its emphasis on aestheticism and lack of functional principles, Olmsted's legacy can be seen today in the in many parks and recreation facilities built in cities all over the world. Apart from the idea of the beautification of the city, other issues that arose during the creation of these first parks are of 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 of connectivity and 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 5. Olmsted's parks were part of the larger City Beautiful movement of American cities, described by Carr *et al.* as the movement that

> *... 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: 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 ignoring to deal with more pressing urban problems such as overcrowding, high densities, terrible housing conditions, poor health and deficient infrastructure. 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 large impact on the post

1945 rebuilding of Europe's war scarred cities. In this light, the principles of planning after the Second 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 in an attempt to create a cleaner and healthier environment in the modern city. Most cities affected by the war bombings pursued large-scale measures of rebuilding their 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 subsequently criticised in the 1950s and 1960s for its narrow vision of shaping the urban environment based only on aesthetic and physical design principles. As Taylor concisely puts it:

> *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: 55)*

Echoing these critical voices, the post war physical approach in planning was replaced in the 1960s and 1970s with a more holistic view of cities as complex systems, which guided planners towards a better understanding of the intricate urban pattern. This resulted in physical planning becoming complemented by economic and social planning, leading to a great broadening of the field. This new way of thinking called for a drastic change in the planner's role in the development of 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: 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 into a landscape of high rise housing estates and motorways that destroyed much of the traditional urban fabric and brought little development in the urban public place landscape. In conjunction with a large number of protests that swept across British cities in the 1960s, this 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 defining a vision for the future of society. Instead, they were considered more and more 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. Planning became therefore seen 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: 162)*

For the task at hand, understanding the publicness of public space, this means that today there is a strong sense of understanding public places as integrated parts of the urban tapestry; they are build as a collaborative 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. Put more pragmatically, the publicness of a public place is the result of the various decisions made in the development process; a 'product' shaped 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.

## 3.2 THE 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 creating 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 designed, planned and 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 project as part of the larger cycle of land development and has been conceptualised graphically as a triangle by Barett *et al*. (1978, in Adams, 1994) in their 'development pipeline model'. 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 good way for the public authorities to secure the development of public goods, such as public space is by triggering development, often nowadays through the process of master planning. 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 and successful public places are created (see for example HafenCity project in Hamburg).

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 needs to have control over the entire land by the end of this phase. In many countries the public authorities 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 how often this happens in practice is the subject of an entirely different piece of research:

> *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. (SPP1 2002)*

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. (SPP1 2002)*

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 stemming from a general entrepreneurial ethos, fast paced urban competition and diminished public budgets. 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'. Physical and market conditions are also important for the feasibility of a project as it has been seen in the recent economic crisis.

The third phase of the development process is the implementation phase when a project is constructed and given to use; in our particular case when public places are completed and become part of the public sphere. They are appropriated and used by various groups or *publics*, according to their needs and wishes.

The event-based model is relevant for this research because it helps us to understand a public place as a sequence of different development stages. At any point in the process, certain decisions can lead to improving or diminishing the overall publicness of a site. However, the event-based model has been criticised for not paying enough attention to the individual actors involved in the development process with their own particular objectives, motivations and degree of influence. In order to gain insight into how the particular development actors influence the publicness of places, we will also briefly consider here the agency model. Through its framework, 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: 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, the construction industry (Ambrose 1986, quoted in Adams 1994) and the

general public. 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.

### 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[2] in the creation of public places, the importance of landownership is deemed here as crucial. As it was shown in Chapter 2, the publicness of a site is higher if the site is in public ownership. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the distinction between public and private ownership has been significantly blurred in recent decades, and a large-scale phenomenon of privatization of public space has been taking place. 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. 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: 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, the local authority (e.g. HafenCity in Hamburg, Germany).

### The Developer

The developer is often considered 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: 10). On an individual level, this is due to his/her role of deciding the type of development and also often undertaking the greater part of the risk.

[2] Except when they are represented by builders or developers that own land banks devoted to development.

On a general level, this is due to the widespread influence of neoliberal and entrepreneurial values in the practice of contemporary urban development. 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 and 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: 223). 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 urban market demand 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.

**The Planner**

In the first part of this chapter, it was shown how ideas about the meaning and role of planning have changed dramatically in the past century, transforming the role of planner in the development process. Planners can work both for the local authority and for private bodies, which leads to a conflict of interests when serving the 'public interest':

> *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: 7)*

Successful public places are crucially linked with the public interest, as they are the stage where the public life of the city unfolds. Moreover, public space is part of what Adams (1994) terms as 'the public goods'; these are not usually provided by the normal market mechanisms because they produce no immediate or direct returns when consumed. According to Webster:

> *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. (Webster 2007: 85)*

As the local authority represents the local community of users, it is its responsibility to provide public goods, among which, public places. Therefore, the role of the planners working for the local authority is crucial in their provision and quality. Today, as mentioned before, the planner's role is to negotiate among the different actors in the development process and to ensure that the new development respects the planning regulations in place. The planners therefore need to bargain with the other actors, especially the developers to secure the budget for the creation of public places, especially high quality ones. In this research we hope to show that a lack of a clear definition of public space and of clear standards for very public, public places negatively influence the planners' ability to communicate their requirements and negotiate with other actors for their provision.

### 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. Therefore, they have to secure the cash from other sources, usually described broadly as 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 certain that the development is financially viable and therefore they 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 them. 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 key 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 National Lottery money as exemplified by the recent regeneration of Sheffield city centre. In the current climate of economic recession, it is essential that local authorities can secure funding for developments that do not follow only financial goals but also public goods, such as the creation of liveable and attractive urban public places.

### The Designer/Architect

During the history of urban placemaking, most often, the architect has been the designer of public places, as it was shown previously in this chapter. Architects still greatly influence placemaking and often benefit from a certain 'status' derived from their knowledge, expertise and renown. The recent phenomenon of 'iconic architecture' where world famous architects are employed to design key projects, deemed necessary by the local authorities 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 Norman Foster to design the Clyde Auditorium or Zaha Hadid for the New Museum of Transport. In the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s much criticism was directed towards the focus of architecture on individual buildings, which left the spaces in between forgotten, 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 1950s, replacing the older term 'civic design'. Its focus lay on the space in between buildings and according to Robertson (1981), 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: 486–487)*

The common view today is that urban design, 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: 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 through creating a project's design guidelines. 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: 11).*

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

**The User/Tenant**

While most developments have precise users in mind (for example a housing complex is geared towards potential home owners, an office building towards the companies that need office space and so forth), in the case of public space,

as stated before, the consumer is 'the general public'. As this is a fairly vague term and due to the difficulty of involving all members of the 'public' – or the various 'publics' (Fraser 1990) – 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 their own understandings and more than often, 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 the users' needs or infringe their basic rights in public space. As mentioned in the previous chapter, 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 lead to public places failing to become lively and diverse urban environments. These issues inform the present research in the respect that it will be important to see how the public had been 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.

Through the above discussion we can see that power is the elephant in the room. In the previous chapter, we mentioned the concept of power as key in linking the different dimensions of public space when Dovey's (1999) distinction between *power over* and *power to* was addressed. 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 to their input of capital and the power of the architect or the urban designer to use their expertise or 'cultural capital' (Bentley 1999, in Carmona and Tiesdell eds 2007) in order to impose their own vision on urban development. To these, we can add 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) where the different actors who hold these different kinds of power use it for achieving their own personal goals and interests, often divergent. 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. (Dovey 1999: 1)*

An opposing view sees the planning and the development of the built environment processes not as a power play 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. 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 and knowledge is equally important to the ability of each individual in gaining the support of the other actors.

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 and owners, who pursue mainly financial objectives, can dictate over the interests focused on quality of place pursued by the architects and the designers employed. A third way of seeing the relations amongst the participants in 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: 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: 323)*

This is an illustration of the second meaning of power, as *power to* do things together and resonates with the view that planning is a collaborative enterprise based on communication, bargaining and negotiation as mentioned previously.

To conclude this part, it can be stated that public places today are often 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. Therefore, the production of public places can be seen as a result of the structure and agency duality. None of the development actors can use their power freely but have to respect the rules and regulations put in place at the specific time; these represent the political and social views framing the specific governance regime functioning at the time. Finally, the process is made even more complicated by the use of unique negotiation and bargaining qualities of certain actors who can use them to gather support from the other parties and drive a certain development towards their specific goals.

## 3.3 CONCLUSIONS

This inquiry into the historical evolution of urban public space has shown that many of 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. However, several common historical themes emerge as well, such as public space as a space for freedom of expression and equality or the importance of aesthetics in designing urban public places. What needs to be kept in mind though when analysing the publicness of a public place, is that both the general background of its development and the particularities of its production process needs investigated. As we have shown, the real estate development process is a very complex undertaking and we need to ask: what are the repercussions of this complicated process for the publicness of newly created public places? We hope to answer this question in the case of Glasgow's newly-built public places, where the broader historical context that governed their creation, the different stages of their production and also the various actors that were involved in the place-making process will be analysed. As such, we will illustrate our dual understanding of publicness as both resulting from the five different dimensions described in the previous chapter but also a historically constructed phenomenon. Before we do this in chapters 5 and 6, we will take a brief moment to explain how we translated our theoretical conceptualisation of publicness into a method for analysing public places.

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# PART II
# Modelling Publicness

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 4

# The Star Model of Public Space: From Theoretical Construct to Methodological Tool

## 4.0 INTRODUCTION

The second part of this book is concerned with the practical application of the conceptualisation of publicness highlighted in the first chapters. It is comprised of only one chapter, Chapter 4, which shows how the theoretical understanding of publicness as a dual nature concept was translated into a mixed methods approach for assessing public places. Among them, the creation of the Star Model of Publicness is the focus here while issues related to the fieldwork undertaken are also highlighted.

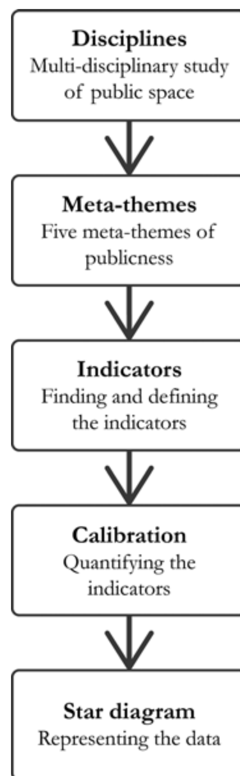
Chapter 4 presents a journey from an idea – that a unified theoretical model can coherently describe the publicness of public space – to the creation of a practical way to assess public places. The journey had the researcher question not only the concept of publicness, but also that of methodology itself 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 step forward towards more analytical, more scientifically rigorous and more innovative studies in the field of public space research.

## 4.1 STAGES IN THE CREATION OF THE STAR DIAGRAM OF PUBLICNESS

After the dual nature of public space theory was created, we needed to find methods to apply this in practice and verify if indeed this was a valid way to understand and analyse public places. Looking at the available literature, it was found that to grasp the historical nature of publicness, methods were already available,

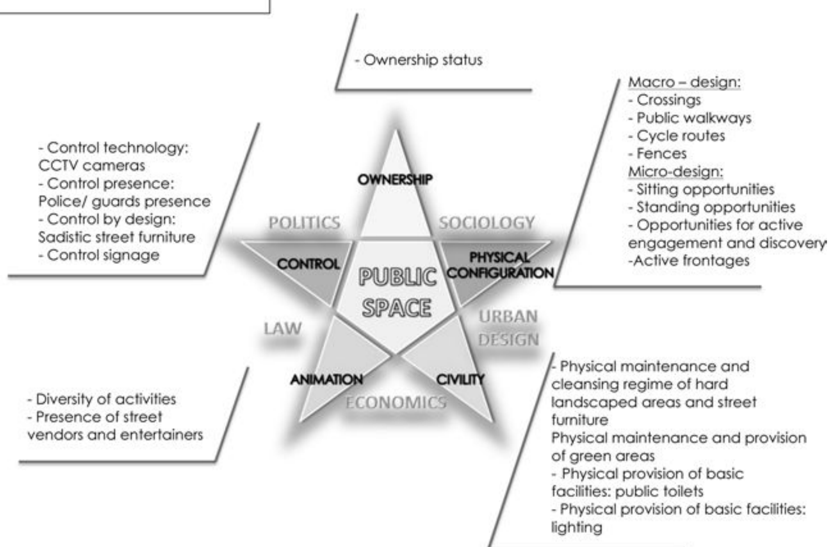
such as interviews, focus groups or questionnaires with key actors, document analysis of both public and private publications and archival research. However, no available methods were found to grasp the cultural nature of publicness, to understand and measure publicness at a certain point in time. In other words, there were no previous attempts[1] that tried to answer in a rigorous manner the question of how public is a certain public place. Therefore, based on the five meta-themes presented in Chapter 2, a new method for measuring the publicness of public places was created, named the Star Model of Publicness. The creation of this tool was based on two principles: simplicity and usability, so 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 thought process driving the creation of the Star Model is shown in Figure 4.1.

The crucial 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. After many trial and errors attempts, 19 indicators were decided upon (Figure 4.2).




4.1 (right) Stages in the development of the Star Model

4.2 (below) The Star Model of Public Space and its 19 indicators




[1] Apart from the three partial attempts mentioned in Chapter 1, Introduction.

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.

It is acknowledged that the indicators express each meta-theme but do not fully illustrate it: it is the fate of any model to represent but never fully capture reality. After the indicators were defined (as presented in Annexe 1), a rating scale was decided upon for grading their variation from low to high publicness. In previous research, Nemeth and Schmidt (2007, 2011) have used 0,1 and 2 values and created statistical modelling for a large number of public places in New York. In the beginning it was thought that three grades of publicness (low, medium and high), rated on a scale from 1 to 3 could be used; however, after careful consideration, this seemed insufficient for rendering the many variations of publicness. As a result, it was opted for a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being the lowest publicness and 5 the highest. It was considered that a scale with more than five values would complicate the model too much while a lower one would not be sensitive enough to reflect the different shades of publicness. For each value, a description as objective as possible was given. Although it is acknowledged that the descriptors for the indicators have an inherent degree of subjectivity, the author tried to create a model as robust as possible. The thought process driving the choice of the indicators is presented in the following part.

## 4.2 CHOOSING THE INDICATORS

### Ownership

With respect to the first dimension of publicness, Ownership, it has been decided to encapsulate it in only one indicator, *Ownership status*. This illustrates the legal status of a site and shows in its five levels of variations, the degree of influence that the general public has in the management of a public place. 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 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 were awarded as following: 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, albeit 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 diminish the public's influence in the matters regarding a particular public place. In the case of a BID type of ownership arrangement, although there are many types and forms (as described in Chapter 2), this is understood here primarily 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 of a site being 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 per cent of the entire area of the public place, part B is 20 per cent and part C is 50 per cent then the total ownership rating will be calculated as:

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

**Control**

When choosing the indicators for the control dimension, 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, the highest potential for publicness is achieved when there are no cameras and the lowest, when there are overt CCTV cameras, observing more than half of the site. 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 innovation aimed to control behaviours will become as highly employed as CCTV, a new indicator will have to be created.

Deciding on the second indicator, *Control presence*, proved more problematic because in an ideal situation of free use, there should be no overt police presence or private guards; however, it is acknowledged that some members of the public might deem the presence of policemen necessary 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 as Atkinson points out:

> *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: 1831)*

Here a value judgement needed to be made; the above question was answered by agreeing with Jane Jacobs's (1961) 'eyes on the street' which states that safety should be ensured mainly by the existence of a large number of users. Furthermore, 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 and visible control presence through the presence of both police and private guards.

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 2). 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. This indicator can be considered to be at the intersection between Physical Configuration and Control and we have decided to include it in the Control dimension. However, it is agreed that other researchers might find that a better fit would be to consider it as part of the Physical Configuration dimension of a public place.

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 their presence leads to a more controlled and as such less public, public place. It should be noted that signs referring to civil behaviour (such as 'No dog fowling' or 'Pick up your litter') were not taken into consideration as they do not show an oppressive control manner and are related to Civility.

It is recognised that the author's approach 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. Negotiations between safety and diversity will always take place within the framework of local governance practices.

**Physical Configuration**

As presented in Chapter 2, Physical Configuration refers both to the macro-design and the micro-design of a public space. Four indicators were selected for measuring the macro-design of site: *Crossings*, *Public walkways*, *Cycle routes* and *Fences,* all showing how well the public place is connected to the surrounding urban environment. 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 the space syntax methodology (Hillier 1996) can be used. However, due to the complexity of this method, which contradicts the principle of ease of use that the Star Model was predicated upon, this was not chosen at this stage. It is hoped that a future project will look at the possibilities of joining the Star Model with space syntax.

In relation to the first three indicators, *Crossings*, *Public walkways* and *Cycle routes,* it was considered that when obstacles (such as a river, a busy road, a railway and so forth) are present, key linkages, such as pedestrian bridges, street crossings or underpasses need to be present in order to connect the site with the surrounding pedestrian network in all cardinal directions. A fourth indicator related to the presence of *Fences* was chosen, due to the impact that these have in highly diminishing the 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 were rated lowest while low fences with many access points (in all cardinal directions) were rated highest. It is acknowledged that the presence of fences can be considered an element of control; however, they are mainly a design element and as long as there is free passage, they only serve to delineate a space.[2] In terms of charges, it was decided that a public place is public only when there is no entrance fee. This is the personal view of the 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 and therefore it stops becoming a public place.

In terms of macro-design, special consideration has to be paid to wheelchair users in particular when public places 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 place by using 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 all directions.

Micro-design, as explained in Chapter 2, 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.* Concerning *Sitting opportunities*, there can be no standard defined for the actual number of benches given the differences in layouts, size and types of public places (there can be too few but also too many benches). Therefore the indicator was created based on the two characteristics presented in Chapter 2 as common for successful benches: well positioned and comfortable. When we considered *Walking opportunities*, it was thought that if even easily walking pavements are present across the entire site, they create the highest potential for movement within the place, for all

[2] See for example Alexander (1977) and his emphasis on the importance of the edge for a public place's design.

categories of users (the elderly and children as well as women with high heels are the categories most susceptible to the quality of the paving materials). The lowest rating was awarded when even and easily walking pavements were present in less than 25 per cent of the site. The third indicator, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was defined as referring to the presence of particular elements that influence the way publics 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 lowest rating was given to the lack of these elements while the presence of more than three, ideally different types, was rated highest. Of course, these opportunities for active engagement with the environment 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. However, this indicator was deemed necessary due to their importance for social interaction among strangers. In this respect, the in-depth studies performed by Jan Gehl and his team have empirically shown that the greatest number of spontaneous social interactions take 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, 2012; Gehl and Gemzøe 1999, 2000). Following a similar train of thought, an indicator was created for the presence of *active frontages*[3] in the buildings defining a public place; similar to the previous indicator, it is often mentioned in the literature that a high density of varied active frontages enhances the vibrancy of the public place they are positioned towards (Tibbalds 1992, Gehl 1996, Carmona *et al*. 2003).

**Animation**

Regarding the meta-theme of animation, there is an abundance of multi-disciplinary writings stating that a public space is not really public if the 'people' – the multiple 'publics' that can enjoy and fulfil their needs (Carr *et al*. 1992) while being able to express themselves freely[4] – are missing. In order to measure this in practice, an experimental approach was adopted as it was proved problematic to decide upon the indicators. In principle, the research undertaken so far (as discussed in Chapter 2) shows that the more public a public place is in terms of its animation, the greater the diversity and number of people engaged in a variety of activities (in a public place, at the same time). In this light, three descriptors appeared to us as relevant to calculate animation:

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

[3] The ratings for this indicator were adapted from Llwelyn Davies (2000: 89).

[4] See the part on 'Democracy and public space' in Chapter 2, Part 2.3, when the meta-theme of ownership is discussed.

In terms of the first, a public place is more animated and as such more public when there are more activities happening there at a certain point in time and as such:

> *Something happens because something happens because something happens. (Gehl, 1996: 77)*

The indicator devised was called *Diversity of activities*. 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 a value chosen by the author from her experience of public places and that other scholars might consider different values. Apart from calculating the indicator, it was also deemed equally important to grasp which kind of activities happen in a particular public place. As such, the different types of activities performed in a place were also recorded for a better understanding of its animation.

Concerning the second descriptor, a public place is more public when a larger number of people are 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 was not 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 for the number of users – *The presence of street vendors and/or entertainers*. This is based on the reasoning that vendors and/or entertainers appear only 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 descriptor of animation, 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 rigorously analysed. 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. Translating the concept of diversity of public space users into an actual measurement raised questions such as, 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 for the diversity of users could be created at this stage. 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. Therefore the measurement of the animation indicators was joined by observations of the type of activities and the users undertaking them.

To conclude this part, at this moment it is possible to say that in terms of animation, a highly public, public place is characterised by only 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.

**Civility**

Civility, as discussed previously, refers to the tidiness and cleanliness of an area. Four indicators appeared as necessary to illustrate this meta-theme: *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 well maintained bins would rate highest, as it would attract more users while also showing a high level of care for the place (both from its users and the public services in charge with maintenance). 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 dirty and untidy with signs of severe vandalising and broken pavements and street furniture.

The second indicator, *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas* reflects the state of the greenery, rating highest when this looks trimmed, healthy and tidy and lowest when it is missing completely. 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 than only a short visit. 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 absence on site.

Regarding the last civility indicator, *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-lit site creates the potential for a high use during evening and night-time and fundamentally contributes to the overall safety. As such, the highest rating was awarded when the entire public place is lit, multiple lighting strategies are present and overall a friendly and warm ambience is created. The lowest rating was given to a site that has no (or only one/two) lights present, possibly with signs of vandalism. The majority of users will perceive this site as unfriendly and unsafe.

It can be concluded that the indicators found, 19 in total, are robust and flexible enough for the present endeavour; however, they can be improved in subsequent studies with a larger scale testing of the model. This may show that other indicators exist or that several of the ones defined so far need modifying.

## 4.3 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 choosing the case studies for testing our theoretical assumptions. The majority of new public places 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 latter location was decided upon based on the following rationalities. Firstly, as the model has not been applied and tested before, it was aimed that in this first stage, public places with certain similarities due to their common location would be the best option for more robust and comprehensive comparisons between sites. The large majority of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts share similar characteristics in terms of their development, physical layout and in their built purpose as places of leisure and entertainment, aimed at being vibrant areas, reconnecting the local population with the river while also becoming top tourist destinations. It was thought that by applying and testing the model on these new public places it could be assessed if indeed these areas had been successfully integrated in the city's public realm. Secondly, 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 can help shed more light and enrich this field 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, soon it became obvious that at this incipient stage, one city will suffice. As a result, the research focused on Glasgow, the largest city of Scotland where the main river, the Clyde, has undergone a large process of regeneration, which had 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 twentieth century, the waterfront underwent slow decay culminating with the city having turned its back on the river. The recent regeneration of the waterfront, initiated in

the 1990s, has been a controversial process that has 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 both for changing the image of the river and for promoting Glasgow on the world urban stage. As such, 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.

Regarding the number of case studies, a balance needed to be found between the advantage of investigating a large number of public places to better test the applicability of the model and the disadvantage brought by this as less time[5] would be available for the in-depth analysis of the historical background. In consequence, 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 were new public places, created in the last decades of waterfront regeneration. Second, they were similar in purpose, in the sense that they were created for the 'wide public', Glaswegians and tourists alike, and not for specific categories of users, such as a children's playground for example. Third, the size of the locations was important – they were aimed to be of a fairly similar size, so that the researcher could observe them as well 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 time period in the last thirty years or so. Based on these considerations, the following sites[6] were chosen:

- *Pacific Quay* – one of the first locations where development started to happen on the derelict post-industrial landscape of the Clyde's waterfront to kick-start the regeneration of the river. The Glasgow Garden Festival was held here in 1988. Today, 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 site is situated approximately one mile to the west of the City Centre, on the southern bank of the river. On the northern bank of the Clyde, opposite to the case study public place, two famous landmarks in the cultural and touristic life of the city – the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre) and The Clyde Auditorium or 'The Armadillo'.
- *Glasgow Harbour* – one of the major housing projects developed in Glasgow on the riverfront. Initiated in 2000, it is one of the most controversial developments in Glasgow in the last decades, being located on the site of the famous Meadowside Granaries, a significant landmark from Glasgow's rich shipping industrial past. In order for the Glasgow Harbour development to be built, the Granaries were demolished and this brought

5 This was a three year funded PhD project.

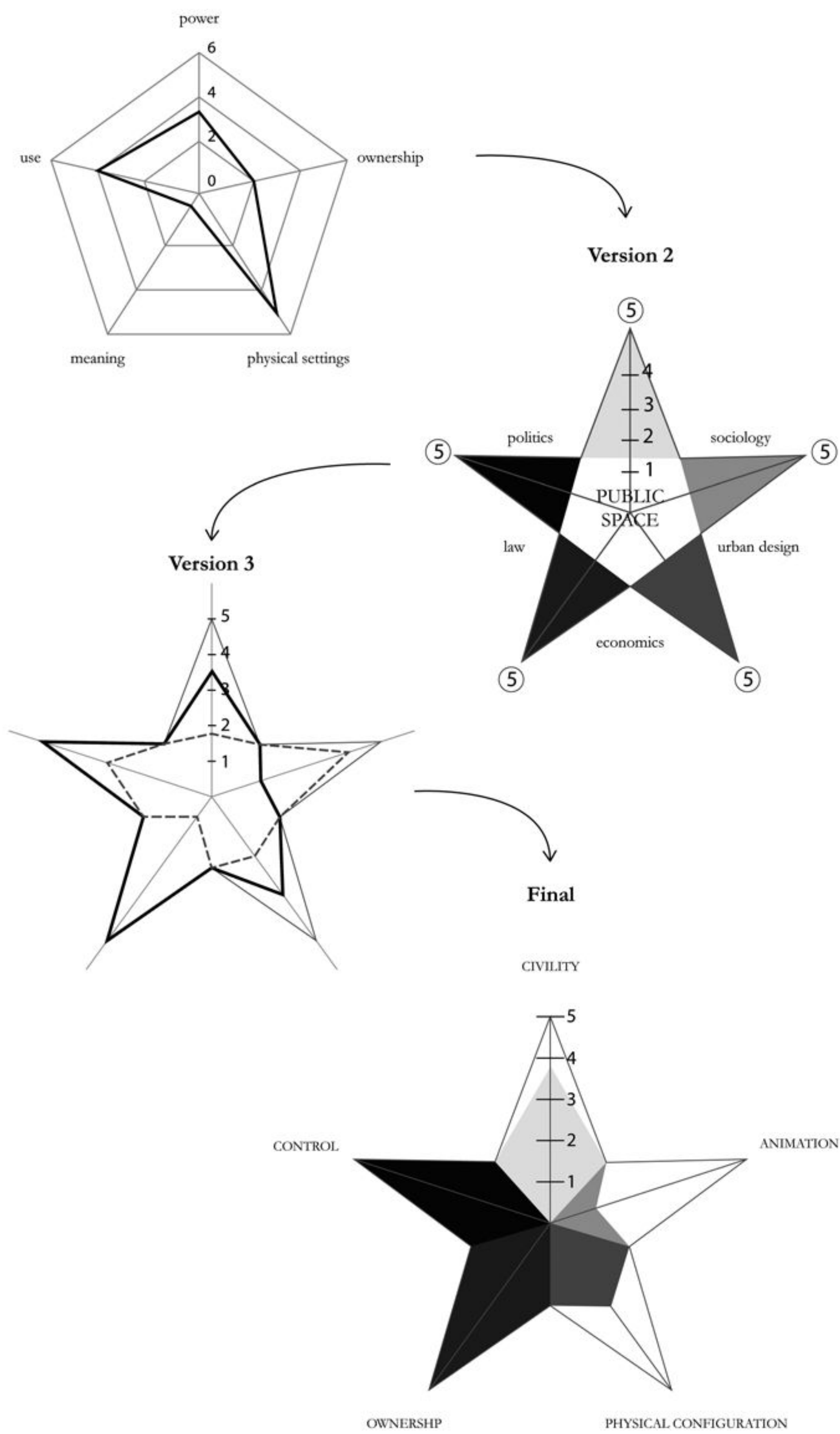
6 They will be detailed in Chapter 6.

a wave of criticism from the part of many Glaswegians. Instead, new and expensive housing units were created along with 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.

- *Broomielaw* – the riverfront opening of Glasgow's IFSD (International Financial Business District and 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 northern side of the river at Broomielaw and one on the south side of the river at Tradeston, connected by a new foot bridge, the Squiggly Bridge. Due to the current recession, the development has not been completed, as it will be described in more detail in the last part of Chapter 6. The site is in the City Centre of Glasgow and has been a publicly led project by the Glasgow City Council (GCC).

After deciding on the case study city and particular locations, we then moved to fine-tuning the indicators, which required a pre-observation stage of the selected public places. This was a lengthy process and the descriptors went through several stages of transformations until the grading of each indicator was deemed comprehensive and clear enough. Next, a decision had to be made concerning the aggregation of the measurements. 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 in describing each dimension of publicness, recognising that it is a task for future research to find out other more complex ways of calculating these. Because each dimension is characterised by a different number of indicators (with *Ownership* having the least (one) and *Physical configuration* the most (eight)), it was understood that, by considering all dimensions equal, in the overall measurement of publicness, different indicators have different weight. The numerical value of publicness, for each place, was obtained by averaging the five dimensions. The closer the overall rating to the value of 5, the higher the publicness of a public place; and the closer to the value of 1, the lower the publicness. At this stage, each dimension has an equal weight in the Star Model, however, this model is a prototype and in future studies the possibility of weighting them should be explored. The reason for considering them now as having an equal weight is due to the lack of empirical evidence to show which one is more or less important and also as a platform for future experimentation.

Regarding the best way to illustrate the results pictorially, it was felt that the previous attempts using cobweb diagrams were 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, changing the sequence of events and not the core information can alter the cobweb's appearance.




4.3 Stages in the development of the Star Diagram of Publicness

Therefore, a Star Diagram was drawn with the aim to illustrate the measurement of publicness in a more clear way than a cobweb or another type of diagram.

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,[7] at the centre, indicating the lowest measurement of publicness and the value 5, at the tip of each leg of the star, showing the highest. The larger and better delineated the star, the highest the publicness of the public place while less well-delineated, even 'negative' stars reflect sites with low publicness. Each leg of the star represents a different dimension, resulting from averaging the indicators (or one indicator in case of *Ownership*). The diagram is useful in both capturing the publicness of a site at one glance but also to see more clearly where publicness fails and consequently what needs improving, so that informed decisions can be made to increase a place's publicness.

To conclude this section, the Star Model has been created to measure the publicness of public places, in an informed, quick and easy way. Although the author aimed to be as objective as possible, several difficult decisions needed to be made when finding and calibrating indicators for each dimension of publicness and when deciding on a way to calculate and represent the results.

## 4.4 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we presented the thought process and the stages that led to the creation of the Star Model of Publicness, a new method to calculate and graphically represent publicness as a cultural reality. Based on principles such as objectivity and ease of use, it is acknowledged that this is not the 'perfect recipe' for measuring public places and that the model is only at an incipient stage, needing refining and further testing. Moreover we described the selection of the case studies and the methods used to apply our dual conceptualisation of publicness in practice. For analysing publicness as a cultural reality, mainly structured observation was undertaken (with the addition of document analysis for calculating the ownership of a site). For grasping the publicness of a site as a historical reality, an exploratory study based on established social science data collection methods such as archival research, document analysis and interviews was performed. The results of this fieldwork are the concern of Chapter 6 but before this we need to first describe the general setting for the case studies, i.e. the city of Glasgow and the transformation of the River Clyde to better understand the newly-built public places.

---

[7] Although it seems counterintuitive to have value 1 in the centre of the star, instead of 0, the choice was made based on the idea that even at value 1, there is a certain degree of publicness; 0 would show no publicness at all.

# PART III
# Assessing Publicness

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 5

# Glasgow's Experience of Waterfront Regeneration and the Creation of New Public Space

## 5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the general context for the case study public places chosen to apply the Star Model for the first time. First, we describe the phenomenon of waterfront regeneration, which is a common trend for current urban development policies and practices in many western cities. Second, we zoom in on Glasgow, showing the evolution of its recent urban regeneration, with a focus on the redevelopment of the Clyde's waterfront. 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 places.

## 5.1 WATERFRONT REGENERATION – A WORLDWIDE PHENOMENON

It has become a common place assertion in the urban literature that cities, mainly in the developed world, are undergoing a dramatic change from what has been generally termed 'the industrial, modern city' to the '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 has been triggered by a decline in the industrial function of urban centres, previously dominating the world stage, on the background of globalisation of labour and capital, flexibility of production and quality-based competition on all levels, from individual companies to entire cities (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 this climate, many cities have pursued strategies to re-brand or re-invent themselves in order to attract increased flows of capital, labour and tourism. Starting with the famous 'I love NY'

5.1 Examples of recent city branding strategies. (a) (above) Amsterdam. Photo by George Rex. (b) Glasgow. Photo by Steve Tiesdell

campaign in the 1970s, other cities have followed similar marketing strategies, such as the campaigns 'I **am**sterdam' in the Netherlands (Figure 5.1a) and 'Glasgow – Scotland with Style' (Figure 5.1b), both launched in 2004.

As pointed out earlier in Chapter 3, many western cities were faced in the post-Second World War period with grave problems such as the poor conditions of the industrial housing estates or the growing demand for transport infrastructure due to rising car use. In the UK, different related terms have reflected various urban initiatives aiming to deal with the bleak legacy of rapid industrialisation and war destruction; 'urban renewal' has been replaced with 'urban regeneration' and recently with 'urban renaissance' (Furbey 1999, Carmona 2001, Punter 2010). Reflecting the shifts in planning theories and political regimes, the approach moved from a public sector driven physical strategy based on zoning and large-scale developments, in the 1960s and 1970s to more economic focused initiatives in the 1980s, on the background of Thatcherist entrepreneurialism. The term 'urban regeneration' has slowly become an umbrella term, used to describe the policy response from local authorities to tackle these various urban problems in the UK, but also in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium (Couch and Fraser 2003). In many of these countries, the pace quickened since the 1980s, leading to a steep rise in the budget for urban regeneration; in France for example, this grew 100 times in the period 1990 to 1999 (Korthals Altes 2002). The market driven approach has slowly changed in the 2000s, with the emphasis being placed on partnerships, sustainable goals and community involvement. 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 improve the 'liveability' of British cities. This was based on notions 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). 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:

> *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: 2)*

Consequently, public space has become a key concern in urban regeneration, with a civilised and attractive environment seen as a way of tackling anti-social behaviour and incivilities (Colomb 2007). In addition, as Thatcherism left a highly divided British society, a good quality public realm was seen as a way of bringing

people back together in an effort to regenerate communities and reintegrate neighbourhoods. As Holden and Iveson point out:

> *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: 58)*

Moreover, the promotion of an attractive public realm was thought to change the overall negative image associated with many former industrial cities (Raco 2003).

Although projects across the UK were built reflecting the above considerations, 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. Other critics of the urban renaissance suggest that the new developments lead to an increasingly privatised and controlled public realm (see Chapter 2). In this context, we decided to choose the case studies for this research from among these new public places, created as a result of the contested British urban renaissance, in the city 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 the new public places created as part of the broader phenomenon of urban regeneration, in the particular case of the UK. This would help answer the initial question that sparked this research: if indeed the overarching assertion that new public places are less public than they could/should be is true. As the spectrum of urban renewal is very broad, covering various areas of the city, for a better first testing of the model, a specific form of regenerated urban landscapes was chosen: the post-industrial waterfront. The next part will present the key characteristics of this specific type of development.

## 5.2 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: 10)*

Indeed, many studies in the literature speak of the regeneration of a plethora of urban waterfronts around the world. These range from the North American cities of 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 joined 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 Manchester and Liverpool (Wood and Handley 1999), Cardiff (Punter 2007), Glasgow (Gomez 1998), Edinburgh and 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 become, as Bruttomesso (2001) put it, '… an essential paradigm for the post-industrial city'?

Its story is now well documented. After having been the site of intense activity, the gate through which the largest amount of wealth flowed into the city, the industrial port became a run down and obsolete part of the city. The advancements in container transport technologies determined the re-location of the inner city harbour activities to areas with more available land and higher competitive advantages. In consequence, many inner city ports were closed down in the 1960s, which left large tracts of former industrial land lying derelict, often in close proximity to the city centre (Marshall 2001a, Hoyle 2000). Their central location is due to the fact that most cities were built close to a water body due to the obvious benefits of water supply, transport and communication routes. Even though this gave many urban waterfronts a quasi-mythical image and endowed them with a rich historical legacy, many gained, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a negative image. One reason for this is the' lack of pedestrian accessibility to the water's edge, due to the presence of large transport infrastructures (such as expressways, railways and shipping canals), which often ran parallel to the water's edge and sharply delineated the industrial port area from the city. Another reason is the waterfront's transformation into 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 rest of the city (Shaw 2001). Apart from the existence of physical impediments, such as old infrastructure, derelict buildings and decaying harbour structures, other issues complicated the redevelopment of these sites, including the large extent of brownfield land that needed large sums of money for decontamination, the divided ownership among different public authorities and private bodies (including traditional port authorities that were particularly resistant to change) and the lack of housing and public amenities (such as schools, playground or hospitals), needed to support the creation of a local community (Marshall 2001a).

The spark that ignited the global process of waterfront regeneration was Baltimore Harbour in the 1960s. De Jong (1991) argues that the chief reason for its success

was the good relationship between the public and private sectors, based on the existence of a tight network of key city players that provided strong leadership, vision and continuity in the development process. This was reflected in one of the most innovative accomplishments in Baltimore – the creation of quasi-public or public-private institutions[1] to manage the regeneration process in a democratic and also market efficient manner. Being large-scale and complex undertakings, waterfront regeneration projects show that no one actor, public or private can successfully manage the entire process, and so 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, emerging in the last decades as a response to new types of development, on a background of globalisation and urban competition (Desfor and Jorgensen 2004). Whether or not the harbour's success helped in regenerating the entire city is still a matter of debate in the literature (Millspaugh 2001). Nevertheless, Baltimore played an exemplary role for many waterfront projects from the 1980s, such as Boston, Sydney, Toronto or Cape Town (Shaw 2001).

What are the key ingredients for a successful waterfront regeneration project? The literature shows that waterfront regeneration differs from a typical mixed-use development in three key ways: it is more-time consuming, more costly and more 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 expensive processes. In addition, there is often more than one governmental authority responsible for the area and consensus among public bodies, as well as between them and the general public, can take a long time. Therefore, speeding up the process by ensuring adequate finances from the start, and a good working relationship between the parties involved, can highly benefit the project. This is especially important as they span over decades, as a result of which they need to overcome both changes in the market and regarding political leadership. In this respect, based on extensive research concerning New York, Boston, London and Toronto, Gordon (1997a) shows that success in waterfront regeneration is tightly linked with the ability of local authorities to 'ride the market cycle' and the visionary qualities of financial planners to prepare for market downturns in the lengthy timespan of the project. In a paper published in the same year, he argues that equally important to a consistent funding strategy, the ability of the managing authority to by-pass changes in the political system is crucial:

> *… 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: 61)*

---

[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).

Therefore, a key factor for the success of a waterfront renewal project is what can be generally termed as 'vision'. This is well argued 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: 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 (and planning various scenarios for change in both the market and politics). 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: 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. One last thing to add is related to a crucial risk factor in waterfront development, the high visibility of these sites on a physical level, as landmarks in the urban fabric, but especially on a psychological level, as places associated by many locals with the city's renown and fortunes. Therefore, experience shows that the involvement of the community, as in the case of San Francisco's harbour redevelopment, is also a crucial factor in the success of a waterfront regeneration project (Cook, Marshall and Raine 2001).

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, 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 indoor and outdoor public places, such as museums, arenas, concert halls, walkways, squares, cultural centres, etc. (Figure 5.2). As Stevens points out:

> *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: 173)*

5.2 (a and b, left) Examples of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in Newcastle

(c and d, right) Examples of new public places created on post-industrial waterfronts in Melbourne. Photographs by Steve Tiesdell

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. In accord with these, many local development agencies wished to revitalise the image of their city, rekindling the confidence and admiration of the local population and aiming to attract 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 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). 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. However, 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, 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 Public Space on several new public places created on the regenerated waterfront of its River Clyde in Glasgow. However, before the three case studies could be investigated, the general historical background of the city and the river's regeneration needed to be understood. The rest of this chapter presents this in relation to the creation of new public space.

## 5.3 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 city, marketed today as 'Scotland with Style'. From an economics perspective, the city has changed its manufacturing and shipbuilding base to retail, tourism and financial services. From a physical perspective, the smoke of the chimneys and the cranes of the shipyards have been largely replaced by shopping facilities, office towers, tourist attractions and new luxury flats (Figure 5.3). The city leaders promote Glasgow today as the largest retail centre in UK outside London, with the second largest public transport network in the country, and the host of the 2014 Commonwealth Games:

5.3 A regenerated Glasgow. Photos by Steve Tiesdell

> *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)*

At a first glance, it seems that the legacy of dereliction and squalor left by the industrial age has finally been overcome. This is supported by the fact that, since the turn of the century, the city has experienced the highest growth rate in its post-war history. Glasgow's economic output of £13.5 billion 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 per cent, 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, which account for the largest number of jobs, were the financial and public services, which employed 228,300 people, in 2007, out of the almost 391,000 (GCC 2009b). Tourism has become 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). The value of private investment rose from £2.8 billion in 2004/2005 to almost double in 2007/2008, which happened mainly in the residential sector. The only sector where investment has been declining is the industrial one, an obvious outcome of the transition of Glasgow to a post-industrial stage (GCC 2009b). In terms of population, the official figure for 2006 is 581,000 inhabitants; for the first time after decades of loss, the trend has been reversed and the city has gained a total of 4,000 people in the period 2000–2006 (GEF 2007). The current economic recession has undoubtedly affected the city's economic performance; nevertheless, the city leaders are optimistic 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).

Although the figures above show a positive trend, this is a fairly recent phenomenon, originating in the 1980s. For most of the twentieth century, Glasgow had to deal with the vast array of issues inherited from a fast paced industrialisation and urbanisation; while in 1801, 77,000 people lived in the city, in the 1930s, this rose to over a million (Keating 1988). In the 1950s and 1960s, overcrowding and poor quality living conditions coupled with the post-war house shortage led the local authorities to pursue a series of policies geared towards slum clearance and the rebuilding of the housing stock. This mid-twentieth century 'urban renewal', based on the Clyde Valley Plan of 1946, also involved urban sprawl; this was promoted towards New Towns and the newly created outskirt housing estates (Pacione 1995). Unfortunately, these attempts led to Glasgow being in the 1970s one of the most deprived areas in the UK and, along with the loss of around half of its population, it seemed to have 'lost its soul':

> *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: 28)*

On this background of deindustrialization, depopulation, economic decline and social problems, the city changed its policies in the 1970s. A new range of priorities came into being; these were focused on 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. This was aimed at transforming the city from a declining industrial centre to a vibrant and attractive post-industrial metropolis (GCC 1997). The year 1980 marked a turning point in the city's fortunes. This is when, after losing its traditional hold on the city in 1977 to the Conservatives, Labour regained power and decided to pursue an active set of policies to regenerate Glasgow. High on the agenda were tackling the high unemployment rates and attracting the private sector's support for large-scale development (Boyle and Hughes 1994). The need for a general strategy led to the McKinsey report of 1985, commissioned by the Scottish Development Agency.[2] Much of what has been happening in Glasgow in terms of regeneration for the last three decades has been a consequence of the vision set in this document. In the words of former Glasgow City Council leader, Charlie Gordon:

> *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)*

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 the report's advice, the leaders of the Glasgow City Council focused their efforts on creating an attractive environment for businesses and tourists alike. One of the main strategies was to promote the city's image through a series of campaigns and festivals; as commentators highlighted, culture was placed at the forefront of regeneration (Booth and Boyle 1993, Garcia 2005, Tucker 2008, Tiesdell 2010). In this light, the 1983 'Glasgow 'Smiles 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. 'Glasgow – Scotland with Style' is the latest city brand, while winning the bid for the Commonwealth Games of 2014 is seen as the latest success and also as a catalyst to regenerate the eastern part of Glasgow, one of the most deprived areas in the city.

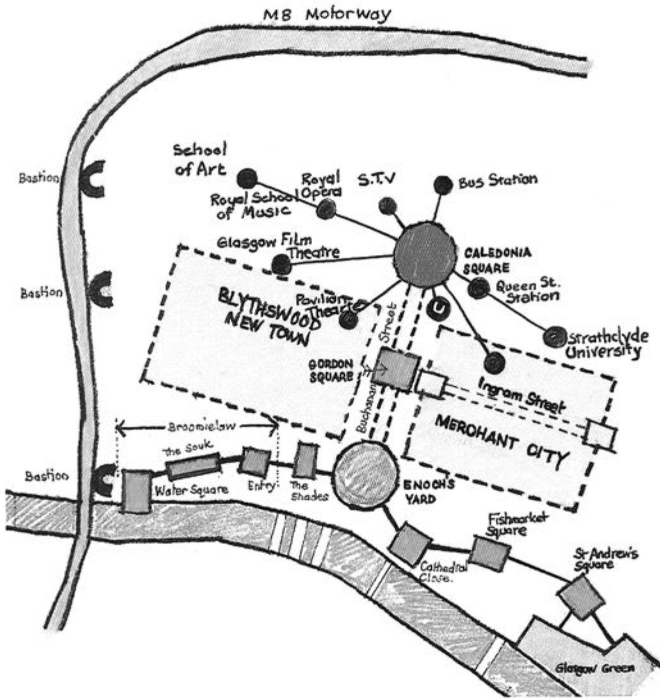
[2] Created in 1975 and which became Scottish Enterprise after 1992.

An extensive process of physical regeneration paralleled these events. The upgrading of the built environment included both the creation of new public places and the improvement of existing ones; this was seen as a positive strategy for attracting tourists and businesses alike and for improving the Glaswegians' quality of life. Building a series of new public amenities across Glasgow has been a central part of this strategy. In this respect, the construction of the Burrell Gallery in 1983 was followed by 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 in a new building by the River Clyde. This was designed by the famous architect Zaha Hadid and was opened in July 2011.

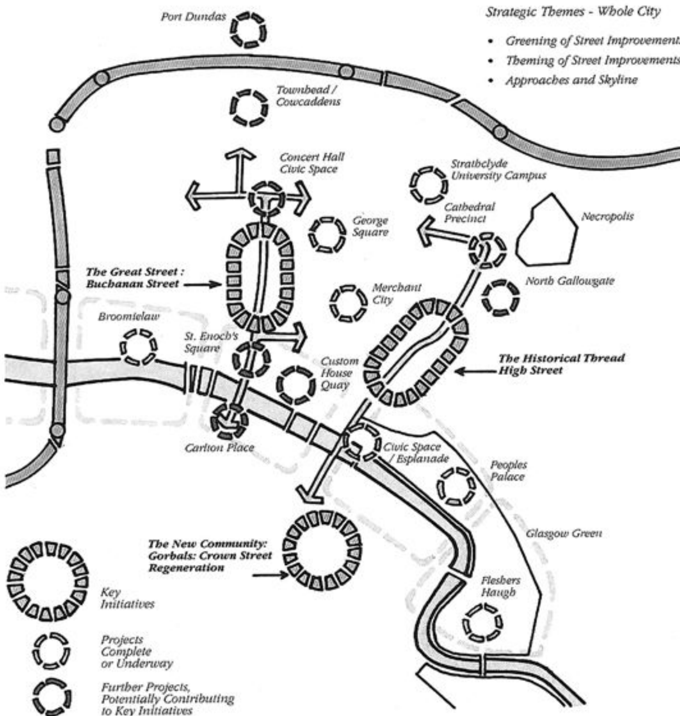
Apart from these individual developments, a comprehensive framework for physical regeneration has been put in place and has been closely followed ever since the 1980s. The vision was set by the renowned urbanist Gordon Cullen, commissioned in relation to the above-mentioned McKinsey report to offer a physical framework in support Glasgow's economic regeneration (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 re-engineering the city's built environment for the past decades. The focus lay on two main areas, the River Clyde and the city centre; the river's regeneration was seen as a series of 'rooms' or 'pools' while the regeneration of the city centre was based on strengthening Buchanan Street, meant as a development axis, flanked by Merchant City to the east and Blythswood New Town to the west (Figure 5.4).

Following these recommendations, Buchanan Street has become today the main commercial artery of Glasgow and the busiest shopping street in the whole of Scotland, aiming to rival Oxford Street in London. It is flanked at its southern and northern extremities by two shopping centres, St Enoch Centre, opened in 1989, and Buchanan Galleries, opened in 1999. Buchanan Street's upgrading had two purposes: strengthening the retail function of the centre and providing a successful central public place, from where redevelopment could spread east and west (Figure 5.5).

Merchant City was created to the east of Buchanan Street, undergoing two phases of redevelopment. The first phase, in the 1980s, was public-sector led and focused on providing high quality housing. The second phase, following the 1990s recession was of a more privately-led nature, geared towards developing upper scale retail, pubs and restaurants (Tiesdell 2010). The refurbishment of the buildings was accompanied by the upgrading of the existing public realm, and today the area is marketed as 'the dynamic cultural heart of the city centre' (Godwin 2009). To the west, the International Financial Service District (IFSD) opened in the summer of 2001 and is praised today as the beating heart of Glasgow's new serviced based economy. The project is a joint public/private partnership consisting of a large array of office and business developments. In 2009, it was calculated that in the eight years since it was opened, almost £1 bn had been invested here, with over 15,000 jobs having been created and 1.2 m $ft^2$ of Grade 'A' space having been completed (GCC 2009b).

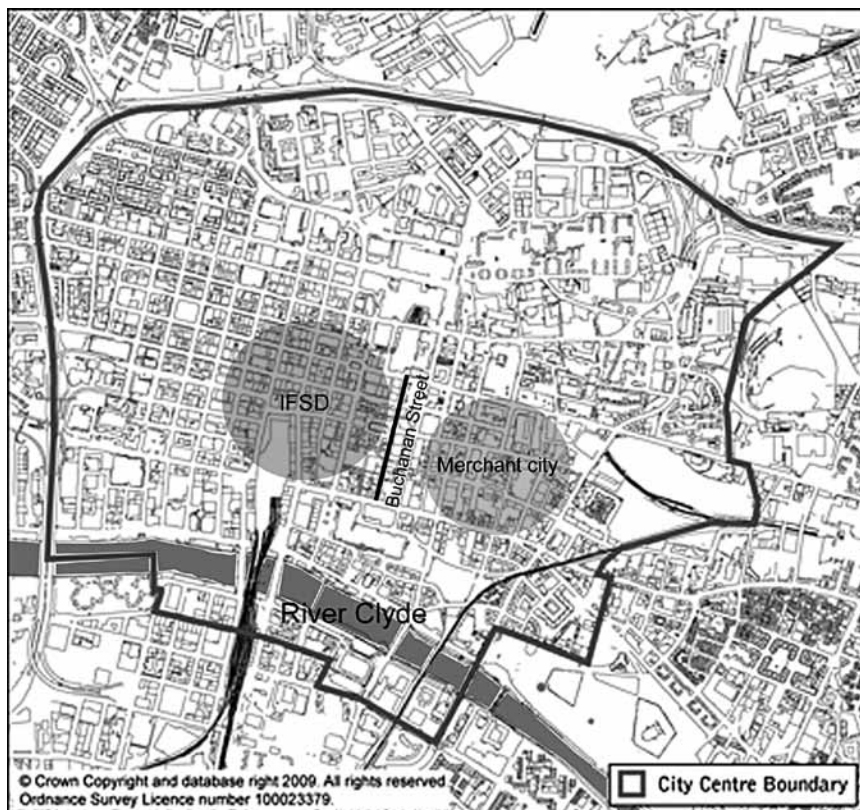



The potential of Glasgow City Centre – McKinsey Cullen




Continuing the Renaissance — Gillespies

5.4 The vision that has framed the redevelopment of Glasgow's City Centre since the 1980s. From 'The Potential of Glasgow City Centre' by McKinsey & Partners, courtesy of the former Scottish Development Agency and its successor agency Scottish Enterprise




5.5 Glasgow City Centre boundary and main development areas. Adapted from GCC 2009, City Plan 2

Its success has been recognized in the receipt of several awards, 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 mentioned above, was commissioned by Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Development Agency and Strathclyde Regional Council to deliver the public realm strategy in the city centre. The report entitled *Glasgow City Centre. Public Realm* (1995) highlighted key issues such as: the lack of open space in the city centre, the need for more connectivity with the surrounding urban fabric and the importance of maintaining the traditional street grid (Gillespies 1995). Moreover, a series of public space design guidelines were provided regarding maintenance, soft landscaping, street furniture, surfaces, lighting and signage, which were followed in the public realm improvements both in the Merchant City and in the IFSD.

Although it seems that overall there has been concern with creating open and freely accessible public places in the city centre of Glasgow, the development of the two main shopping centres, Buchanan Galleries and St Enoch Centre, plus other large retail units, such as the opening in 2013 of *Forever 21*, shows the council's strong support for private, commercial developments. This has been justified by one of the council's principal planners:

> *Mainly we want to try to strengthen the retail core of the City Centre. We have to compete with Glasgow Fort and 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 ten, fifteen years as they are having an impact in the City Centre. So we want to strengthen what we have as the retail core will shrink and also we have to start and think about how other streets are functioning. (Interview with one of the senior planners for the Glasgow city centre and the River Clyde)*

The GCC's overall approach towards the build environment shows that in the current climate of economic downturn, with fewer and fewer financial resources, the desire for development that brings secure and fast revenues prevails over the provision of public space, which is a public amenity that does not bring direct and immediate revenues, as presented in Chapter 3. Tiesdell (2010) argues that this is a general trend, visible especially after 1999, when the GCC, in a permanent shortage of capital, sold land and allowed development that is not necessarily in accordance with design principles, or which is 'for the greater good':

> *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: 278)*

The words of the City Design Advisor support the council's main policy of prioritising revenues:

> *I think Glasgow has been relatively successful in realising what it needs to do. Actually the thing that it has been successful at 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 Glasgow's City Design Advisor)*

It seems that 'Glasgow is open for business' has been the fundamental strategy, especially under the last two leaders of the council, Charlie Gordon (1999–2005) and Steven Purcell (2005–2010). In relation to the latter, one of the councillors 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 am sure from some directions it seems to work very nicely but I do not think we ask for half enough. (Interview with one of the Green councillors from the Glasgow City Council)*

When asked what can bring success to Glasgow's regeneration and help in the creation of highly public, public places, the same councillor stressed that the key element is political leadership. However, in her opinion:

> *The political leadership has been for three generations 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 is willing to put money into something, more or less that is it – that is the political leadership finished and ended. (Interview with one of the Green councillors from the Glasgow City Council)*

Apart from these criticisms addressed towards entrepreneurial policies and privatization of space, other voices have criticized Glasgow's emergence as a post-industrial city of pavement cafés, fashionable bars, restaurants and luxury flats as a reflection of gentrification and revanchist policies. This echoes the debates on increased privatisation, commodification and control of public space presented in Chapter 2. 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 under The CityWatch Project, MacLeod (2002) expresses the 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: 612)*

This argument can be seen as part of the larger view concerning the city's slow progress in terms of social regeneration. The report *Breakthrough Glasgow* (2008) published by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) shows that in 2006 a quarter of the city's population lived in the most deprived 5 per cent of Scotland's neighbourhoods and in 2005 the city was first in the country regarding the mortality rate (CSJ 2008). Moreover, drug problems and crime figures are higher in Glasgow than anywhere else in Scotland; Glasgow City Council has the highest overall crime rate as more than 50 per cent of the knives found in Scotland are seized in Glasgow, while in 2006 the city accounted for 43 per cent of total number of the country's methadone users (CSJ 2008). These issues came across when interviewing several members of the council who embraced the position that the creation and maintenance of public space, although on the GCC's agenda, are less important compared with more severe, pressing social concerns:

> *We illuminated twenty of the worst back lanes in the city centre where we have had lots of violence. Violence cleared from these lanes but it went 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 area planner for Glasgow City Centre)*

The social issues and overall social regeneration of Glasgow are complex and extensive subjects, which are not the focus here and therefore will not be dealt with in more detail. In order to conclude this part, it can be said that although Glasgow markets itself today as a thriving urban centre, with a post-industrial economy based on financial services, tourism and retail, severe social problems still need to be tackled and the built environment still needs much improvement, especially in respect to the public realm. Although new public places have been created and others have been improved, the GCC seems to place financial gains at the top of the agenda. This has led to the development of very few truly public places in the City Centre, the most notable one being Buchanan Street, and to a creeping phenomenon of privatisation 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.

## 5.4 THE REGENERATION OF GLASGOW'S RIVER CLYDE WATERFRONT

### General Historical Background

It is almost impossible today to think of Glasgow's destiny without the deep impact of its main river, the Clyde. Alongside the ingenuity of local businessmen and the rich local iron and coal resources that fuelled the factories of the industrial age, the Clyde has been pivotal in the creation of modern Glasgow. In a first phase, the dredging and channelling of the river in the eighteenth century led to the expansion of tobacco and cotton trade, especially with the American colonies. This brought a fist wave of great wealth to the city and led to the birth of the so-called 'Tobacco Lords' (Keating 1988, Garcia 1998), skilled merchants who brought unprecedented prosperity to Glasgow. A wide series of industries rapidly were developed, producing goods such as chemicals, optical instruments, carpets and sewing machines. 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's 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 physical landscape of the Clyde. In a second phase, during the second half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, the river was considerably widened and dredged and a series of docks were excavated, including Kingston Dock, Princes Dock and Queen's Dock. In half a century, Glasgow became 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 unfortunately short lived. The diminishing resources of iron and coal, which fuelled the heavy industries and the 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. Adding to these factors, Dick (1986) points out that Westminster's decision to concentrate the Australasian and

5.6 The Scottish Exhibition and Convention Centre (SECC) – the first large public amenity building on the post-industrial waterfront of the Clyde. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

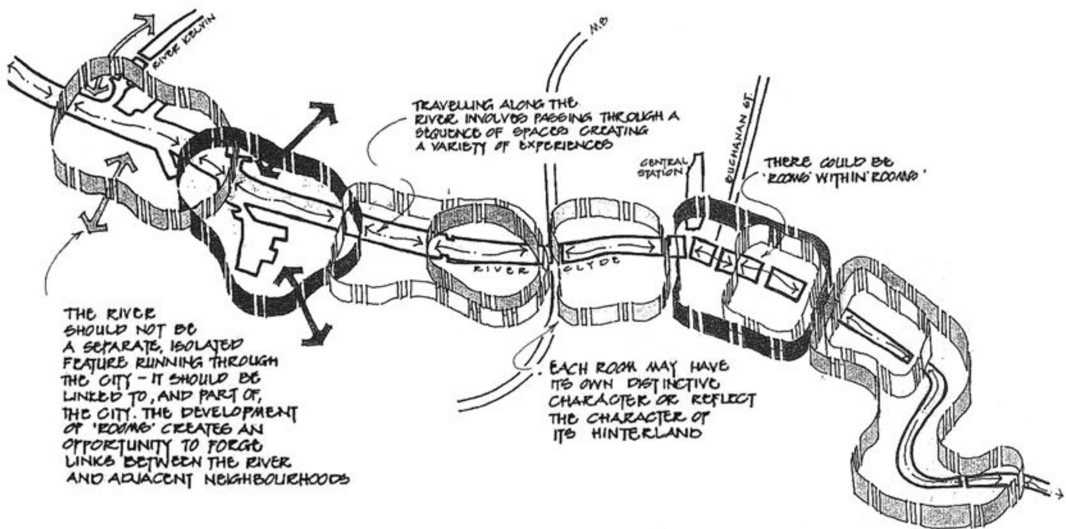
Far Eastern trade in the ports of Southern England also contributed dramatically to the fall of the Clyde's fortunes. In 1966, Glasgow's cargo trade with Australia was around 100,000 tons, 10 years later this was non-existent (Dick 1986). The closing down and subsequent in filling of the docks led to an empty, desolate river, with a landscape of dereliction and disuse on its waterfront.

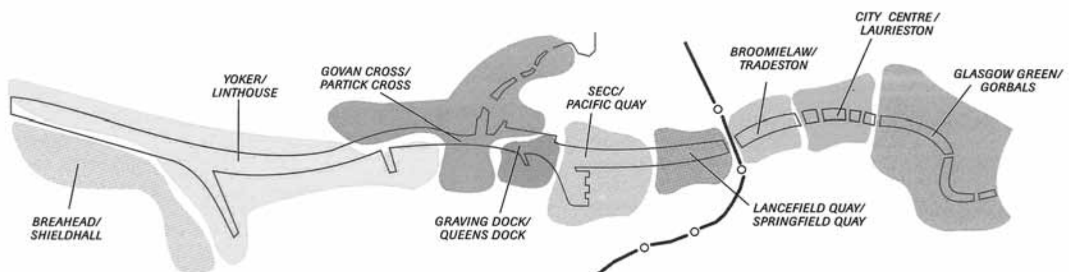
Regarding the physical changes brought by the second half of the twentieth century several important elements need mentioning. In the 1960s, a climate of rising car use meant an increased focus on improving transport and as such the Clyde Tunnel and Kingston Bridge were built. These were meant to better connect the northern and southern sides of the city, but little was done regarding pedestrian access to and across the river. Like in many other cities around the world, the physical transformations and pollution of the industrial age gave the Clyde the image of a 'no go area' for the locals. In the 1970s with more pressing problems related to the diminishing industry, depopulation, unemployment, poor 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 (see Figure 6.38, p.202) and then extended until Kingston Bridge in 1976 (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. The first one was the building of the SECC on the site of the former Queen's Dock, opened in 1985. Although it became a single development in a sea of car parks (Figure 5.6), it marked a turning point in the regeneration of the Clyde; for the first time, the city planners understood the river's potential in improving Glasgow. The second one was choosing the site of the former Princess Dock, across the river from the new SECC building, for the 1988 Garden Festival.

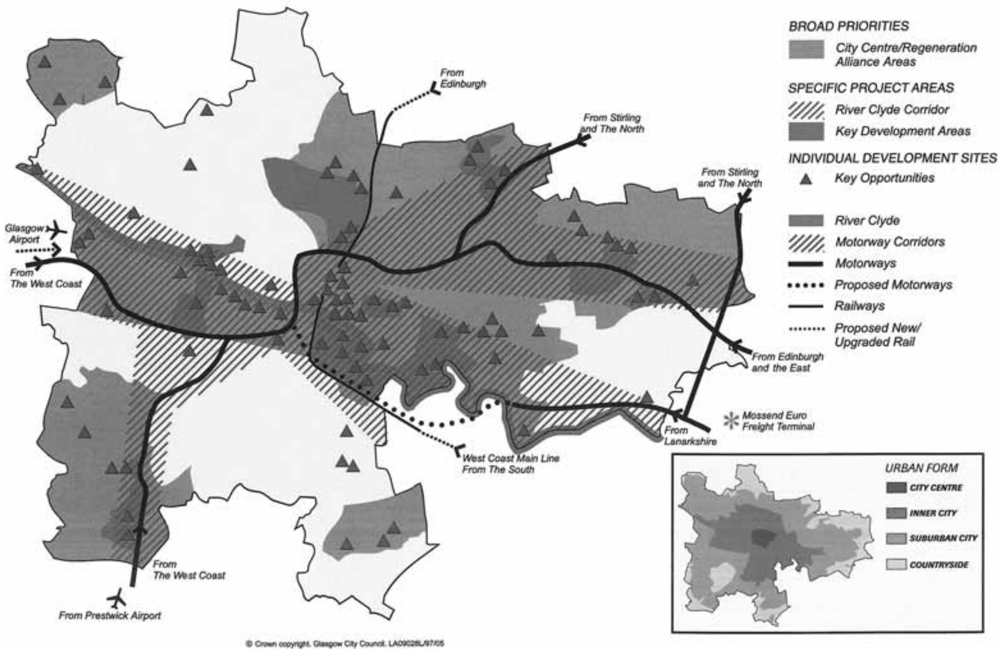
A new bridge, named Bell's Bridge, was built to connect the two former docks. The festival was aimed at attracting people back to the river and at showing the commitment of the city leaders to transform the bleak, industrial landscape of the Clyde into a green and pleasant environment. These physical 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), mentioned in the previous section. He saw the waterfront developing as a series of 'rooms', with different areas offering a different place experience (Figure 5.7a).

During the 1990s, Glasgow City Council focused on regenerating the city centre and as such, not much happened along the banks of the Clyde. Nonetheless, the Council kept Cullen's 'rooms vision'in all their subsequent strategies and publications but it has not put been put in practice until today (Figure 5.7). A step forward in developing the river was made in the 1996, when the council created the document *The River of Dreams*, where a SWOT analysis for the Clyde was undertaken. 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 as key weaknesses for the development of the river and its banks (GCC 1996). These issues seem to be still present today, 15 years later, as it will be discussed in the last part of this chapter. Although the planners saw the river's potential in contributing to the city's growing tourism industry and considered it as a favourable environment for many 'key development' opportunities (Figure 5.8), only one notable project was undertaken in the 1990s. This 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 of contemporary Glasgow (Figure 5.9).




5.7 The development of the Clyde as a series of rooms. (a) (top) Gordon Cullen's vision in the 1980s. Courtesy of Gillespies from *Glasgow City Centre and The Clyde: Continuing the Renaissance*, a report commissioned in 1990 by the former Scottish Development Agency. (b) (bottom) GCC's vision in the 1990s. Courtesy of Glasgow City Council




5.8 Glasgow's development framework in 1997; many key opportunities are placed along the waterfront (GCC 1997). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.9 The Clyde Auditorium – *The Armadillo* – one of Glasgow's contemporary iconic buildings. Photo taken by Steve Tiesdell during the River Festival of 2009

In a similar way that the 1980s marked a turning point in the city's regeneration, the turn of the twenty-first century marked the beginning of the most significant transformations on the banks of the Clyde. 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. In his own words:

> *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 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 across Glasgow in general, was to 'prime pump' development:

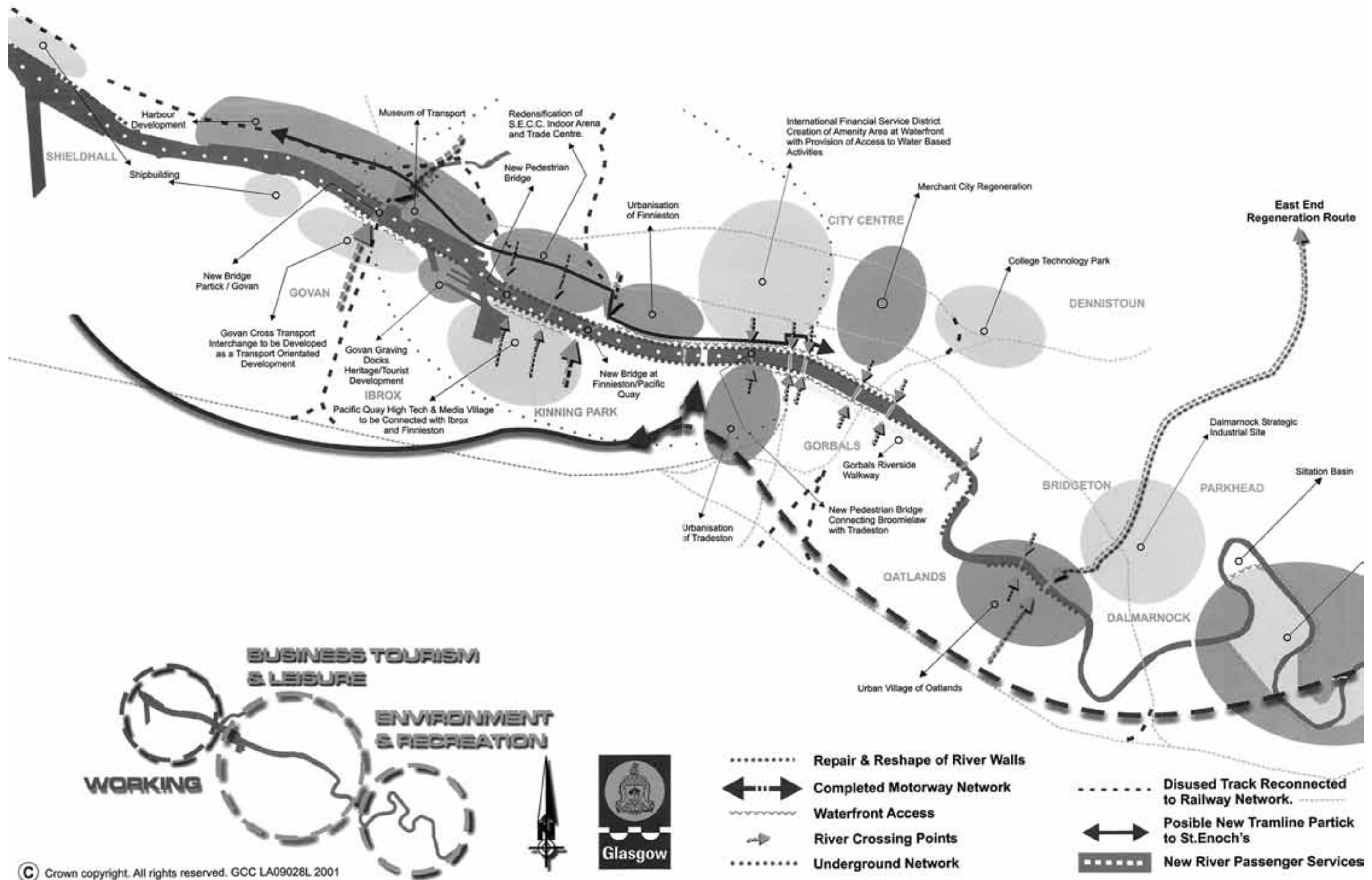
> *I thought that the City Council should 'prime-the-pump' as I call it of 10% of the development costs. But most of it should come from private investment. The City Council is not in the business of building apartments. Or the City Council certainly isn't in the business of running restaurants or running waterbuses. 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 GCC started to invest in infrastructure works, 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, explained by one of the GCC's planners in the following words:

> *(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 GCC planner)*

Still, Charlie Gordon's years at the helm of the council left an important legacy in the overall transformation of the Clyde. Firstly, he succeeded in getting both public and private actors to focus their efforts on the river's regeneration, leading to the creation of a much more articulated vision than the previous ones (Figure 5.10).

Secondly, he was instrumental in the creation of the largest public-private partnership for a Clyde project – Glasgow Harbour, discussed in detail in the next chapter. Part of this controversial development, the idea of a Riverside




5.10 The vision for the river's regeneration proposed by the GCC during the leadership of Charlie Gordon (GCC 2002). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

5.11 (a) and (b) Animation on the banks of the Clyde during the River Festival of 2009. Photos by Steve Tiesdell

Museum, was first put forward; this was meant to be a new leisure amenity by the Clyde, aimed at hosting the exhibits of the existing Museum of Transport building. Third, a new public transport system was proposed, the *Fastlink*, envisioned as a Light Transit System. In the first phase, this was meant to link Glasgow Harbour to

the City Centre, and then, in the second phase, the aim was to extend it on the entire central Clyde waterfront and better connect the various developments that were starting to take place here in the 2000s. Because of this public transport proposal, many subsequent developments on the Clyde waterfront since then (such as 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. Unfortunately this was never realised until the present day, the reasons for which will be discussed at the end of the chapter. Fourth, the council started to take on a more active approach in 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 (Figure 5.11).

In relation specifically to public space, a *River Design Framework* was published by the GCC in 2003, almost a decade later than the abovementioned public realm strategy for the city centre, by Gillespies (1995). This brought into discussion key issues such as the quality of pavements, lighting and street furniture, the presence of green space and the importance of connectivity and visibility of public places by the water's edge. In a similar manner to other plans and strategies, this framework has never been put in place either (interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner in charge of the river). One of the reasons for this is the refusal of the developers, who apply for planning permission for an area, to follow the design principles set out in this document, excluding the river walkway (interview with Ethel May Abel, GCC planner in charge of the river). In this respect, it can be argued that the council has not been strong enough to make the private actors take on the responsibility for public space provision and maintenance in the vicinity of the river. Before a more in depth analysis is taken to understand what factors have frustrated the development and quality of public places on the Clyde's waterfront, the general policy context for the Clyde's regeneration needs to be set up.

### The Policy Context for the Clyde's Regeneration

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Charlie Gordon's leadership and focus on the river, was paralleled on a national level by the devolution of powers to Scotland. In this 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, a strategic partnership was created in 2002, entitled the Clyde Waterfront and composed of:

- three council bodies: Glasgow City Council, Renfrewshire Council and West Dunbartonshire Council;
- Scottish Enterprise (including Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and Glasgow);
- former Scottish Executive, now Scottish Government (CWWG 2002).

Its aim was to take the lead in coordinating the main public bodies involved in the regeneration of 13 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:

> *When I first joined the Council a couple of years ago, the main person, the director of Clyde Waterfront was a chap called Peter Kearns, 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 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 the City Design Advisor)*

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 in Table 5.1. At the same time, 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 newly 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 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 |

Table 5.1 The main policy documents that frame the Clyde's regeneration

> 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)

5.12 Examples of how the Scottish Government's focus on place making is translated in the Scottish Planning Policy (SPP 2010, emphasis added)

the urban renaissance proposed by the Urban Task Force (1999). However, the document never uses the term public space, but 'the spaces in between buildings' or 'open space' (Figure 5.12).

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: the Clyde Arc, opened in 2005, and Broomielaw – Tradeston, opened in 2009. Consistent with a national focus on increasing Scotland's tourist industry, the document also underlines how the potential of the river can add to this due to its rich heritage and 'outstanding environmental assets' (NPF 2: 196).

*On a regional level*, the waterfront of the River Clyde is part of the larger Clyde Valley, covering an area of 3.376 km$^2$. With a population of 1.75 million inhabitants, it is under the jurisdiction of eight councils: South Lanarkshire, North Lanarkshire, East Dunbartonshire and West Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire and East Renfrewshire, Glasgow City and Inverclyde. To link the work of the eight councils, the *Glasgow and Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan Committee* (GCVJSPC) was formed in 1995, resulting from a directive of 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*. Also, the provision of 'open space' (note 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 5.13.

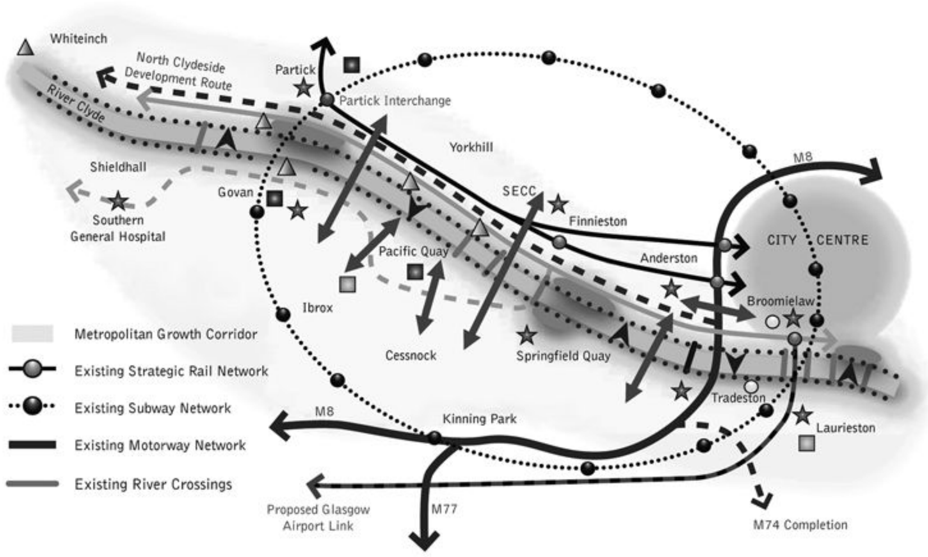
In relation to the waterfront, the City Council currently aims to create sustainable communities, attract businesses, generate jobs and improve the flooding and drainage infrastructure. In relation to public space, there is a general theme related to better connectivity across and along the river with an emphasis on the development of both 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 of public access to the riverside 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 to continue 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 walkways/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.

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)*

## Clyde Waterfront
### Development Activity




KEY STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

- Developing Clyde Fastlink (Northbank Route)
- Developing Clyde Fastlink (Southbank Route)
- Continuing to Develop the Road Network
- Encouraging River Crossings
- Maintaining and Improving Access along the River
- Promoting Riverside Housing Developments
- Exploring Flood Management Opportunities
- Improving Accessibility
- Continuing to Develop the Strategic Rail Network
- GHA Priority Areas
- Developing the new Media Quarter
- Potential Town Centre Renewal Programme
- Retail Proposals (Glasgow Harbour)
- Developing International Tourist/Conference Facilities
- Safeguarding and Integrating Existing Shipyards
- Realising the Potential Offered by a Riverside Location
- Implementing Local Development Strategies, etc.
- Supporting further Public Realm Improvements

© Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved.
Ordnance Survey Licence number 100023379.

5.13 The vision for the redevelopment of the River Clyde's waterfront in the City Plan 2 (GCC 2009c). Courtesy of Glasgow City Council

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 to changing the river's image and creating public space.

As has been shown so far, there is a fair amount of emphasis placed both on the Clyde's regeneration and public space, on the national, regional and local levels of governance. From a 'no go area' in the 1970s, the Clyde has undergone a great transformation. 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. At the same time, the existent public places seem at a first glance to be lacking a vibrant atmosphere (Figure 5.14). This is in contrast to how the river and its waterfront were used and looked during the River Festival (see Figure 5.11), which shows that there is great potential for a more vibrant and lively waterfront. Before empirical evidence is shown for the publicness of the three case study public places, the last part of this chapter will identify the key factors that have influenced, and continue to do so, the river's redevelopment in general and the publicness of its public places in particular.

## Factors Frustrating the Physical Regeneration of the Clyde and the Provision of Public Space

*The permanently empty public purse*

From the above analysis, it seems that one of the key reasons for the piecemeal regeneration of the River Clyde is the lack of adequate public funds. As in the case of many other waterfront projects, to create a coherent and successful regeneration along the banks of the Clyde in Glasgow is a highly costly process due to the considerable scale of brownfield land, needing decontamination and also due to the legacy of large infrastructure, inherited from the industrialisation and canalisation of the river.

> *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 GCC area planner for the City Centre)*

Faced with these costly issues, the Glasgow City Council's approach has been to prime pump development; the few resources available were partly spent on several infrastructure works and partly for advertising and promoting the area to the private sector. One of the main reasons that the regeneration of the Clyde is lacking the needed public funding is the large array of problems that the city of Glasgow is being faced with now, including high levels of deprivation, drug and alcohol abuse, health inequalities and insufficient public housing.

5.14 Examples of 'forgotten' public places on the Clyde's waterfront

In relation to the waterfront, one of the outcomes of a severe lack of public funds has been the delay of the *Fastlink* project, now dependent on the contributions from the various developers involved along its proposed route. With the downturn in the market, the majority of the interviewees have expressed their doubts that the project will happen because, first of all, the developments along its route need to be completed. Sadly, it seems that the *Fastlink*, just as many other projects on the Clyde, has become dependent on the market's fluctuations. This is a not a specific phenomenon for Glasgow but a characteristic of waterfront developments in general, as mentioned in the first part of this chapter. In order to bypass the market's fluctuations, the local authority needs to show strong vision and commitment to carry this and other projects through and secure the necessary starting funds.

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 creation of public space 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 specific financial support from the national level, the GCC can do little to foster development on the river with its permanent shortage of funds and stretched budgets. 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 a more comprehensive development of the waterfront is the fact that there are several major landowners, both public and private, with development interests on the banks of the river. Apart from GCC, the other main public actor is Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (SEG), the local branch of Scottish Enterprise (former Scottish Development Agency); this is the government's arm's length organisation in charge with supporting development, innovation and business, being the other major public body that owns land and facilitates development on the banks of the Clyde. As discussed before (in Chapter 3), co-operation among different stakeholders, each with their own interests and agendas, is fundamental for the successful outcome of a development project. In Glasgow, the relationship between GCC and SEG has not always been one of fruitful collaboration (Tiesdell 2010). It seems that the Government has not entrusted the Council with a special budget for the river because it considers that it can implement its own vision and goals for the development of the Clyde through its

representative organisation, SEG. However, of a greater impact than the power play between these two public bodies is the friction 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 of the river is Clydeport. This is the former Clyde Port Authority,[3] 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 is that Clydeport was a public agency. You would argue that they should never have 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 independent 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 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)*

One of the most important and visible outcomes stemming from the lack of successful cooperation between the GCC and Clydeport is the lack of activity on the river. Most waterfront development projects show vibrant revitalised rivers of boats, yachts, water taxis and houseboats. The Clyde however 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 (Interview with GCC planner). The council's planning department also believes that a public water based transport system would not be economically viable. 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). 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 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:

[3] This was created in the 1960s when the industrial age and the shipyards were closing down following the merger of the Clyde Navigation Trust, the Greenock Harbour Trust and the Clyde Lighthouses Trust.

> *I wrote to the Council on this, four years ago, saying: '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 is 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)*

One of the main causes for the missing water activity is the lack of the necessary infrastructure to support this. The Glasgow City Council has undertaken a series of infrastructure works by repairing several of the quay walls and placing five pontoons; however they admit that much more needs to be done in order to attract more boats down the Clyde:

> *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 principal planner for the city centre and the river)*

Another pontoon was promised to be undertaken with private money, by Clydeport at the Glasgow Harbour site which the port authority declare to fulfil once the new Transport Museum will be finished. Glasgow Harbour is the largest project resulting from the cooperation between GCC and Clydeport in creating development by the river's side; whether successful or not, it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. 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 the already mentioned five pontoons. There is a general agreement from the part of the Council's employees responsible for the river's regeneration that in order to truly have a vibrant waterfront by the Clyde, the water's surface needs to be activated and it is hoped that this will happen in time; in the words of the City Design Advisor:

> *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 the 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. (Interview with the City Design Advisor)*

To help activate the Clyde's water, a marina has been proposed at Pacific Quay in recent year by SEG, the other major public body. Clydeport does not share this vision as their view is that the traditional Scottish sailing grounds are at Largs, close to where the Clyde flows into the Atlantic:

> *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 houseboat 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 which seems to be lacking due to a combination of factors; among them, the absence of adequate public funding from the GCC, the lack of a strong support from Clydeport and the contrary objectives pursued by the public and the private sectors:

> *So, the fact is that 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 distrust. The public sector doesn'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. At the same time, whenever the partnership worked, it appeared from this research 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* published by in 2003. This is discussed in more detail the following section.

*The Glasgow City Council's lack of a coherent vision and ability to enforce decisions for the quality of placemaking*

The major reason given by Clydeport for their lack of supporting more activity on the Clyde and putting more effort into activating the waterfront is the Glasgow City Council's absence of a coherent and consistent vision for the regeneration of the river (Interview with Euan Jamieson, Clydeport's managing director). The interviewees that work for the GCC also shared this view:

> *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 terms 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; however, if the leader of the council goes, then that's a policy and they have to do it. (Interview with Dr Nina Baker, Green councillor for Anderston/City Centre)*

It has been shown in the first part of this chapter that the two key ingredients for successful waterfront regeneration are leadership and vision; it seems that in the case of Glasgow, once Charlie Gordon left the leadership of the council, there was no more focused 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. 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 what Glasgow needs is a politically independent, properly resourced organisation in charge of the Clyde's development:

> *One of the tensions is what the delivery vehicle ought to be. 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, we need an urban development cooperation, which is the model that most British cities adopted, particularly with regard to the regeneration of dock areas. We didn't have the political appetite for that. (Interview with Blair Greenock, GCC planner)*

> *You look at properly promoting this and 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 the development of the waterfront and the lack of water activity. In this respect, several interviewees expressed their view that the GCC should be more 'sacrificial for the greater public good' in its initiatives. At the moment, 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 be taking 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 GCC planner)*

One example of this lack of strong support for good urban design and the river's regeneration 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, a passer-by does not know the river is within five minutes walking distance. Ethel May Abel, the city's river planner, has explained that the example of Barcelona, where one of the houses inhabited by Picasso was demolished to create Picasso Square 'could never happen in Glasgow' (interview with Ethel May Abel, Glasgow City planner for the river). In relation to this, it is felt by many of the public and private actors interviewed that the placing of the new Museum of Transport in 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 as did all these places; they built it right in the middle of the city. Glasgow hasn't done that; it has tucked it away down at Glasgow Harbour. You can't walk to it, you need to get a bus, it is 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)*

*A variety of agencies and planning authorities tackling one issue – the public realm*

Apart from the above issues, one key factor that has had a negative impact on the publicness of the public places beside the Clyde is the existence of a multitude of agencies within Glasgow City Council, often with overlapping and confusing roles. This is as an issue particular to public space, which, although has been treated here as a unitary concept, in reality is dealt with by many different agencies; one organisation will handle control issues, another green space, another, the cleaning and managing, another, the planning and design and so on. In the case of Glasgow City Council, there are 14 separate services (Table 5.2) and the key imperative '… is to get everyone in a place where they discuss and understand the issues that are there' (interview with the City Design Advisor). The most influential council departments for 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.

Table 5.2 The various services involved in the creation and management of public places in Glasgow

| Services | ALEOs (Arm's-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 and Environmental Services | Glasgow Community and Safety Services |
| Social Work Services | City Property (Glasgow) LLP |

In addition to this complex institutional framework, there is not one team or one person in charge of the river and its public space, except for the already mentioned Ethel May Abel, the city planner for the river. She expressed her dismay that she has no real authority but only a coordinating role among the four different area officers, responsible among others for the river.[4] Problems arise not only from a lack of funding, as described above, but also from lack of co-ordination among the different areas; the four different planners might not all have available budgets for coherent and continuous waterfront public space development at the same time:

> *There's lots of reasons but I would say the main reason this doesn't work because if you go to any city, people are not looking for something that is pristine all the time, they just want 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)*

*Public space – a slippery concept*

One last issue needs to be added to the current discussion; apart from the four factors, which frustrate the publicness of public places from a practical perspective, the complex and often slippery meaning of the term leads to less public places than they could/should be. It was shown in Chapter 2 how 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, as shown in Table 5.3.

This was hypothesised in Chapter 1 where the publicness of public space was described as varying on a subjective level; the interviews undertaken here prove this empirically. Indeed different actors, both from the public and the private sectors, use various terms such as 'open space', 'public space' and 'public realm', and with slightly different meanings. Several of the interviewees have supported the view that there are many different terms in relation to public space and that

[4] Out of the total five officers in the city, reduced from a previous number of 12.

Table 5.3 Public space definitions from the actors involved in the development of Glasgow's public realm

| Actor in the development of public places in Glasgow | Definition of public space |
|---|---|
| Architect | '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'.<br>'… 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 …' |
| 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'. |
| Private developer | 'The 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'. |
| Private developer | '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'.<br>'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'. |
| Politician | '… somewhere that any member of the public can go to without having to ask or pay'. |
| 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'. |
| Project manager GCC, Land and Environmental services | 'I don't know that we actually do know the true definition of the word public realm'.<br>'… 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'. |
| Politician | '… we used to call it the public realm. In my administration we meant all the space between the buildings'. |

Table 5.3 Public space definitions from the actors involved in the development of Glasgow's public realm. *Continued*

| Actor in the development of public places in Glasgow | Definition of public space |
|---|---|
| Independent planner | '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'. |
| Economist, public authority | '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'. |
| Landscape architect | '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'. |
| 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'. |
| 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 … 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'. |
| Planner, GCC, Development and Regeneration services | '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?"' |
| Independent 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 …' |

is a complex concept involving many 'layers'. It was also shown above that in the main Scottish Planning documents there are a variety of terms used in relation to 'public space'. More, the interviewees also defined the concept differently, albeit among these different conceptualisations, communalities can be noticed. 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. 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. These findings have given the author the confidence to write this book, as they clearly show the great need for a clearer understanding and pragmatic analysis of what makes public space, public, so that better places are created.

## 5.5 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 case study city in this book, has experienced a similar transformation. However, 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 River Clyde and its waterfront has been the other major focus for redevelopment. The analysis undertaken here has shown that although recent development has been created and new public places have been built, factors such as tight public budgets, divided ownership and power struggles among major stakeholders and a lack of consistent vision and strong leadership from the part of the public authorities, have determined the apparition of a series of disjointed and sometimes poor design quality developments. In addition these issues have led to a dismal lack of activity both on the water's surface and on the riverfront. The publicness of the waterfront public places has also been frustrated on a practical level by a lack of coordination among the different public agencies and services of the Glasgow City Council and on a conceptual level by the various different understandings of 'public space' that the actors involved in the regeneration process, have.

The next chapter will look in more detail at three new public places, created since the 1990s on the post-industrial waterfront of the Clyde. Their publicness will be measured by using the Star Model developed in this research and the ratings explained through an analysis of the development story of each site. This will show how public the new public places created in post-industrial Glasgow, truly are and will provide the opportunity to test the Star Model of Public Space in practice.

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

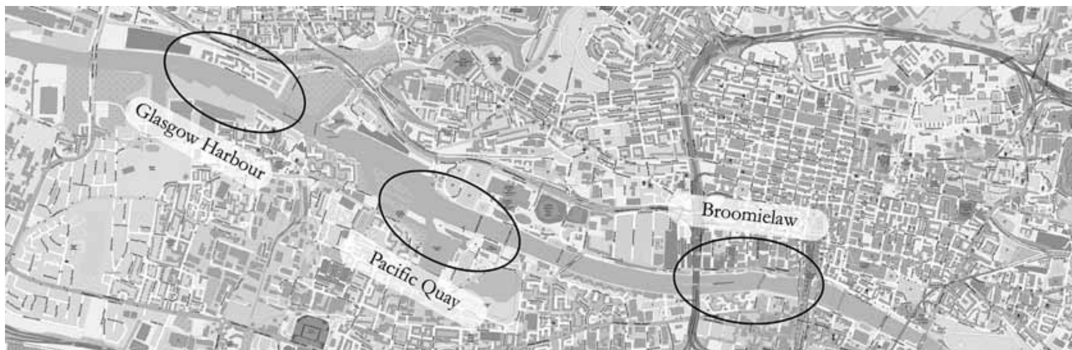
# 6

# How Public are Glasgow's Public Places? A Case Study of Three Waterfront Sites: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw

## 6.0 INTRODUCTION

Following the presentation of waterfront regeneration and after describing the general historic background of Glasgow's experience in creating new public places, this chapter analyses three particular locations, through the dual nature of public space framework. The starting point for this research was questioning the view put forward by many writings that new public places are not as public as they could/should be; commentators from around the world argue that places are losing something of their publicness. As argued in the previous chapter, many public places created on post-industrial waterfront share similar characteristics in terms of their development and physical layout. Moreover, they have been built with a similar purpose, i.e. to become places for entertainment, vibrant areas that could reconnect the local populations with their forgotten riverside while also attracting tourists. 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, it became clear after the Star Model was created that a large amount of time has already been dedicated to understanding, conceptualising, defining and modelling the publicness of public space. As a result, for both academic and practical reasons, the research focused only on the city of Glasgow. Apart from testing the viability of the dual nature of public space framework and the Star Model, we also aimed to investigate the recent transformation of the river as part of the broader background of the city's regeneration, a subject, which has not been tackled much since the 1990s (see Garcia 1990). For several reasons (see Chapter 4), three sites were chosen for analysis, located on the Clyde waterfront, i.e. Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw (see Map 6.1).

Each of these was part of a different type of development, produced in a different time period in the last 30 years or so and involving different actors. Their story and the analysis of the public places created as part of these sites are the focus of this chapter.




Map 6.1 The location of the three case studies in the broader urban layout of Glasgow

## 6.1 PACIFIC QUAY

### The History of Pacific Quay

Pacific Quay is situated on the south bank of the River Clyde, approximately one mile southwest from the city centre of Glasgow. The site covers an area of about 25 hectares on the former Prince's Dock, closed down and partly infilled in the 1970s when the Clyde and Glasgow overall were experiencing industrial decline (Figure 6.1).

The site includes the Canting Basin, a five-hectare water surface, which is the last remaining large pocket of water on the Clyde. The public place along the river and the central square were chosen for the testing of the Star Model (see Map 6.2 overleaf).

6.1 (a) Pacific Quay. In the heyday of maritime activity, when it was known as Prince's Dock. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport.

6.1 (b) Pacific Quay. Aerial view of the site today. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

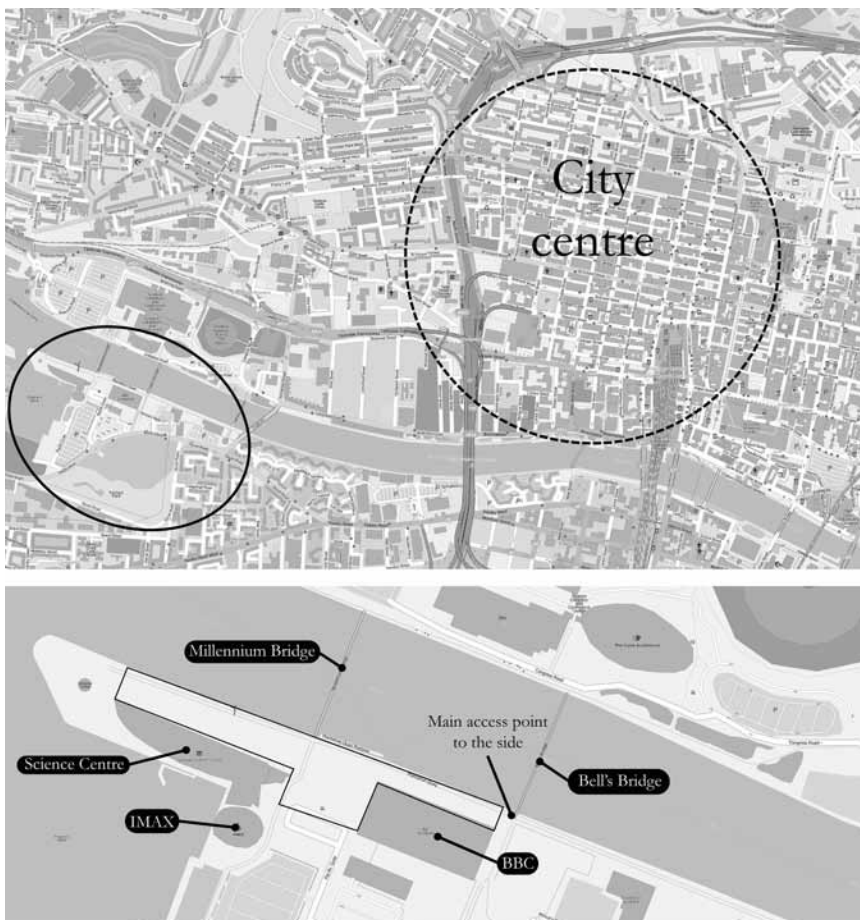
Five different stages can be identified in the regeneration of Pacific Quay (for a chronology of events see Figure 6.2):

- The Garden Festival held 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 twenty-first century;
- The relocation of the BBC Scotland headquarters from the West End of Glasgow in the mid-2000s;
- The development of the Digital Media Quarter and the activation of the Canting Basin at the end of 2000s.

The first two stages sparked the regeneration process of the area, a process marked by divided ownership, disagreements among major players and unfortunate changes in the market conditions.

| Year | Event |
|---|---|
| 1970s | Prince's Dock is closed and filled |
| 1988 | Glasgow Garden Festival takes place, Bell's Bridge is built |
| 1995 | PQDL (Pacific Quay Developments) is formed and becomes the main private landowner on site |
| 2001 | The Science Centre is constructed; Millenium 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 improvement to the public place |
| 2010 | The 'floating village' application for the Canting Basin is submitted; SEG regains ownership of the central part of the site |

6.2 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the site at Pacific Quay




Map 6.2 The site under analysis. (a) Location of the site in relation to the City Centre. (b) The delineation of the public place under analysis

The third stage led to a crucial change in the area's fortunes while the last two have laid the foundations for the development of Glasgow's first media quarter. They will be tackled in more detail in the following paragraphs.

*A regeneration process greatly frustrated by divided ownership, disagreements and unfortunate market downturns*

The Garden Festival, which took place in 1988, initiated the regeneration of Pacific Quay. This was the first in a long series of cultural events aiming to both reconnect Glaswegians to their historic Clyde and make the river into an attractive touristic destination. The festival was organised by the Scottish Development Agency (SDA, Scottish Enterprise after 1992), which leased the land from Laing Homes, the main owner on site at the end of the 1980s. Laing Homes had previously acquired the site from the Clyde Port Authority (present day Clydeport). Overall, the event was deemed a great success, with over three million visitors and revenues of around the £100 million figure (www.glasgow.gov.uk). In relation to the event, Craig Millar from Scottish Enterprise stated that:

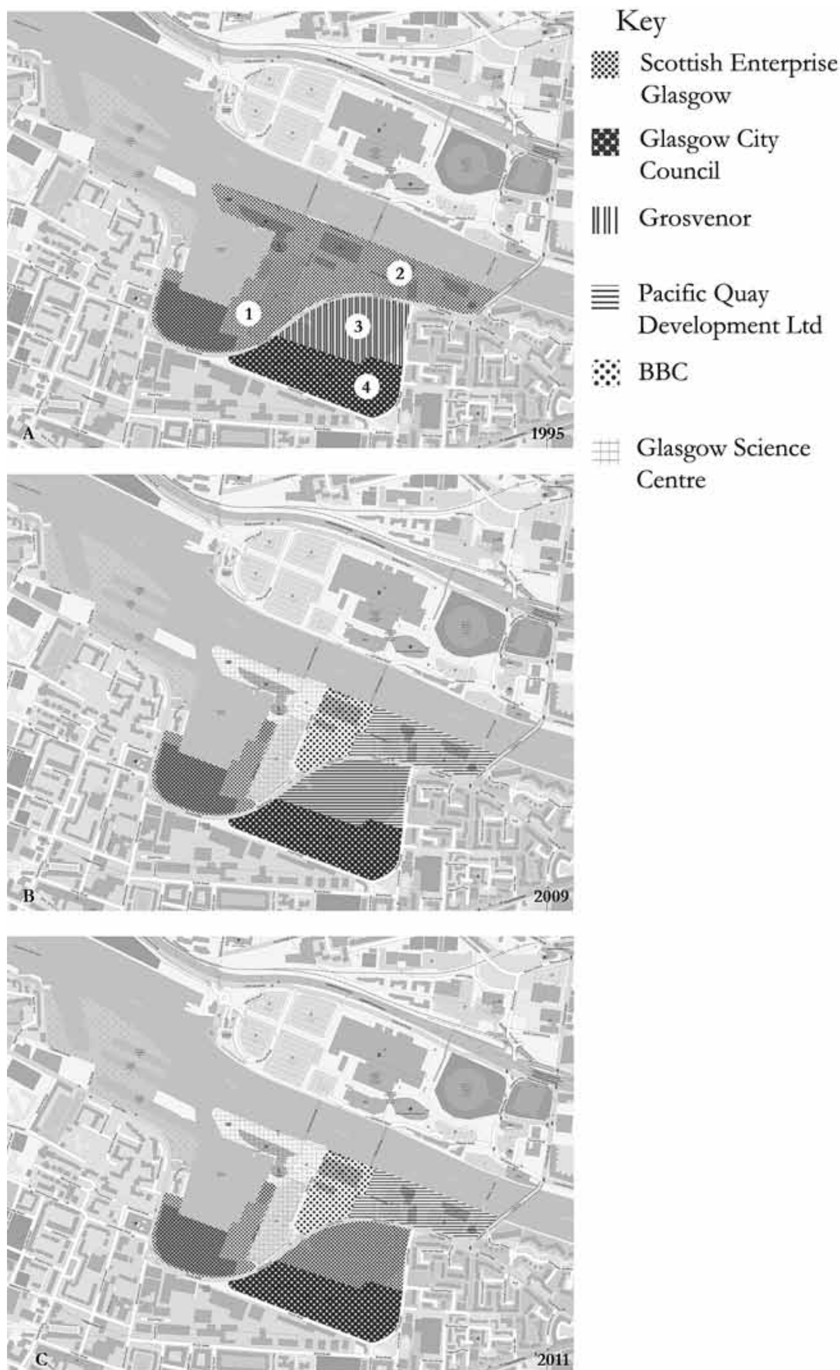
> *In 1988, the site sort of underwent a bit of a renaissance inasmuch as it was used for the Garden Festival. So all of this huge public realm space was put onto the site and that was open to the public from I think April through to October 1988, and that was a huge success in terms of helping Glasgow's profile … (Interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise)*

An important infrastructure addition was the pedestrian Bell's Bridge, creating a key link to the north bank of the river, where the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) had been built three years before, in 1985. This meant that pedestrian connectivity with the nearby city centre was ensured for the first time in this area'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, due mainly to the recession that followed at the beginning of the 1990s. This led to the main owner, Laing Homes, giving up their plans to transform the area into a residential development and subsequently selling their property. Nevertheless, the Garden Festival did manage to make SDA realise that the site had great potential. As a result, they acquired the land and by mid 1990s became the major stakeholder in Pacific Quay, sharing the ownership of the area with the GCC and Grosvenor Developments (Figure 6.3a, overleaf).

GCC remained as the owner of Festival Park, a prerequisite of the Garden Festival, and they still occupy today the land on the southern fringe of the site (parcel 4 in Figure 6.3a). The area between the park and the main access road (parcel 3 in Figure 6.3a) was owned at the time by Grosvenor Developments, an international property development company based in London. They had previously acquired it, at the beginning of the 1990s, also from the Clyde Port Authority.

Between 1990 and 1995, Scottish Enterprise gained ownership of the main part of the land at Pacific Quay as this was now considered a strategic site, due to the close proximity to the city centre and the visibility of its waterfront position. Therefore, in the mid-1990s the larger land portfolio, combined with more favourable market conditions, gave hope to the agency that the site will finally undergo the regeneration anticipated at the end of the 1980s. The intended development would be focused mainly on businesses and industrial uses (interview with Craig Millar, Scottish Enterprise). However, the SEG saw themselves more as facilitators than developers and did not take a strong leadership in the coherent development of the site. This led in 1995 to selling part of their land to the private sector (parcel 2 in Figure 6.3a, the land along the river, between what today is the Clyde Arc, the easternmost bridge on the image and Bell's Bridge, the middle bridge). This was an important decision, with a large impact on the subsequent development of Pacific Quay.

After having acquired the majority of the land by 1995, SEG crafted a general masterplan, consisting of a mixed development of businesses and tourism. The vision was describe by one of the Scottish Enterprise employees as '… 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



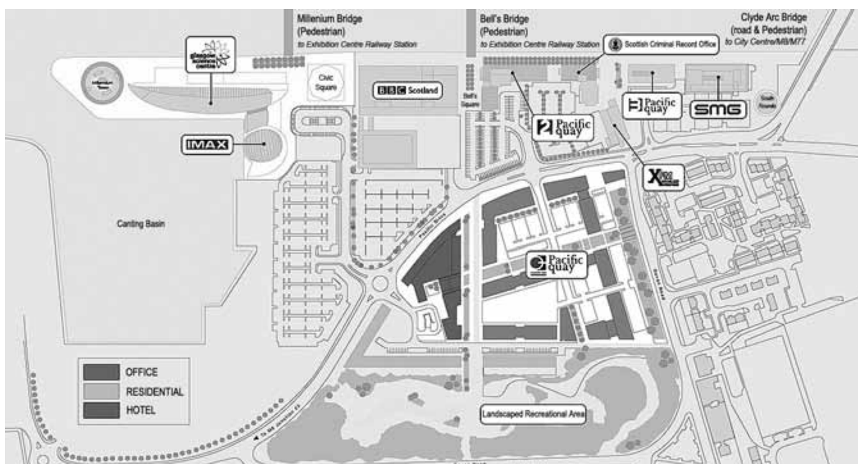

6.3 The evolution of ownership patterns at Pacific Quay from 1990s to 2010s. Adapted and based on information from Scottish Enterprise

Scottish Enterprise employee). The building of a multiplex cinema was the key element of the masterplan and aimed to be the driver of the entire regeneration process. In consequence, SEG started marketing the northeast part of the site (parcel 2 in Figure 6.3a) to the private sector. The subsequent 1995 development competition was won by a joint application from Miller Developments, based in Edinburgh, and C.T.P. Ltd, based in Manchester. To ensure a coherent development of the site, SEG facilitated an agreement between the winners and Grosvenor Developments; this company was holding the land in the southern area of the site and had unsuccessfully bided for SEG's competition. The result was a tripartite joint venture, named Pacific Quay Developments (PQDL), formed by the three private developers: Miller Developments, Grosevenor and C.T.P. Ltd. It seemed at this point that the two key elements crucial for successful waterfront development, vision and agreement between key actors, were finally in place in 1995, and Pacific Quay was ready to become the first project to transform the Clyde. However, very soon after the formation of PQDL, Virgin abandoned the development of the multiplex cinema because of a parallel development at the nearby Springfield Quay. Virgin argued that there was a lack of demand and feasibility for two similar developments in such close proximity. With the main engine for the site's regeneration gone, SEG sold their site to PDQL in the hope of securing the continuum of the development process. The result was the opposite: the private consortium became the other major landowner in Pacific Quay (Figure 6.3b) and the regeneration process on the whole was greatly slowed down:

> *I think as a whole, once ownership has become fragmented, the people, the owners, tend to go off and do their own thing. We have made various attempts over the years to try to bring a bit of cohesion to the stakeholder group. We had proposals for a common infrastructure approach which looked at the central boulevard, at upgrading the park and the public utilities servicing 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)*

From this research, it came to light that during the past decades, although Scottish Enterprise has made repeated attempts to ignite development, PQDL have not been very responsive because they will consider activating their site only if they find the market favourable:

> *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)*




6.4 The proposed masterplan by Pacific Quay Developments Ltd in the 2000s

Proof of their willingness to continue redevelopment was that during the last stages of the 2000s market boom, PQDL acquired planning permission for a 46,500 $m^2$ mixed use residential, commercial and business development illustrated in the masterplan presented in Figure 6.4.

In a similar fashion to what had happened at the beginning of the 1990s, the 2008 real estate market crash stopped development and led to Grosvenor pulling out from the consortium and selling their site (parcel 3 in Figure 6.3a) 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 become the main landowners of the site.

*Changing the area's fortunes through an 'iconic' tourist building*

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 place-making practice in the UK, was nominated to undertake the task and the result was the Scottish Science Centre, opened in 2001 (Figure 6.5). The venue consists of three separate buildings: the IMAX, the Science Centre main building and the Tower. A new infrastructure addition was 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 6.5).

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. The Science Centre trust owns the land surrounding it, which includes the largest part of the public place under analysis.

In terms of design, 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

6.5 The Science Centre and Millennium Bridge

'Armadillo' building on the north bank, built in 1997, which has turned its back to the river without addressing the waterfront (see Figure 6.1a), the Science Centre was designed to address the water's edge.

> *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 BDP architect)*

BDP proposed the re-creation of the old fingers of water that have previously been in filled. 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 never 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 (see Figure 6.8). The Science Centre was envisaged as an internal venue and sadly there was little consideration for the adjacent open public place. Later on, in 2009, the Science Centre in collaboration with SEG tried to remedy this through several improvements, consisting of adding greenery and putting a number of benches in place to enliven the forgotten public place:

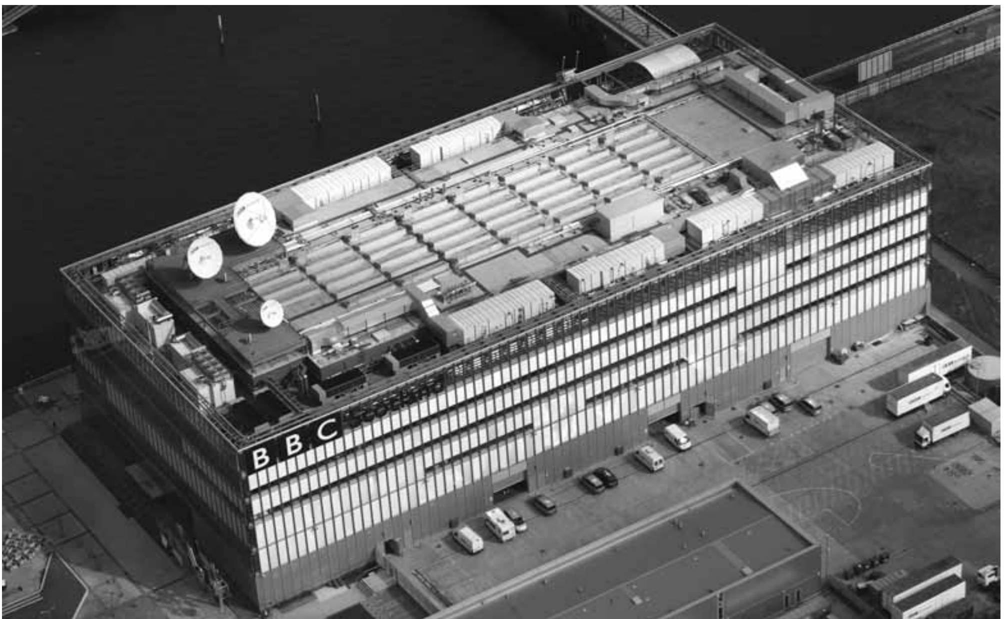
> *What certainly they (Science Centre) have been doing in conjunction with the Scottish Enterprise is looking at their existing public realm, which if you take those green beds out of the equation, it was fairly sort of bleak and sterile. I mean it is great on sunny day but if you've got no greenery, 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 focus on outdoor public place at Pacific Quay reflects one of the main issues found 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 that there is a general lack of activity in an area but to attract activity, provisions need to be made and quality public places created. This is of particular importance in areas where there is no housing and therefore, no established community. It seems that in relation to the public place created at Pacific Quay, the stakeholders feel that they will focus on more improvements, and the area will become more fully developed and more activity will be generated on site. This is supported by the words of Scottish Enterprise representative Craig Millar, who 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).

*The bringing of cohesion to the site – Glasgow's first media quarter is formed on the banks of the Clyde*

The Science Centre was the first major building on site and it remained a single development in a generally run down area until the BBC headquarters were built in 2007. In parallel with creating a touristic destination at Pacific Quay, SEG decided to develop the site as a Media Quarter, to host the city's growing digital media industries. They succeeded in securing the relocation of BBC Scotland (Figure 6.6), 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 colloquially as the Clyde Arc or The Squinty Bridge, was designed by Richard Rogers and was built at the eastern point of the site. It was estimated to cost £9 million and it was opened in September 2006 (Figure 6.7).

The relocation of BBC Scotland into the new glass box building, of 330,000 ft$^2$ (Figure 6.10) has been considered a success from a touristic point of view, having attracted over 90,000 visitors by 2010 (Kane 2010). However, it is debatable if it has been a success from an urban design point of view as it has been positioned with its side to the river, creating a large, passive frontage to the waterfront walkway (see Figure 6.8a).




6.6 The BBC Scotland building at Pacific Quay. (a) (top) Photo by Steve Tiesdell. (b) (bottom) Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

6.7 The Clyde Arc. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

The argument for this positioning of the BBC building was the creation of a dialogue between the two major developments on site (interview with the river planner of GCC). However, this resulted in shadowing the adjacent river walkway for the entire afternoon, and this often appears today as an empty space (Figure 6.8a). Although the planning department of the City Council is aware of this unfortunate situation, there are disagreements in relation to how this can be improved.

6.8 The public place under analysis at Pacific Quay, from left to right, a walk from the main entrance point to the site, Bell's Bridge, west along the waterfront. (a) (left) The walkway between the BBC and the river. (b) (above, top) The square between BBC and the Science Centre's main building. (c) (above, bottom) The walkway between the Science Centre main building and the river

> *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 GCC planner for the area)*

Although debatable in terms of its design, the BBC's coming on site contributed to supporting SEG's and BDPs idea to transform Pacific Quay into Glasgow's Digital Media Quarter. Their vision was of a mixed development of small, flexible office units, moderately priced, aimed to attract particularly creative industries which would complement the BBC and Scottish Media Group already on site (interview with 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 therefore 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 6.9). These are much smaller building units than the BBC and Science Centre and have provisions for ground floor facilities (such as bars and restaurants) and thus creating the potential for more active frontages towards their adjacent public place.

In addition, a first phase of temporary public realm improvements was put in place, according to a design framework created by BDP.[1] However, this was not considered for the present analysis, as it is still in an early stage of 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 likely bring more vibrancy to the entire public place at Pacific Quay.

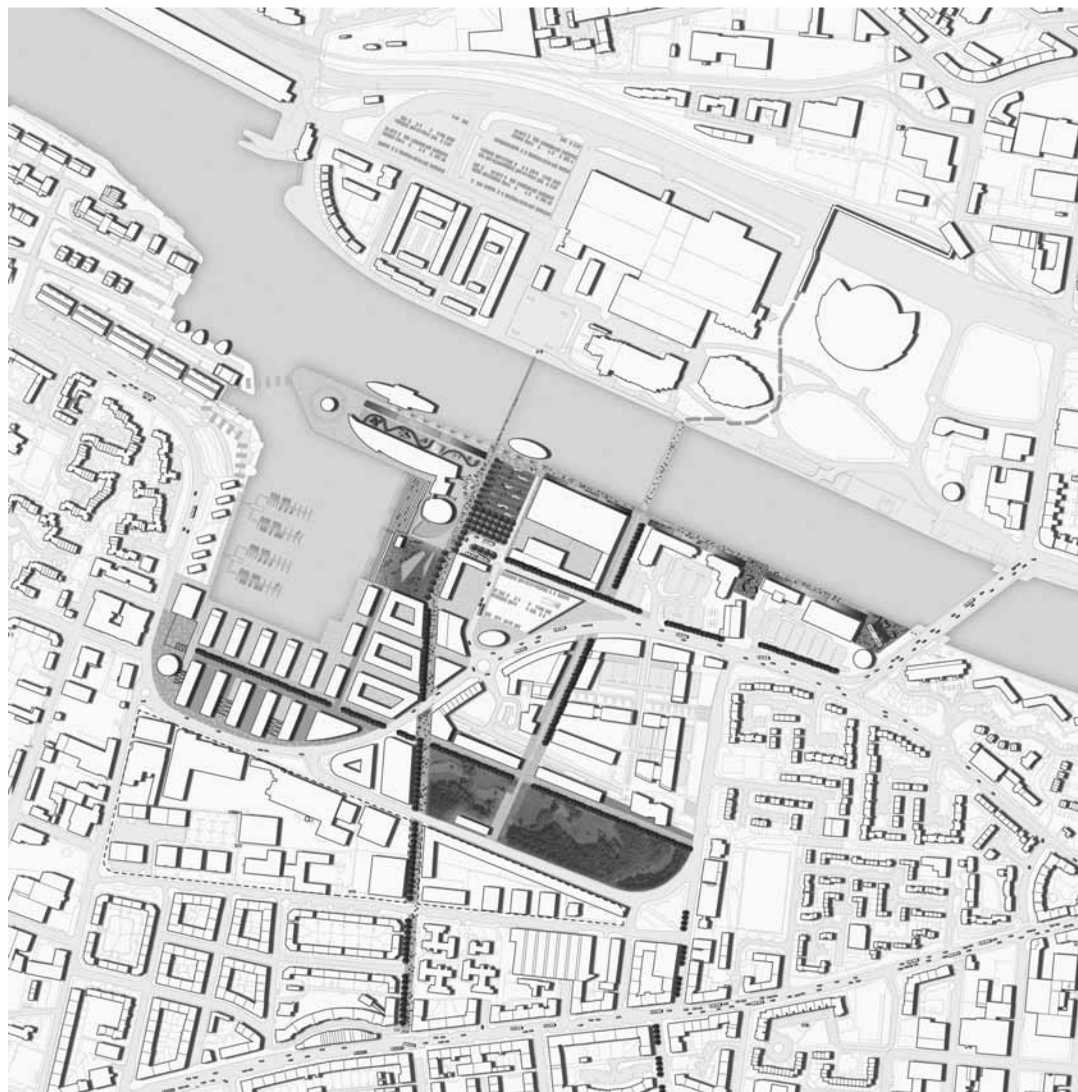
Another development idea shared by BDP and SEG in the late 1990s was the activation of the Canting Basin. A large marina was deemed unfeasible by SEG due to the high amount of parking space that such a project would need which would conflict with the development of the Digital Media Quarter along the water's edge. Instead, a small marina was envisaged, complemented by houseboats and including a floating stage for hosting events, linked by floating walkways to the mainland (interview with BDP architect). In 2009, SEG was marketing the area to the private sector and in 2010, Floating Concepts Ltd, a developer based near Manchester, has agreed to undertake the scheme with an investment of £30 million (www.scottish-enterprise.presscentre.com). This resulted in a planning application being submitted to the GCC, which at the moment is awaiting approval. This reflects SEG's initial vision for the Canting Basin by comprising a 'floating community' of offices, restaurants, shops, and houses, plus a small marina and a concert stage.

[1] The author had the opportunity to see this during the interview with BDP architects but could not get a copy.

6.9 New development in the Digital Media Quarter

This could surely help bring in the much-needed activity to the entire area at Pacific Quay and thus enhance the animation of the waterfront public place. In addition, this development could bring the needed physical connection to the western edge, as seen in the currently proposed masterplan. This was commissioned in 2004, by the BBC and the GCC and was undertaken by Gareth Hoskins Architects (Figure 6.10).

The architects' vision was focused on developing two main public routes across the site in order to link the waterfront with the other major public amenity, Festival Park, left forgotten since the end of the 1990s. They also proposed to increase the connectivity of the waterfront westwards, by creating a crossing point over the Canting Basin. Their approach was adopted in the latest masterplan proposed by the GCC, in which one crucial issue is the activation of the highly unused Festival Park through the improvement of its connectivity towards the waterfront (Figure 6.11).



6.10 Gareth Hoskins Architects 2004 masterplan for Pacific Quay. Courtesy of Gareth Hoskins Architects Ltd

6.11 Glasgow City Council's current masterplan for the area. With permission from 7N Architects

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 by the car parks of the Science Centre and the BBC (see above Figure 6.10 and 6.11 and for an aerial view see Figure 6.1b). Overall, the proposed masterplan, if realised, would increase the publicness of the open public place in terms of both *Physical configuration* and *Animation*; however, looking at the development history of Pacific Quay and Glasgow in general, it remains to be seen when and how this will be implemented.

Without doubt, Pacific Quay has dramatically changed during the last decades. However, since the industry was closed down, progress has been very slow and its story has been marked by fragmented ownership, the failing of the project to ride the market cycles and a lack of successful cooperation among the main stakeholders. In the words of a GCC planner:

> *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 GCC planner for the area)*

During the leadership of Charlie Gordon, when a large number of projects were developed on the riverbanks (as discussed in Chapter 5), there was no 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)*

The BDP architect involved in the creation of the Science Centre shares the view that there has been a lack of agreement among stakeholders and strong leadership from the public sector:

> *If you could start again, with someone in real control but also have the money to put in the proper infrastructure. You would 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 'Yeah, we're really going to do this well', set it up and then allow the developers to move in, at the back of that you create this fantastic place. (Interview with BDP architect)*

This is a common story for many projects that are not strongly led. In this particular case, SEG, who are not developers, had good intentions but did not have the concentrated focus to undertake and lead on a specific project. The other public sector authority, the City Council has various and multiple interests in many parts of the city and as such, conveniently left this area to the care of SEG, arguing that Scottish Enterprise had more authority due to their land ownership. The private developers were large-scale companies waiting for favourable market conditions and did not feel the need to take charge of the projects here at Pacific Quay. It seems that this is a story where different actors, with different interests did not find a common language to create an articulated development and a successful public place. This reflects the discussion on the power play among stakeholders presented in the second part of Chapter 3. It also points out to the waterfront development lessons from Chapter 5, among which maybe the most important is the creation of a public–private partnership that could have taken charge of the development in a similar way to the exemplary Baltimore Harbour.

### The Star Model Analysis of Pacific Quay's Main Public Place

The next paragraphs present the assessment of the publicness of the new public place constructed as part of the larger Pacific Quay site. Publicness is measured here through the Star Model framework and the rating calculated is explained through the various decisions made in the development process, presented above.

*Ownership*

The rating for the ownership of 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 6.3c). The obtained rating of **4.0**, illustrates the large involvement of the public sector in the site's development**.** 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. Because there is more than one type of owner in the area, the aggregate indicator for ownership was calculated as described in Chapter 4. The walkway adjacent to the BBC, owned by the media company, represents 8.85 per cent of the area under analysis while the site in the ownership of the Science Centre represents 91.15 per cent, 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 have been obtained if the Glasgow City Council, the local democratically elected authority, would have own this public place. As it was presented in the development story of the site, the Council has never been interested in obtaining the ownership of the site, recognising it as part of SEG's portfolio.

*Control*

*Control* was overall rated **4**, showing a space that greatly allows for freedom of expression. However, when we look closer at how this number was obtained, we can see that although there is no sadistic street furniture on site, control signage or oppressive police presence, all three indicators being rated the highest value, **5**, there are however CCTV cameras observing the entire site. These are placed on the BBC building or in the central area adjacent to the Science Centre (Figure 6.12). Although the creation of a CCTV system to control the public place was not considered by SEG or by any of the other stakeholders during the development process, both the BBC and the Science Centre considered electronic surveillance necessary for protecting their buildings and therefore, indirectly, the entire outdoor public area is now under video surveillance.

[2] A specific financial arrangement has been secured for the completion of the BBC building with a 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-year lease with the investment vehicle. It appears therefore that the BBC is the righteous owner and the sublessee from these two companies.

6.12 CCTV surveillance cameras at Pacific Quay

6.13 Aerial view of the Pacific Quay site, showing its connectivity with the city centre. Courtesy of Scottish Enterprise

*Physical configuration*

The total rating calculated for this third dimension was **2.5**, showing that much improvement is needed in terms of urban design. Regarding 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 Map 6.2 for the map of the area and Figure 6.13):

- Towards the north, 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 as shown previously when the development history was described.
- Towards the south, immediately adjacent to the public place under observation, there are two parking areas belonging to the BBC and 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 south is meant to be resolved by the public walkway proposed in the masterplans presented in Figures 6.10 and 6.11. 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. Furthermore, the GCC 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 6.11) (interview with GCC planner fro the area).

6.14 Accessibility of the Pacific Quay site. (a) The connection from the eastern edge

- Coming from the east, one can access the site on foot. However, there is no clearly delineated walkway for a distinctive portion of the riverfront, owned since the mid 1990s by PQDL who have not developed it yet (Figure 6.14a).
- From the western direction, there is no connection to the public place due to the presence of the Canting Basin. This lack of a physical link to the west is an issue acknowledged by both the SEG and the GCC, present on both currently proposed masterplans (see Figures 6.10 and 6.11). The realisation of this connection has been dependent on the activation of the Canting Basin, which is now finally starting to be developed. However, this would have to be an opening bridge allowing for the passing of vessels to and from the new marina.

The *Public Walkways* and *Cycle routes indicators* were both 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 westwards there is no crossing point and, as such, no walkway. Eastwards, 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. There is a designated cycle route through Bell's Bridge (Figure 6.14b), the start of the Clyde and Loch Lomond Cycleway. This is 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.

6.14 Accessibility of the Pacific Quay site. (b) The connection from the northern edge, on Bell's Bridge

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 under construction by PQDL and therefore has not been placed to restrict access (as shown in the Figure 6.14a). A reason for the site's openness is that both the main occupiers, the Science Centre and the BBC are quasi-public institutions with no desire to fence the outside public place around them. Nevertheless, the presence of these two large footprint buildings with no active ground floor frontages is reflected in the minimal rating **1** for the first micro-design indicator, *Active Frontages*. However, the buildings are clad in glass, allowing for a certain degree of visibility inside them. Their main entrances are towards the central square, the only doors open to the public place under analysis. Although there is a café inside the Science Centre and a visitors shop, these have not been designed to open towards the river walkway. As shown in the development story of the site, 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, without any particular regard to the consequences on the waterfront public place. The Science Centre was considered a necessary development to put Pacific Quay on the city's touristic map and the BBC as a catalyst for the development of the Media Quarter. A different type of development that would have also brought shops, cafes, bars or restaurants would have created much more activity in the public place by the Clyde. It is a question for future research if the development of the Digital Media Quarter, with smaller units and a variety of ground uses, together with the Canting Basin floating village, will lead to more animation in Pacific Quay's outdoor public place.

In relation to the the second indicator for micro-design, *Sitting Opportunities*, this was rated **2** because there are only a few, not very high quality benches on site, clustered together in front of the Science Centre and not directed towards the main viewing landscape, the river (Figure 6.15d).

In addition, there are several informal sitting opportunities, such as the grass beds and their edges, placed in the space between the Science Centre and the river, all heavily used during the River Festival in the summer of 2009 (Figure 6.15a). There are no sitting opportunities in the space between the BBC and the river (Figure 6.15c) while in the square between the BBC and the Science Centre, (Figure 6.15b) users can potentially sit on the raised grass area but there are no benches. Overall, we can say that there is a general lack of provision of sitting opportunities, which was evident during the above mentioned River Festival (Figure 6.15a), reflecting the low priority of the outdoor public place on the stakeholders' agenda. For example, 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:

> *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)*

6.15 Sitting and walking opportunities on the observation site Pacific Quay. (a) (top) During the River Festival. (b) (bottom) During the observation period

6.15 (c and d) Sitting and walking opportunities on the observation site Pacific Quay during the observation period

This is one of the crucial factors determining the lack of vibrancy of this area as it is well known in the urban design literature (see for example Jan Gelhl's work, mentioned in detail in Chapter 2) that without places to stop and get the feeling of a place, no area will gain much activity, being only a transient place, a place-on-the-way-to-somewhere-else. In contrast, there was however a more focused approach to provide easily walkable and even pavements; this is reflected by rating **5** the third indicator for micro-design, *Walking opportunities*. Although there is a patchwork of materials (Figure 6.15a–d), there are no uneven areas that would make users uncomfortable when strolling. The last indicator for Physical Configuration, *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated again low, **2**. There is only one element on site that could attract the interest of a visitor, a 6 kW wind turbine intended to raise awareness for the sustainability agenda and also to offset the carbon footprint of the Science Centre (Figure 6.16).

Although this provides the opportunity for users to engage with the environment as it was noticed during the observation of the site, there is a general lack of interesting 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, uninviting and uninteresting area.

Overall, the physical configuration of Pacific Quay is fairly poor. In terms of macro-design, although there are no fences to deter physical access and block the site's visibility, 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.

6.16 The wind turbine at Pacific Quay, the only opportunity for active engagement and discovery for visitors

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 this public place. As a result, the *Physical configuration* dimension 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 actors.

*Animation*

*Animation* obtained a very low overall rating of **1.5**. The first indicator, *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers* was rated **1** as there were no street vendors and entertainers seen on site. This shows that there aren't sufficient users yet, to make these micro-economic activities viable and yet again there is a general feeling from the stakeholders that this will change at some point 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* was rated **2**, as the observation showed that, on average, there are approximately **3** (**3.2** to be precise) activities happening at the same time. 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. In terms of the type of activities performed, 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 per cent of the users were engaged in these three activities (see Annexe 5). Out of the total number of 121 people counted on site during 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 defined by people coming from the north bank on Millennium Bridge, walking along the river and then going back north using 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 in the above discussion on the site's physical configuration. Regarding *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 is mainly the result of 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. A distinct group of users were seen *standing* and smoking, many of them by the BBC building, most likely employees of the media company. Smoking can be described as a necessary activity (Gehl 1996) and that it would happen irrespective of the quality of the outdoor public place.

Apart from the three above-mentioned 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. Very few people (12 in total, representing 2.7 per cent of the total number of users) were noticed sitting, which can be explained by the general lack of benches and the poor quality of the few existing ones. Overall, there were only four people seen 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, to smoke or very rarely to have lunch. Only three people were observed eating, which is unusual for a 'touristic destination' but easily explained by the lack of food vendors, restaurants or cafés in the vicinity of the public place and good sitting opportunities. There were very few joggers and only one person walking their dog, explained by the absence of a community living in the vicinity of the public place. Although PQDL had plans to build a residential development on site, these never materialised.

Regarding age and ethnicity, the observations[3] showed that the most underrepresented age group was teenagers[4] Almost 90 per cent of users were White, showing a low ethnic diversity at Pacific Quay. Regarding the gender distribution, the high percentage of male users, 65 per cent, 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 women being generally more selective of the outdoor environment where they chose to spend their time. Concerning the spatial distribution of the users, the most animated part of the public place was the square between the BBC and the Science Centre while the least animated was the walkway between the Science Centre and the river.

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 per cent of the users are young people. One of the main factors that have influenced this monotonous use of the site is the lack of benches and 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

[3] This was covert observation and as such, these are only general impressions as no questionnaires were filled in by users.

[4] There were only 20 teenagers present on site during the three observation days, whom were either strolling or doing stunts on BMX bikes.

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.

*Civility*

The fifth dimension, *Civility*, was overall rated **3.25**. Three of the indicators, *Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture*, *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas* and *Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting* were all rated fairly high: **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 6.17).

There are several standard council bins present in a good state and although the pavements look worn out in several places, generally, the area is maintained in good condition. The greenery has been improved over time and although the recent green embankment in the main square and the trees still need time to mature, overall they look healthy and well-maintained. The grass wavy beds, parallel to the Science Centre's main building, can be used as sitting opportunities or as a play area on a sunny day, as done so by children during the River Festival in the summer of 2009.

6.17 (a) (below) (b) (opposite) Elements of civility: tidiness, greenery and lighting at Pacific Quay. Courtesy of photographer Simon Swales

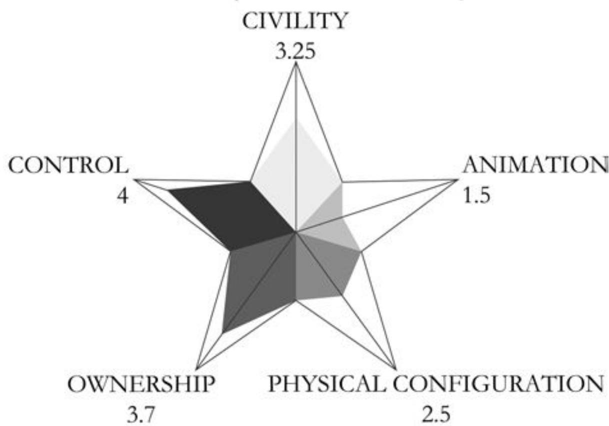
Regarding the night time use, although the lighting poles are standard, there is a friendly atmosphere created by the lights from the adjacent buildings, especially from the BBC (Figure 6.16).

What is really missing related to the civility of this place is the presence of *public toilets*, rated **1.** This is a consequence of the City Council's policy of closing them down 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 GCC planner for the River Clyde). 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 Star Diagram of Publicness

By combining the ratings for all the five dimensions for the first case study public place, a fairly distorted star diagram of publicness was obtained (Figure 6.18).

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* dimensions. Although there has been no desire to enforce oppressive control in the public place, CCTV cameras are in place. 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 certain 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.




6.18 The Star Diagram for the public place created at Pacific Quay

Medium values of publicness have been obtained in terms of the *Civility* and *Physical configuration* dimensions of publicness. 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. However, there is an acute need of improving connectivity and creating public walkways and cycle routes towards south, east and west. 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 *Animation*, 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, strolling, cycling and standing. Without any night time economy to support an active use during late hours, the public place becomes an empty landscape in the evening, leading to its perception as an unsafe environment.

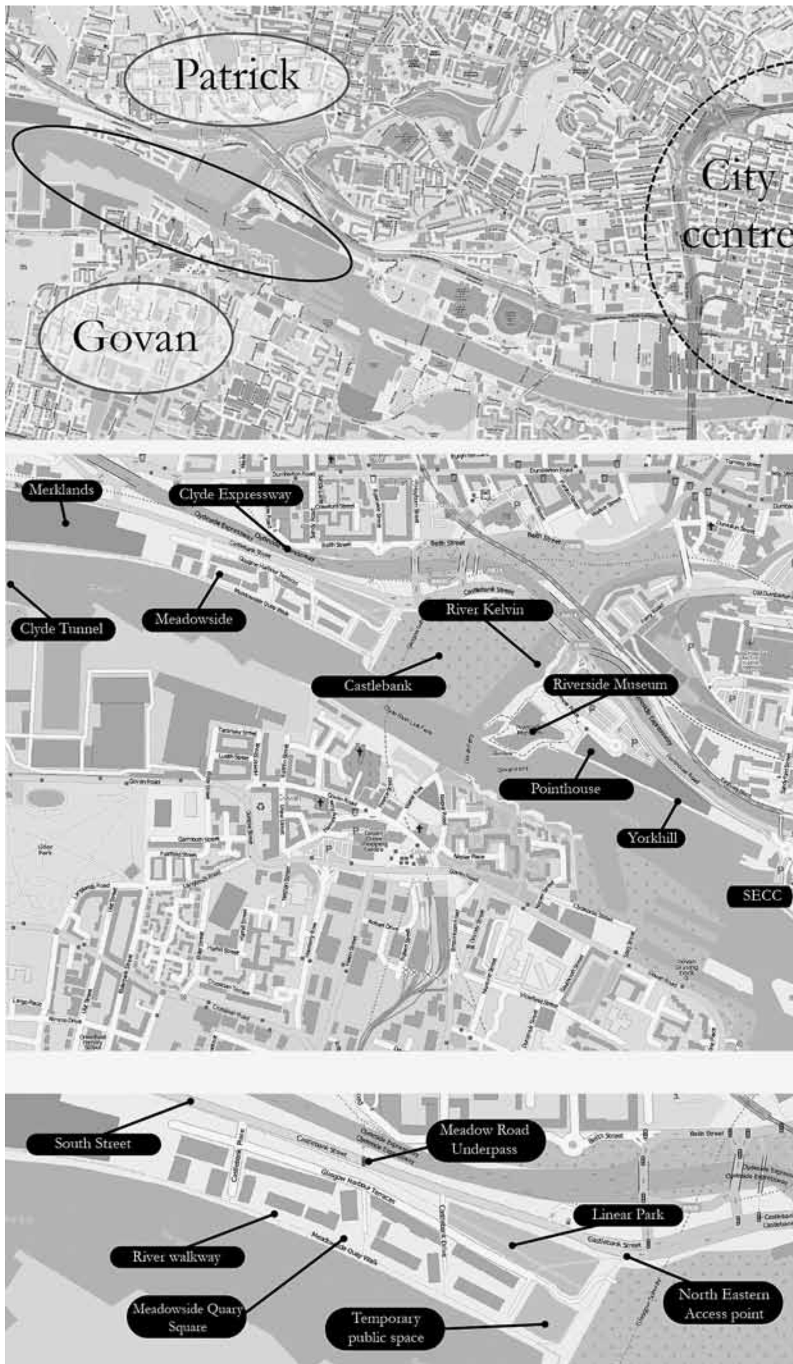
## 6.2 GLASGOW HARBOUR

### The History of Glasgow Harbour

The second case study 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, the scheme is a 52-hectare development, twice the size of Pacific Quay, totalling over £1 billion in investment to date and stretching on the north bank of the river Clyde, between the Clyde Tunnel and the SECC (see Map 6.3).

Two of the historical working class neighbourhoods of Glasgow lie in the close proximity of the site. Stretching north, across the Clyde Expressway lies Partick while in the opposite direction, across the river, is the neighbourhood of Govan, home to one of the last two remaining shipyards on the Clyde (Figure 6.19). During the industrial heyday, this was the heart of the city's harbour activities, a great significance being held by the import of North American maize and wheat

for the local mills and distilleries. In order to accommodate the heavy grain shipments, four large brick granaries were constructed on Meadowside Quay, between 1914 and 1968 (Figure 6.20).




Map 6.3 The location of Glasgow Harbour in the urban grid of Glasgow and key elements of the site under analysis

6.19 The Fairfields shipyards in Govan, view from the new Glasgow Harbour river walkway

During the post 1960s deindustrialisation period, 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.). This decision 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.[5] Following the granaries demolition, Glasgow Harbour Limited was created in 1999 to deliver the project, a joint venture between Clydeport and the Bank of Scotland, which later on became a wholly owned subsidiary of Clydeport. The scheme was meant to be finished in the next decade, however, progress overall has been very slow, as seen in the chronology of events presented in Figure 6.21.

[5] See the reaction of the local press, reflecting the voices of Glaswegians, such as Partick's *Evening Times*, an interesting article being available at http://partick.eveningtimes.co.uk/area/particks-past-1.html.

6.20 Glasgow Harbour. (a) (top) Granary buildings during the industrial days. (b) (bottom) Aerial view of the site today. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport

1988 — Meadowside Granaries cease operaiton

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 walkaway 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

6.21 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the site at Glasgow Harbour

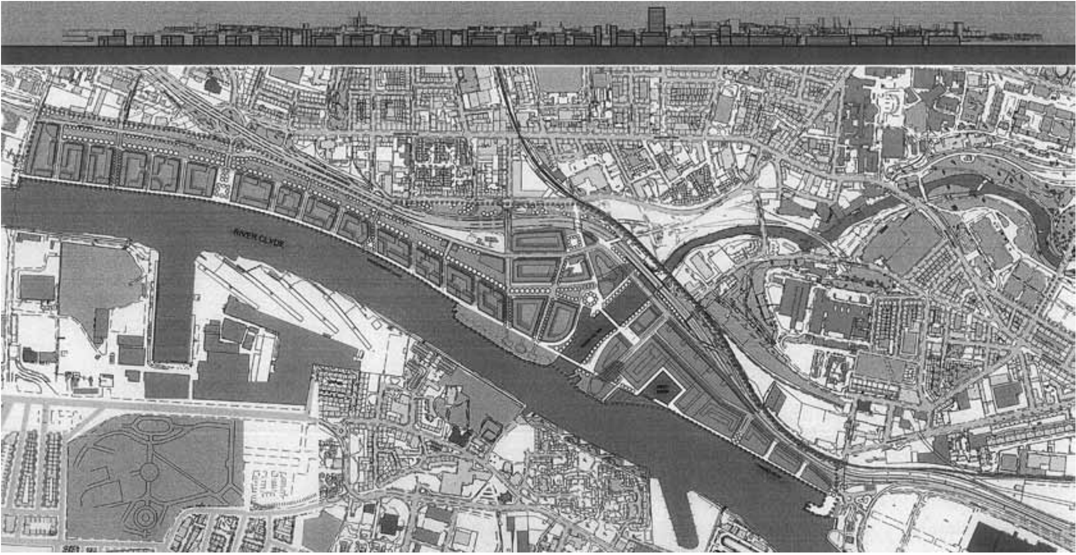
*Plans and collaboration between the GCC and Clydeport*

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)*

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 (Figure 6.22). The document reflected both Clydeport's and GCC's vision to deliver a revitalised, commercially sustainable waterfront, a vibrant new location within the city of Glasgow. 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 6.23, overleaf). To achieve this, the plans were focused on three aspects: the building of a mixture of residential, business, commercial and leisure facilities, the undertaking of large infrastructure works and the creation of a large amount of public space, totalling approximately 42 per cent of the entire development (GCC 2005).

First, concerning the proposed residential development, this was meant to occupy most of the area along Meadowside and Merklands Quays (as it can be seen in Figure 6.23). These were to have commercial units at the ground floor (such as shops, bars or restaurants), in a similar manner to the traditional Glasgow tenement block. It was envisaged that this would better integrate the new development in the nearby Partick neighbourhood (where the tenement block was a common sight), while also giving commercial viability, leisure opportunities and general vibrancy to the new envisaged community. From the beginning, the aim was to build high quality flats, to attract prosperous people back to the city:

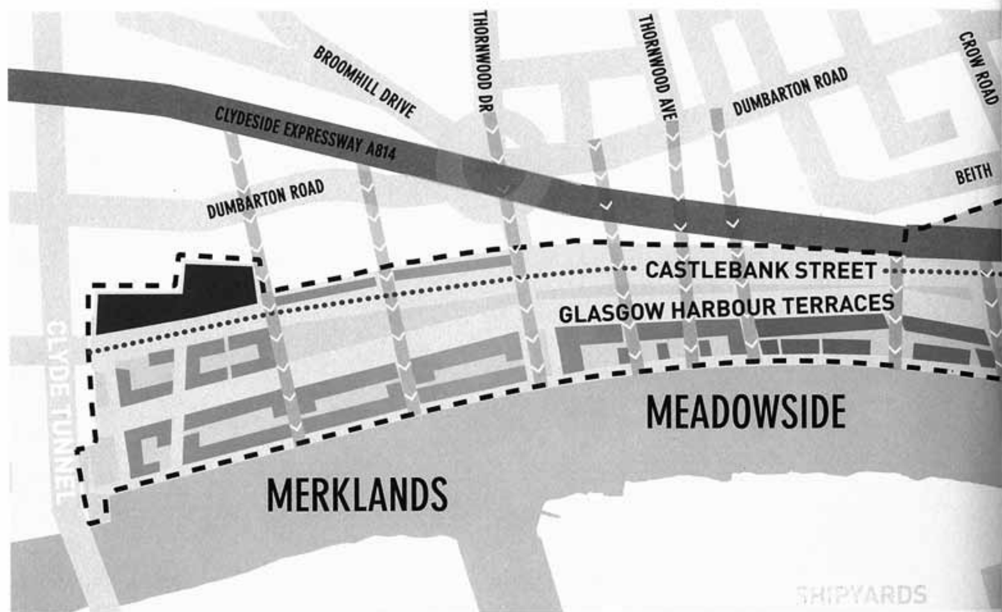


6.22 The original masterplan for Glasgow Harbour by KPF from 2000. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

> *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 underlying 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 market; they wanted an upper market type of housing stock. (Interview with Tom McInally, independent planner and spokesman for Clydeport)*

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); these were all private housing units as there was no particular requirement from the GCC for the inclusion of social housing (interview with GCC planner in charge of the site at that time).

Regarding the second aspect of the development, infrastructure, both main actors, GCC and Clydeport acknowledged from the start that a crucial problem for the successful redevelopment of Glasgow Harbour was the strong segregation of the site from the adjacent urban grid. This is an issue characteristic of many waterfront regeneration projects (as discussed in Chapter 5), represented in this particular site by the three infrastructure barriers: a disused railway embankment, an active railway line and the busy Clydeside Expressway (A 318). To connect the site with the adjacent urban grid, the KPF masterplan proposed the creation of key pedestrian links, from Partick into the site, aligned with the existent street pattern and acting as view corridors towards the waterfront (see Figure 6.24). The realisation of these pedestrian links was fundamental for making the new development and the public place visible and easily accessible to the public



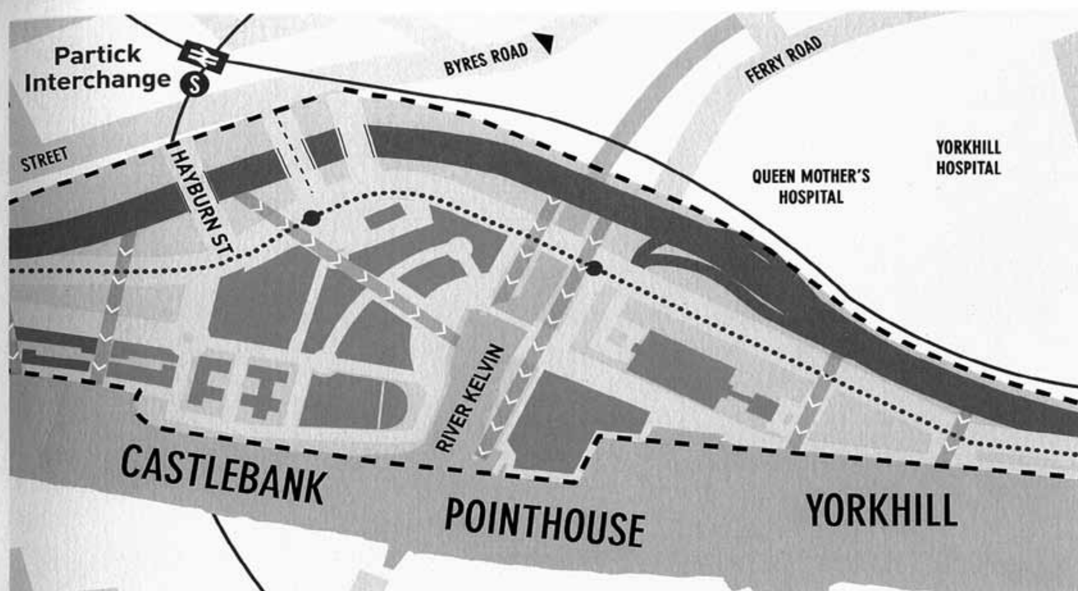

## The Masterplan

Glasgow Harbour is the regeneration of derelict former dockland to create a new city district within the West End of Glasgow. The completed development will contain high-quality residential, retail, leisure and commercial facilities, including approximately 38 acres of public open space and the city's new Riverside Museum.

The position and size of the Glasgow Harbour development site posed some challenges during the design process. The site has been cut off from surrounding areas for some time, both through its former industrial uses, and the barrier created by the Clydeside Expressway.

A number of methods have been used to overcome this disconnection, and to provide public access to the waterfront for the first time in decades. The development plots have been carefully aligned with streets within the existing surrounding areas to create continuity and connection, and also 'view corridors' which establish sightlines onto the river.

Where possible we have removed barriers in order to create better physical access and views between Glasgow Harbour, Partick, Broomhill, Thornwood and the West End, meaning that everyone can enjoy new views of the Clyde and easily access the new facilities at Glasgow Harbour.




The final stage of the infrastructure process is also underway – creating new connections between Glasgow Harbour and surrounding areas through road works and infrastructure improvement.

- 52 hectare (130 acre) high-quality mixed-use development
- Creation of a new city district, extending the West End to the waterfront
- Integrated mix of residential, retail, leisure and commercial uses to create new amenities for the city and a tourist destination
- Extensive creation of public and open space, in order to create a pleasant green space, and to encourage movement within the development
- Careful consideration of different uses in order to create a vibrant environment used both day and evening
- Substantial investment in infrastructure to strengthen access for pedestrians, cyclists, public transport users and drivers

View corridors
Residential Phase One
Residential Phase Two
Public space and parkland
Future development plots: retail, leisure, residential & commercial
Machargs car showroom
Clyde Fastlink route
Railway line

6.23 The different types of development proposed at Glasgow Harbour in the current representation of the masterplan. Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (n.d.) *Reflections. The Story of Glasgow Harbour Part 1: 1999–2006*, Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd. Permission granted by Clydeport

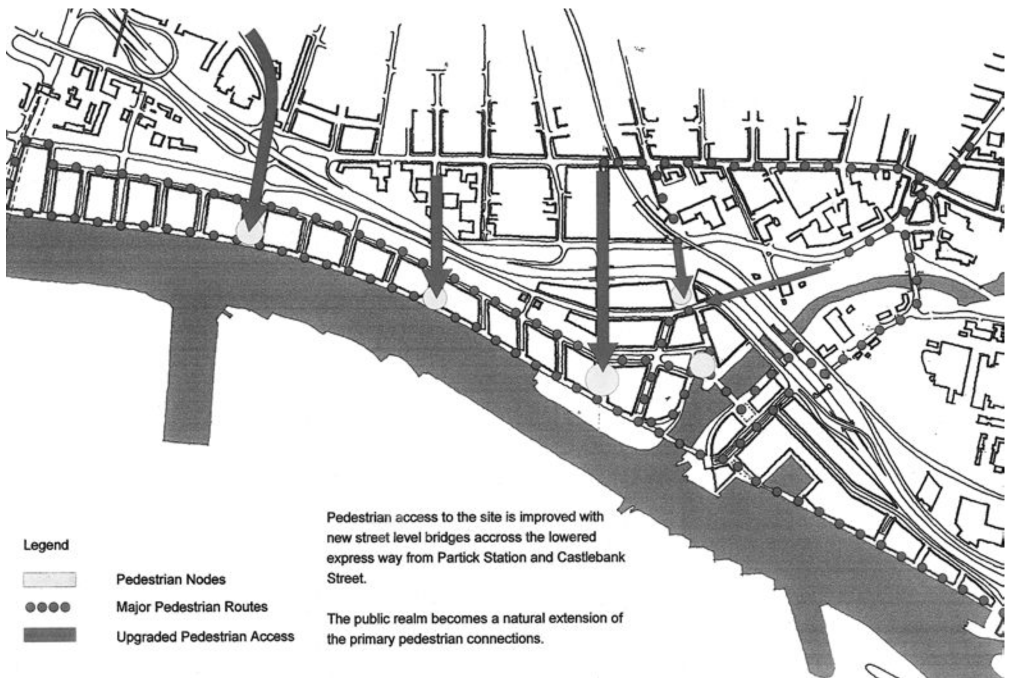
at large. In order to fulfil all three purposes of connectivity, accessibility and visibility, it was proposed to tackle the existent barriers by levelling down the disused railway, lowering a portion of the expressway and building both a pedestrian and a road bridge from Partick into the new site.

Third, a variety of public places were envisaged to complement the residential blocks. They were represented by five nodal squares, placed at the intersection of the main avenues with the river, two continuous river walkways along the River Clyde and the River Kelvin and a linear park between the building line and the Clyde expressway (Figure 6.25). The Clyde Walkway was meant to be between 8m and 10m wide and to be kept all along the water's edge; this has always been a requirement of the GCC for all developments undertaken by the Clyde as the planners have always insisted on maintaining this public route during the entire waterfront regeneration process (as discussed in Chapter 5). Although the original idea was to place the park in the immediate proximity of the Clyde and connect it with the nearby River Kelvin's green waterfront, in the masterplan this was placed at the back of the built area. The reason given for this decision by the GCC was the need for a buffer zone between the busy road and the future homes (interview with GCC planner).

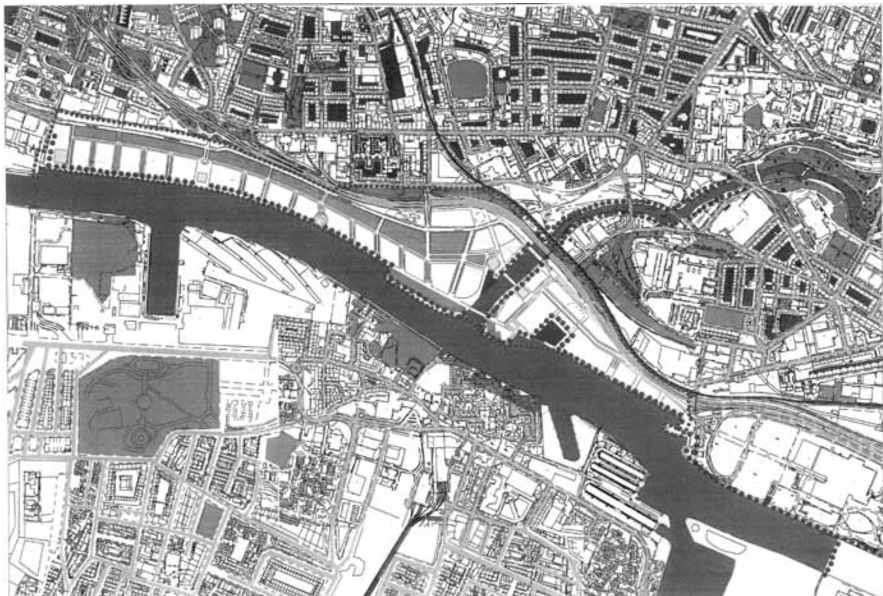
Overall, the masterplan proposed a fragmented and permeable development along the river, ensuring that the mass of buildings would not become a new barrier along the waterfront (Figure 6.26). The building blocks would be separated by four avenues, running perpendicularly, towards the river and by several squares developed by the water's edge (see Figure 6.25).

*The building of Glasgow Harbour – a phased development that ignored many of the initial plans and ambitions*

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 Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd). A similar argument was used to justify the poor development of high quality public place in Pacific Quay, as shown in the first part of this chapter. Two residential phases have been undertaken so far (note that 2010 is the year when this research stopped): Phase 1 completed in 2005 and Phase 2, still under construction (Figure 6.27).




6.24 KPF's proposal for pedestrian links and main pedestrian nodes in the Glasgow Harbour masterplan from 2000. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA



**Legend**

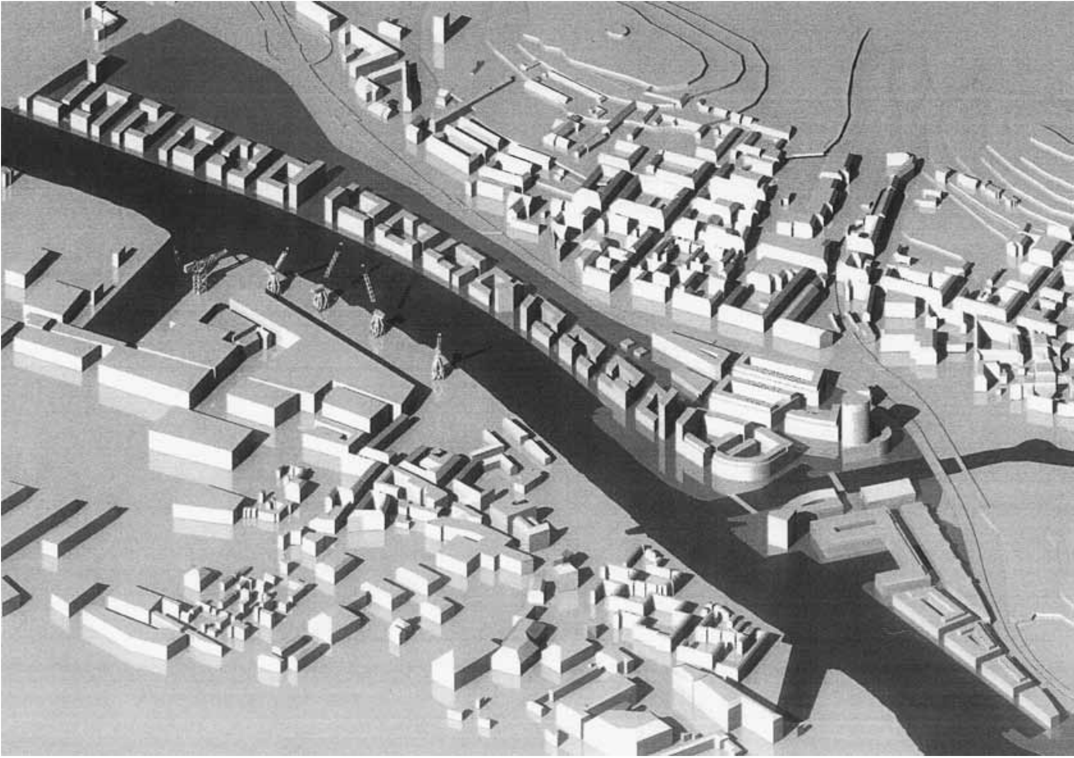
Park

Riverside Plazas (at nodes)

River Walk

Basin

6.25 The public space strategy in the Glasgow Harbour project as proposed by KPF in the 2000 masterplan. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA



6.26 Bird's eye view of the proposed development at Glasgow Harbour as developed by KPF in their 2000 masterplan. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

Clydeport, through Glasgow Harbour Ltd, placed the entire infrastructure into the ground and hired different house building developers. For Phase 1, these were CALA Homes, Park Lane and Bryant (later Taylor Woodrow and then Taylor Wimpey). 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. One of the main points on the agenda was the need for high quality of materials so that the new developments would be attractive to the targeted market of affluent couples. After this was completed in 2005, a second residential phase started, which was entitled Gh2O, with only one housing developer chosen, Dandara. Out of the five 16 to 22 storey tower blocks totalling 819 units, only three have been built on site so far. Although the deadline for completion was 2008, due to the economic downturn it has been momentarily put on hold (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. 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.

6.27 Aerial view of the development undertaken so far at Glasgow Harbour. Glasgow Harbour Ltd. (n.d.) *Reflections. The Story of Glasgow Harbour Part 1: 1999–2006.* Glasgow, Glasgow Harbour Ltd. Courtesy of Peel Ports Clydeport

A closer look at the development created on site shows that the original masterplan was not fully respected in terms of two key issues. On one hand, the building mass was denser and the building blocks were of a larger scale than initially envisaged. On the other hand, no commercial units were included at the ground floor of the housing. In relation to the first issue, the development was built higher and less fragmented than initially proposed as a result of the lack of strength from the part of the GCC to impose the original masterplan combined with the private developers' being driven mainly by a financial motivation:

> *We were pressurised because as soon as you get Park Lane and Bryant … soon as you get people like that involved, they want to make money, as you do – you build more housing. (Interview with GCC planner)*

When asked about this issue, the private developer argued that the development on site does not differ greatly from the original masterplan (interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd.), and that high density was a key aim from the beginning of the project. The council leader at the time, Charlie Gordon, supports this view when he says 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)*

These different perspectives show once again that in the development process various actors come with their own agendas and interests and that the publicness of public places is lost in the gap between these. In this respect, constructing higher and less fragmented building blocks adjacent to the new public place in Glasgow Harbour led to several negative outcomes:

- diminished visibility and accessibility of pedestrians towards the river walkway;
- higher segregation between the linear park and the walkway, which greatly reduces their potential to foster activity; and
- the shadowing of the park area for the entire afternoon, again impacting negatively to its use, especially in a city with a climate like Glasgow, in the west of Scotland.

The placing of the park at the back of the building blocks was considered a missed opportunity by several of the interviewees. Steve Nelson, landscape architect for Gillespies, the urban design firm commissioned to build the new public place, stated 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 at Gillespies). The 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 the City Design Advisor)*

Regarding the lack of ground floor varied uses, although these were proposed in the original KPF masterplan, the owner, Clydeport decided against them:

> *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 is 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, the interviewees agreed that there is a drastic need for active uses to increase the vibrancy of the public places created so far in Glasgow Harbour. 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:

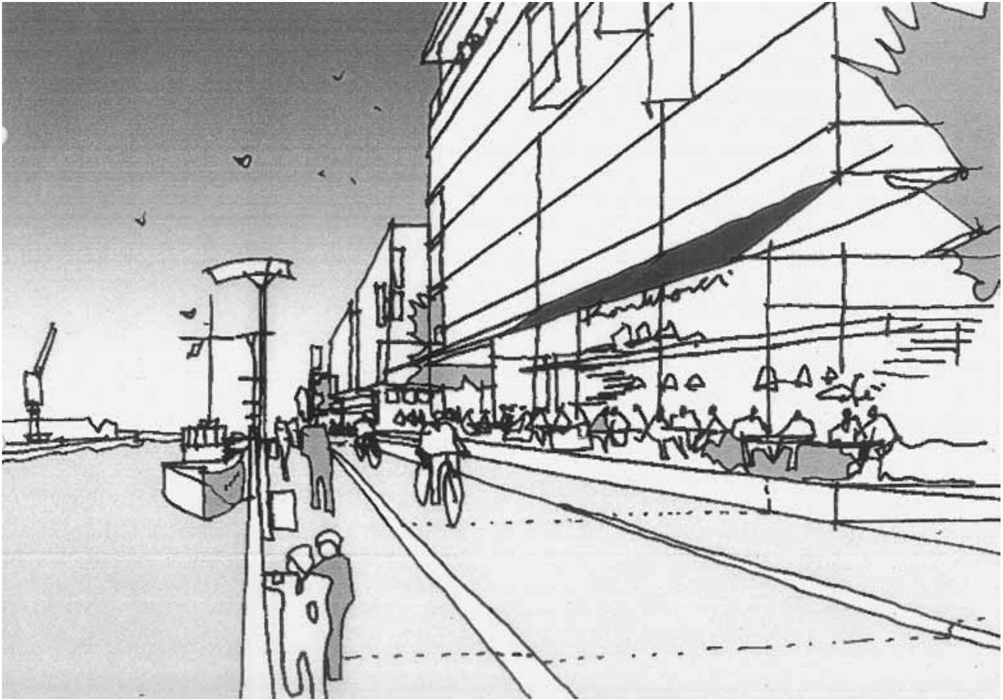
> *Public spaces generally require active uses to make them successful as you know from the urban design. A public space should have cafés and bars and shops because that gives it the activity but what you've got to remember, this was the first phase and there was no one there, this was just a huge, 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 built and the ground floor units are all boarded up with '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 GCC planner)*

The lack of ground floor commercial units was translated to a lack of active frontages which considerably diminished the adjacent buildings' potential to enhance the vibrancy of the outdoor public place; the walkway looks today quite different from what the masterplan envisaged (Figure 6.28).

Regarding pedestrian accessibility, part of the infrastructure work 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 metres and the construction of both proposed bridges over it. 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. A much better solution would have been to entirely sink it into a tunnel. Although the stakeholders considered this option at the beginning of the project, it was deemed 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 by the landscape architect 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,*



6.28 The river walkway at Glasgow Harbour. (a) (top) Artist's impression from the original masterplan of KPF. (b) (bottom) The built result on site today. Courtesy of Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates (International) PA

> *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 at 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 (see Figure 6.20b). GCC decided to relocate the existent Transport Museum due to the failing of the existing building and place it by the Clyde to promote the Glasgow Harbour project. Initially the museum was meant to be built on the opposite bank of the River Kelvin but this did 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). Therefore, the location was set on the northern bank of the Clyde and this part of the Glasgow Harbour project has been led by the GCC, who secured funding from the public budget, the Heritage Lottery Fund and a fundraising campaign entitled The Riverside Museum Appeal. The building designed by the famous architect Zaha Hadid took four years to construct, opening in the summer of 2011. At the moment it sits surrounded by an empty site (see Figure 6.20b). The 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 development of retail, office, commercial and leisure, including bars, restaurants and a hotel. On the opposite bank of the River Kelvin, a similar mixed development focused on retail and leisure is proposed; this is now also at the stage of outline planning consent and is 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.[6] There were also plans to build a casino, but this will no longer take place and offices are proposed in its stead (interview with Euan Jamieson, managing director of Glasgow Harbour Ltd). As part of this project, in terms of river infrastructure, in order to promote activity on the water's surface, a new pontoon is meant to be constructed by Clydeport and a slipway by the City Council. Regarding land infrastructure, a new pedestrian bridge is planned to 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, where 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 also include a 10-acre Tesco supermarket and is now in the early stages of planning consultation.

---

[6] For images of these proposed developments in Glasgow Harbour you can visit www.skyscrapercity.com.

To conclude, Glasgow Harbour, although the largest public-private partnership on the banks of the Clyde in Glasgow, has been mainly a privately led regeneration project. Although new public place has been created on the waterfront and the river is now more accessible to the public, progress has been fairly slow and today the development on site is comprised solely of residential units (apart from the new Riverside Museum). This can be explained by four 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 Riverside Museum of Transport. 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 the public and private actors 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)*

As discussed in Chapter 5, large waterfront regeneration projects are highly dependent on market fluctuation, especially when they are developed with large private sector funds. The recent economic downturn has drastically slowed down the redevelopment of Glasgow Harbour, in a similar fashion to the Pacific Quay site. 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.

### The Star Model Analysis of Glasgow Harbour's Public Place

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 next paragraphs will focus on the Star Analysis of Publicness.

*Ownership*

In terms of the first dimension of publicness, the overall rating obtained was **1**, as the entire area is owned by one actor, the private company Glasgow Harbour Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of Clydeport, a company owned since 2003 by Peel Holding. The Port Authority has been a public company until 1992 when it was privatised, leading to the transfer of large tracks of land along the Clyde into private ownership.

*Control*

The second dimension of publicness was rated **4**, showing a fairly low level of control on site. Three of the indicators were rated the maximum **5**: *Control presence: Police/guards presence*, *Control by design: Sadistic street furniture* and *Control signage*, as there have been no policemen or private guards sighted, no signs deterring behaviours and no sadistic street furniture in the new public place. However, the fourth indictor, *Control technology: CCTV cameras*, was rated **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. The cameras have been in operation since 2006 and are highly visible (Figure 6.29).

The surveillance cameras are part of the *Streetwatch* programme, 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) it totals today 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.[7] The strategy for ensuring safety in Glasgow Harbour was based from the beginning on the installation of close circuit television, activated since 2006, and not on creating activity and informal surveillance through 'eyes on the street':

[7] For more information see www.saferglasgow.com.

*Glasgow Harbour is safe because there are close circuit television cameras and they are very, very effective. You can read somebody's lips from 500 metres. (Interview with Tom McInally, planner and spokesman for Clydeport)*

6.29 CCTV cameras at Glasgow Harbour

*Physical configuration*

The *Physical configuration* dimension has overall been rated **2.75**, showing that although there was a concentrated effort on the quality of urban design, there are still important issues to be resolved. One of the crucial concerns is the poor connectivity of the area with the surrounding urban grid. This is reflected in the low rating, **2**, awarded for three of the macro-design indicators, *Crossings*, *Public walkways* and *Cycle routes*. The site is connected to the surrounding urban grid only in one cardinal direction, north, through a street crossing and the Meadow Road Underpass; this belongs to the council and has been upgraded during the development process by Clydeport (Figure 6.30).

The tunnel was shortened, improved lighting and new flooring were added and the walls were decorated with hand painted ceramic panels, designed by children from four local primary schools and based on the history of the area. The Meadow Underpass also hosts the temporarily relocated cycle route, part of the Clyde – Loch Lomond Cycleway and National Cycle Route 7, initially running parallel to the river. Once the development will be completed, the cycle route will be placed again along the water's edge, for which provision has already been made in the existing walkway (Figure 6.31).

6.30 The main pedestrian connection of the Glasgow Harbour new public place, Meadow Road Underpass, highlighted by the statue *Rise*

Eastwards and westwards there are no crossings and as such no public walkways or cycle routes as a result of the lack of progress in developing these areas. There is also no connectivity south, across the river, towards the neighbourhood of 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 GCC planning department 'is desperate' to create a bridge to contribute to the regeneration of the deprived neighbourhood of Govan; at the time though, this is an endeavour considered too expensive for the public budget, being priced around £5 to £7 million (interview with GCC planner).

6.31 Cycle route signage and cyclists using the new walkway at Glasgow Harbour

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 an agreement on its type and on the source for funding it. The only one macro-design indicator rated the maximum value of **5** was *Fences* as there are no obstacles blocking the public place. 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 when rating the indicator because this refers to permanent fences that block visibility and diminish permeability into a public place.

Regarding micro-design, two indicators have achieved low values: *Active frontages* and *Opportunities to actively engage with the environment* and two have achieved high values: *Sitting* and *Walking opportunities*. The lack of ground floor uses was already discussed when the development story of the site was explained. The indicator was rated minimum, **1**, because there are no active frontages at the moment. Although there has been no provision made so far, this is seen as a future possibility according to market conditions:

> *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 houses and make it a restaurant. (Interview with Tom McInally, planner and spokesperson for Clydeport)*

The indicator *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated **2** because there is only one element of this type, a sculpture commissioned by Clydeport, entitled *Rise* and created by the local artist Andy Scott (see Figure 6.30). It is placed in the area where Meadowside Quay Square meets the linear park, in front of the underpass, highlighting the northern connection to the site towards the neighbouring Partick. It is a five-metre tall steel structure, representing the regeneration of the Clyde through an angel rising out from the water with propeller type wings, echoing the shipbuilding past (interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect, Gillespies). The two *Physical configuration* indicators that achieved high ratings of **4** are: *Sitting opportunities* and *Walking opportunities*. Regarding the first, there are benches in place all along the walkway, positioned towards the main viewing landscape, the river, and all along the main path in the park, positioned towards the main pedestrian flow (Figure 6.32).

6.32 Sitting and walking opportunities in the new public place at Glasgow Harbour

The benches along the walkway are not comfortable to sit on and the urban designers argued that this is 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 for Gillespies)*

The benches in the linear park are made of wood; they are placed on concrete stands, with an emphasis here laid also on robustness and not on comfort (Figure 6.32). The informal sitting opportunities comprise the steps near Meadowside Quay Square by the river and in the park, the concrete ledges delineating the grass areas and the mounted green embankment parallel to the expressway. Regarding the *Walking opportunities*, the river walkway presents a smooth area. This 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 its sides, two rougher strips, consisting of granite sets recycled from the former industrial site (Figure 6.32). These were intended by Clydeport to create a historical link with the area's industrial past (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 due to the strict Health and Safety regulations. 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 for Gillespies). In the linear park, the paths are made of resin bound gravel, a smooth and easily walkable surface.

Overall, the *Physical configuration* dimension rates fairly low, just below the medium value of **3**. 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 and the neighbouring wealthy West End; the expressway is still a barrier and the underpass, although key in creating both a pedestrian and a cycle link, is not a fortunate 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.

*Animation*

The *Animation* dimension was rated the lowest out of the five dimensions with a score of **1.5** as very little vibrancy has been observed in the new public place. The indicator *Street vendors and/or entertainers* was rated **1**, as at the moment there are none present here. This illustrates the general low number of users which was recorded for this public place, calculated on average to be approximately 15 people, in a five minute interval, on the entire site (see Annexe 6). The second indicator, *Diversity of activities was* rated **2** as it was recorded that, on average, there are **4** activities performed on the entire site in a 5-minute interval. The observation revealed that both the walkway and the linear park are used in a fairly similar way during the week showing that this is not particularly a weekend destination. Most common activities performed in this public place were strolling, walking the dog, cycling and jogging (see Annexe 6). The general atmosphere is of a place with little vibrancy and a monotonous use and the overall impression is that the majority of users are the local residents. In this respect, approximately 25 per cent of the people observed were either walking their dog or their 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 the east-west direction either along the central path in the park or along the river walkway. 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. A small number of users (29) were seen sitting, mainly on the benches by the river with only two people using the benches in the park. In a similar manner, the majority

of users seen standing were occupying the river walkway; they were observed standing by the river balustrade and looking around at the scenery. Sporadic activities include a very small number of children (seven in total) playing in the park, running around the grass mound and climbing the benches and a small group of four teenagers who were skateboarding in the western part of the park. In terms of the diversity of users, the category of teenagers was the least represented, with very low percentages also recorded for children and pensioners (Annexe 6). The high percentage of young people, almost 60 per cent 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 per cent of the members of the public being white. In terms of the gender distribution, similar to Pacific Quay, there were more males than females.

A closer look at the data obtained for the different parts of the site shows that, on average, the river walkway is more animated, while the linear park and the temporary public place are less vibrant (for the exact data see Annexe 6). This shows how the placing of the park in the shadow of the buildings for the whole afternoon and in the direct vicinity of the noisy expressway has greatly diminished its use as a recreational area. Concerning the daily rhythm of people and activities, the observation showed that the site is hardly animated 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 (see Annexe 6).

Overall, it can be stated that the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour is very little animated. This can be seen as a result of the decisions made by the stakeholders to build only a 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.

*Civility*

The fifth dimension, *Civility*, was overall rated **3.75** reflecting a fairly high level of maintenance of the public place (as it can be seen in the photos presented so far). The hard landscaped areas were rated marginally higher, **5**, than the greenery, which had signs of wear and tear (Figure 6.33) and therefore was rated **4**.

The green space comprises three main zones: the row of tress along the river walkway, the linear park, created at the back of the building line and the temporary public place covered with grass located in 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 were deliberately close-cropped to ensure views towards the river for the houses behind them (interview with Steve Nelson, landscape architect for Gillespies). 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):

6.33 Signs of wear and tear of the greenery in place at Glasgow Harbour

6.34 The lighting of the new public place created in Glasgow Harbour

*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 is 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 is 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 quality of the lighting was also graded the maximum **5** due to the entire area being well lit, without any dark corners, with several lighting strategies being employed (Figure 6.34). The walkway is lit by a series of metal lighting poles, with lights both on the ground and at the overhead level, while blue led spotlights delineate each individual seating area. The park is lit both by a line of light posts stretching through its middle path and also by the typical city council lights, delineating it at its northern edge, towards the busy road.

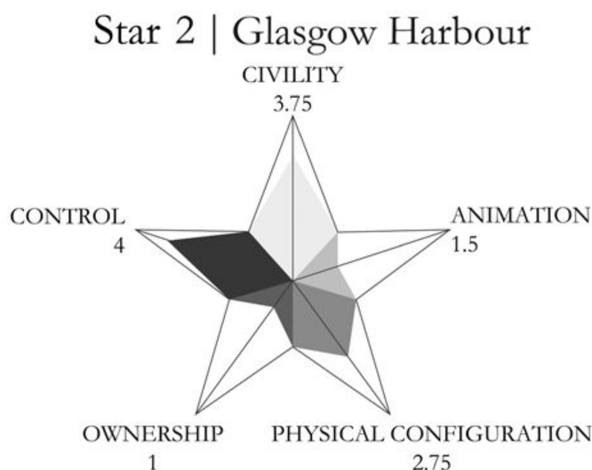
Only one indicator, the *Provision of basic facilities: public toilets*, gained a minimal grading, diminishing the overall civility of the place; this was rated **1** as there are no such facilities present on site. The private sector, Clydeport would not provide these while the City Council, as mentioned in previously, has been closing down and has stopped providing these facilities in the city of Glasgow.

*The Star Diagram of Publicness*

By joining the five dimensions of publicness for the second case study public place, a fairly low value of publicness was obtained of **2.6**, illustrated by a highly distorted Star Diagram (Figure 6.35).

The Star Diagram is best delineated in relation to the dimensions of *Control* and *Civility*. Regarding the first, this shows that the place allows for a relatively free use, although there is overt observation by close circuit television. The rationale for putting this in place was to ensure the safety of the new residents and it was part of the broader CCTV strategy adopted by the city of Glasgow. Regarding civility, in a similar manner to the Pacific Quay site, there is no provision of public toilets. However, 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 both the phased undertaking of the entire project and to the lack of consensus between the private and public sectors in creating a connection across the river. Although large private sector investment has been made to tackle the existing accessibility barriers, there is still a weak level of pedestrian connectivity in the close proximity of the site. In terms of micro-design, there is a good provision of walking and sitting opportunities but there are no active frontages or varied opportunities for active engagement with the environment. Overall, it seems that at this stage, the new public place has been designed to support only basic activities such as walking, cycling or sitting.




6.35 The Star Diagram for the public place developed at Glasgow Harbour

Negative legs for the Star Diagram have been obtained in terms of *Ownership* and *Animation*. In terms of the first, this is the result of the entire project being privately led by one actor, Clydeport through its subsidiary company Glasgow Harbour Ltd, without the Glasgow City Council taking over the ownership (or the management as a matter of fact) of the new public place. Regarding *Animation*, the place is used by a low number of people, mostly local residents, which stroll, walk their dog or baby and occasionally jog. Overall, the Star Diagram shows at a glance that this new public place is sadly still far from becoming the vibrant waterfront destination proposed at the start of the Glasgow Harbour project.

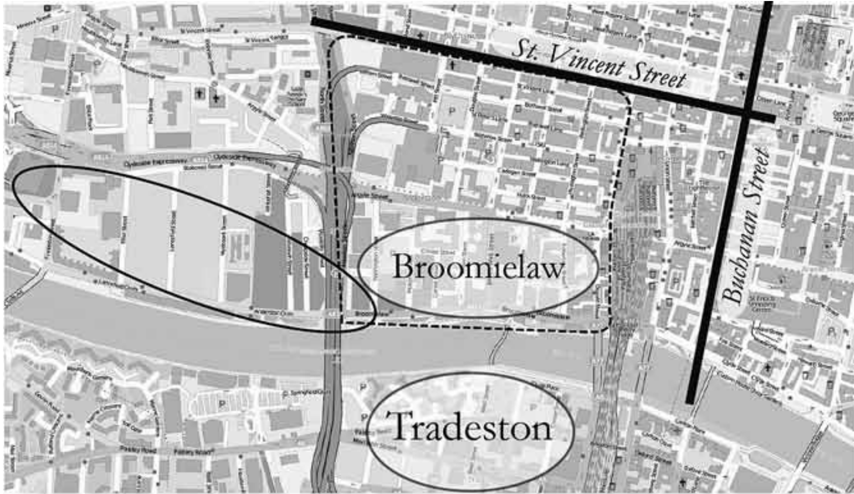
## 6.3 BROOMIELAW

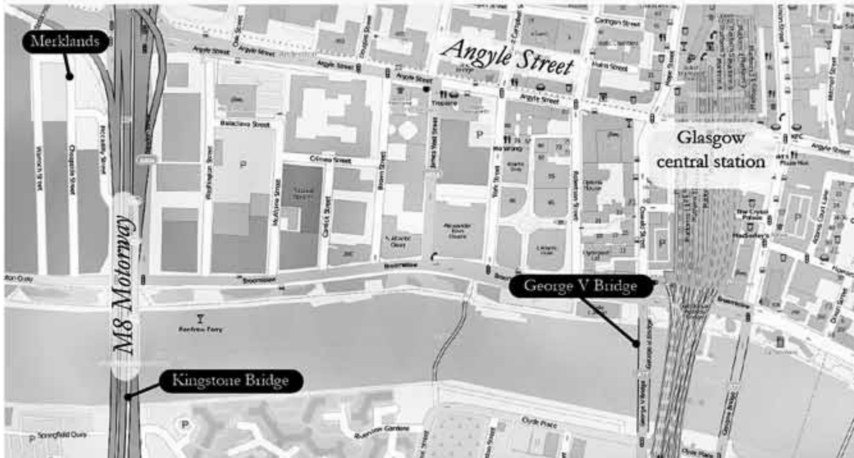
### The History of Broomielaw

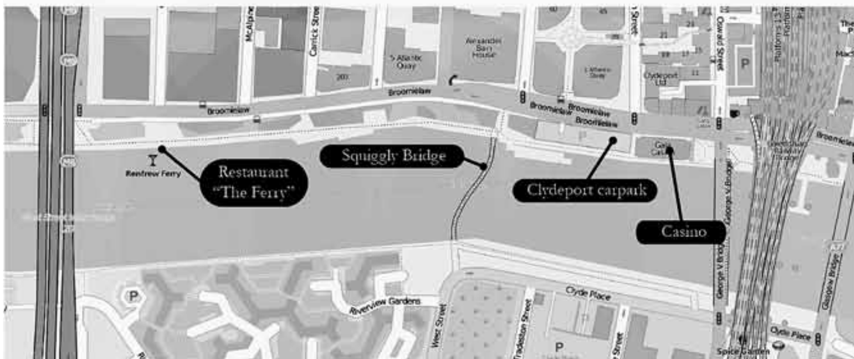
Broomielaw is a part of the city centre of Glasgow and is located between Argyle Street in the north and the River Clyde in the south, the M8 in the west and the Glasgow Central Station in the east (Map 6.4). In recent years, Broomielaw has become part of the International Financial Services District (IFSD), the newly designated business district of the city, opened in 2001 (see Chapter 5). The public place under analysis is situated along the River Clyde, between King George V Bridge, opened in 1928 and Kingston Bridge, opened in 1970. Broomielaw Street borders it along its northern edge, while in the northeast the site becomes a very narrow strip between the Clydeport car park, the Riverboat Casino and the river (Map 6.4).

This place has had a pretty straightforward history (see Figure 6.36). Historically, ever since the sixteenth century, the banks of the Clyde at Broomielaw have been used only as a small dock, mainly for cargo handling and transhipment, as the presence of large sand banks made the Clyde here too shallow for large scale shipping (Gibb 1983). For the most part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the main shipping activities in the city were performed further downstream at Port Glasgow, where the natural conditions were more favourable. However, the rise in manufacturing and trade led new industrialists and merchants to create navigable conditions on the upper Clyde as well. A first attempt to construct a harbour was undertaken here at Broomielaw in 1726; a stone quay was built, which only allowed access for small vessels with a maximum berthing depth of six feet (Riddell 2000). As this did not fulfil the needs of the fast growing industry, especially of the tobacco trade, a large scale deepening and canalisation of the river was undertaken between 1772 and 1775. As a result by 1781, deep-sea transatlantic vessels of 200 to 300 tons were reaching the city centre harbour (Pacione 1995). After the famous launch of Henry Bell's paddle steamer *The Comet* in 1812, Broomielaw also became the point of departure for passenger steamboats taking Glaswegians 'doon the water' to coastal resorts such as Largs, Rothesay or Ayr (Riddell 2000) (see Figure 6.37).

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, shipping activities and passenger traffic continued. However, after the 1860s, new river quays and docks were opened on the Clyde's banks that were more suitable for the increased ship



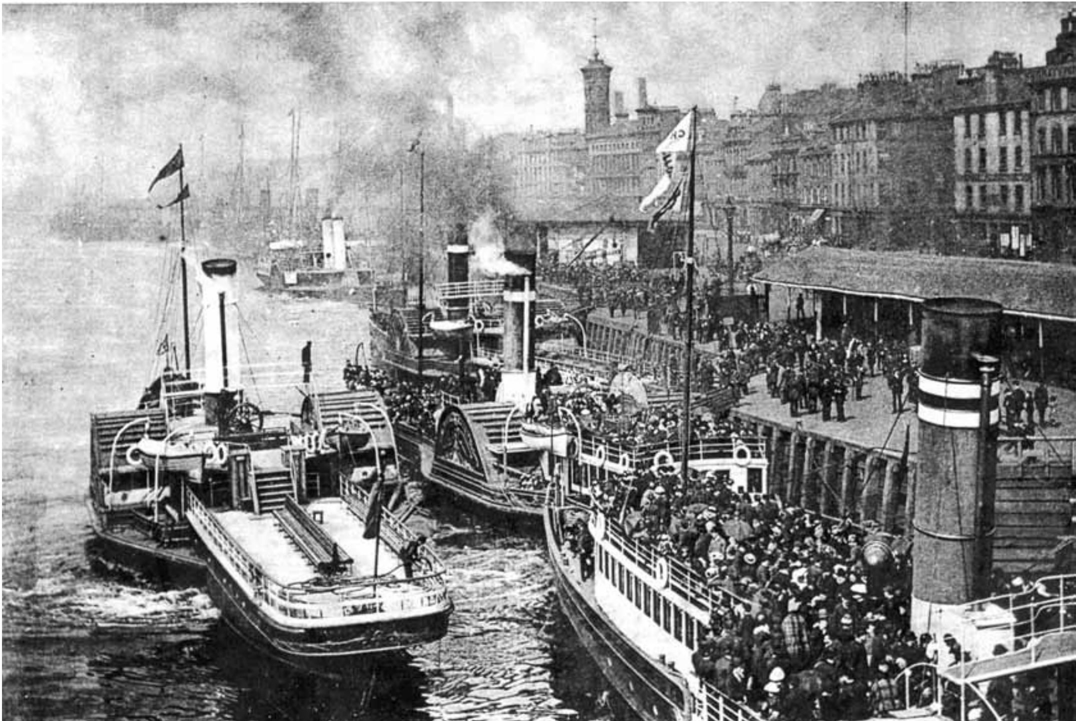




Map 6.4 The location of Broomielaw Walkway in the urban grid of Glasgow and key elements of the site. Courtesy of Miller Developments

tonnage leading to Broomielaw becoming mainly a river passenger terminal (Pacione 1995). During the first half of the twentieth century, following the building of King George V Bridge in 1928, the passenger steamers moved to the south side of the river and slowly, on the background of the general deindustrialisation of the Clyde, the area fell into dereliction. Only in the 1970s the City Council made a first attempt to revitalise the river's waterfront in the city centre and undertook two projects. In 1973 Custom House Quay Gardens was created along the river in the adjacent area, east 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' and fell into disrepair (Figure 6.38).

| | |
|---|---|
| 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 Finance Service District) is launched |
| 2003 | A design competition is held and won by Richard Rogers Partners and Atkins. The plans include improvements to the public space, 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 and 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 space and the bridge are opened to the public |

6.36 The chronology of events describing the evolution of the Broomielaw public place



6.37 Broomielaw in its heydays of being an active port. © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Special Collections

6.38 Custom House Quay today still awaiting redevelopment. Photos by Steve Tiesdell

This was the result of a combination of factors such as their lack of visibility from the surrounding urban landscape, the low quality of materials used and the lack of vibrancy and activity in this part of the city, which could have provided the necessary missing 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, in the context of the general regeneration of Glasgow (see Chapter 5), activity was slowly brought into the area through the construction of the Riverboat Casino in 1996 and through a series of office buildings along Broomielaw Street. In 1991 the first two office towers designed by BDP (British Design Partnership) were placed between Robertson Street and James Watt Street and in 1999 the British Telecom (BT) headquarters were opened in the adjacent western block. From a design point of view, neither the casino building nor the nine storey office developments engaged with the public place along the river. Moreover, none of them had active frontages at the ground floor and the large office blocks diminished 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 bring animation in the Broomielaw area:

> *I didn't like the Broomielaw, as it was, the landscaping; although it has won awards, 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 creation of the International Financial Service District (IFSD) at the turn of the twenty-first century was the event that truly ignited the redevelopment of Broomielaw Gardens. This was founded through the creation of a public–private partnership, led by the Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise who both wanted to help develop a large area of the city centre; this stretched north from the River Clyde to St Vincent Street and included Broomielaw at its southern edge. In the words of William Douglas from the GCC's Development and Regeneration Services:

> *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 part of the city centre, including the ones mentioned above, which bordered Broomielaw Quay. The result was a slow but consistent change of this previously dilapidated warehouse area into a business district of modern office buildings. Due to the developments being largely disjointed, with vast tracts of derelict land surrounding the new modern office buildings, GCC decided that an overall vision was needed

to give the entire area more coherence. The strategy was to package it as a new, unitary district of Glasgow, the IFSD, to invest limited public funding in infrastructure and public realm works and then to promote it through a series of marketing campaigns. GCC envisioned three types of development: offices, suitable for the relocation of local and international businesses, residential, for encouraging people to live in the city centre and hotel schemes for Glasgow's growing tourist industry. As part of this strategy, a series of public 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 (such as James Watt Street, Robertson Street, Oswald Street, York Street) and creating small 'pocket public places' (interview with GCC planner). This was the largest streetscape project awarded by GCC valued at £6 million, undertaken between 2004 and 2006 by Land Engineering, a Scottish firm specialised in public realm works.[8] It comprised the widening and upgrading of the street pavements, new lighting, street furniture and signage, all reflecting the Council's aspirations for a better street environment and a more enjoyable pedestrian experience in Glasgow:

> *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 GCC planner)*

Phase 2 of the Broomielaw public realm improvements was a much larger project consisting of the redevelopment of the 1970s Broomielaw Gardens, the public place along the water's edge, 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, in order 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 opportunities (interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer, Capella Group). Apart from giving the workers in the IFSD a place where to enjoy having lunch or spending leisure time after work hours, 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*

8 For more details see their webpage at www.landengineering.co.uk.

6.39 Tradeston, view from Broomielaw, still awaiting redevelopment

*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 GCC planner)*

At the same time, GCC was considering the redevelopment of Tradeston, on the opposite side of the river, which was a derelict and run down part of Glasgow (Figure 6.39). In this context, 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 vision is expressed in one of the council's official publications as following:

> *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)*

To sum up, the new public place on the Broomielaw waterfront was planned as part of a larger project, comprising several distinctive objectives:

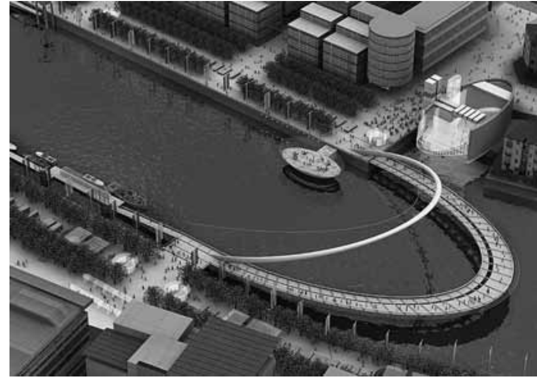
- The creation of a public place on the north bank of the river, based on the principles of visibility and high quality materials in order not to repeat the mistakes of the 1970s. This would be extended for a small portion also on the south bank of the river, at Tradeston;
- The creation of a series 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, as the project could not be delivered only from the Council's budget, GCC sought supplementary funding opportunities. In addition to a contribution from Scottish Enterprise, an application was made to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF); this was successful in securing a grant of £4.7 million (GCC 2005). However, the EU funding was tied to a short time scale and as such, the highly time dependent nature of the grant was crucial in the delivery of the project:

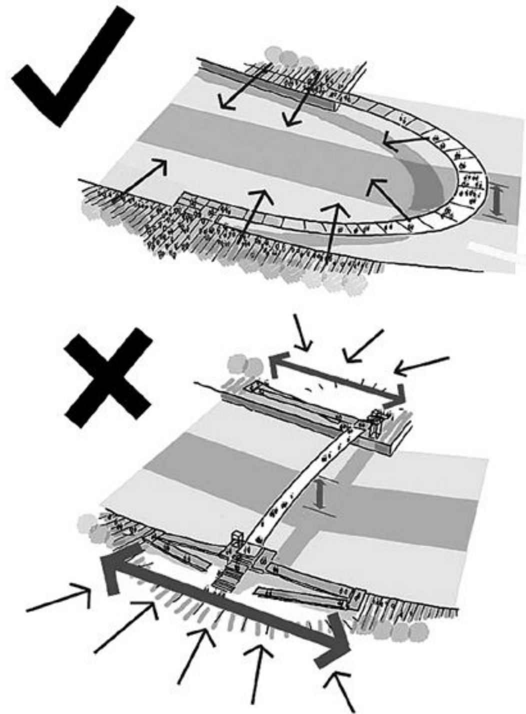
> *There was a contribution that could be obtained from Scottish Enterprise, but a significant amount of the financial package came from the European Regional Development Fund, and because of the nature of their programs, the money that we could tap into was highly time dependent and we had to have completion 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 proposal by Richard Rogers Partners and Atkins, entitled *Neptune's Way* was the winning bid (Figure 6.40).

The construction was meant to start in 2005 and finish in 2007 but it was stopped in March 2006 based on it 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 with the Richard Rogers proposal, this would have come close to the £60 million mark (Stewart 2006). 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 the first part of this chapter). They worked with the Danish architects Dissing and Weitling and 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 6.41).



6.40 The Richard Rogers winning bid for the Broomielaw Bridge. Courtesy of Richard Rogers Partnership

The plans for the public realm improvements and the quay walls works were kept and 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 ft$^2$ of pavilions (GCC 2008). However, due to the deadline of the ERDF fund, the public realm and the bridge were built before the pavilions. The works started in 2007 and were supposed to be finished by 2008 but important delays occurred due to unexpected engineering problems with the quay walls (interview with Jim Armour, Graham Construction). As a result, the new public place and the bridge were opened to the public in May 2009. 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'.

6.41 The new pedestrian and cycle bridge at Broomielaw

In parallel with the above, two projects were undertaken 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 the close proximity of the new public place (GCC 2005). This was one of the historical Renfrew Ferries operating on the Clyde until the 1980s and which now is permanently moored and functions as a restaurant and entertainment venue (Figure 6.42).

Concerning the above mentioned pavilions, the plans include the creation of four buildings, two storey high and comprising up to 12 restaurants and cafés; in between the pavilions, a winter garden was planned, with two open public places on either side (interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer, Capella Group) (Figure 6.43). The vision was to create a vibrant and festive location by the Clyde 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 breakout bits in between, one bit, which is*

6.42 'The Ferry' river venue and the new pontoon in the close proximity of the new Broomielaw public place

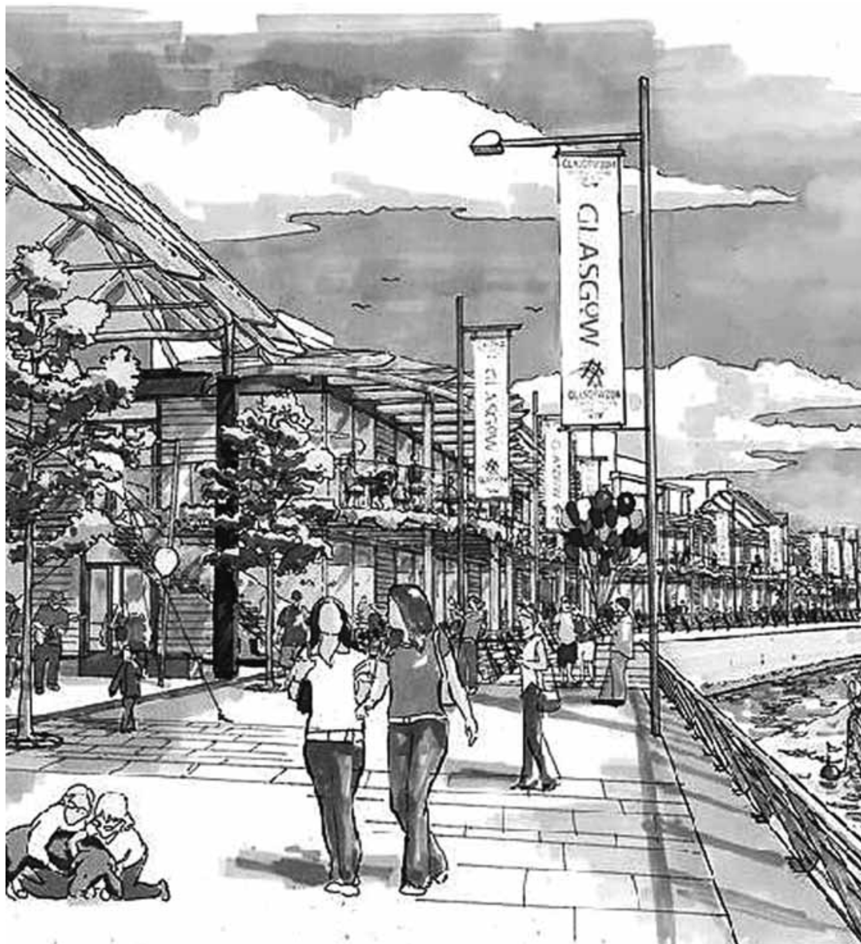
> *enclosed, two bits that aren't. I could see, during the summer a little jazz band playing there or pipe shows. (…) I want to see activity, and we can license that out – you know, there's all sorts of things you can do. (Interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer, Capella Group)*

Although the pavilions were meant to be on site by 2011, they have yet to be started. Their development will be undertaken by the private developer Capella Group, whose chief executive officer Jim Fitzsimmons, has 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, developer, 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 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 GCC planner)*




6.43 The proposed pavilions by Capella Group

Until the pavilions are built, GCC has plans to attract users and bring vibrancy to Broomielaw either through 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 center 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 GCC planner)*

To conclude, the creation of the new public place at Broomielaw was undertaken by the Glasgow City Council as part of a greater project involving large infrastructure works aimed at repairing and replacing old quay walls and building 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, which did not exist anywhere else on the Clyde waterfront. It was also intended to make this into 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 and 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 give it vibrancy and a sense of destination, due to the time dependent nature of the ERDF grant, the scheme was delivered without these structures. The next part will analyse the publicness of the new public place as a snapshot captured in the autumn of 2009 and it remains to be seen how this will be influenced in the future, once the pavilions come on site.

### The Star Model Analysis of Broomielaw

In a similar way with to the previous two public places, each of the five dimensions of publicness will be rated and explained for the Broomielaw case study.

*Ownership*

*Ownership* 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 proposed pavilions will be constructed although the buildings will be owned by the private developer Capella Group, which intends to enter a joint venture with GCC (interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer, Capella Group).

*Control*

Regarding *Control*, this obtained an overall rating of **3.5**, showing a space that although owned by the City Council, is not completely free and democratic. The entire area is under electronic surveillance and therefore the indicator *Control technology: CCTV cameras* was rated the minimum **1**. The walkway in front of the casino is monitored by one camera located on this building while the rest of the public place is monitored by two cameras on high poles, placed here by the council (Figure 6.44).

6.44 CCTV surveillance in the new public place at Broomielaw

Before redevelopment, the location was perceived as an unsafe place, at the edge of the city centre, towards which a lot of the inner city crime gravitated. This was partly due to its design and partly to the lack of activity in the area, as presented in the above development story. The Council's strategy has been to heavily rely on CCTV, reflected in the creation of *Streetwatch* in 2001, used also in Glasgow Harbour:

> *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 GCC planner)*

The city centre has been the chief location for the introduction of surveillance through CCTV. As the new public place in Broomielaw was meant to re-integrate this area in the centre of Glasgow, CCTV was extended here (interview with Bill Love, operations manager Community and Safety Services). Installing CCTV particularly in the city centre was based among other rationales on its importance as the main retail area of Glasgow:

> *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 GCC planner)*

Although the Council is responsible for all its citizens and as such should create public places that are inclusive *for all*, the interviewees recognised that in Glasgow the priority had been mainly to support economic development. Nevertheless, several voices from the council have admitted that the presence of CCTV does not necessarily solve crime but only displaces it:

> *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)*

Regarding the *Presence of police and/or private guards*, the indicator was rated **3** due to the fact that during the observation, no private guards were noticed on site but only daily police patrols. One of the reasons for the police presence is the area being known for criminal behaviour before redevelopment. Another reason is related to Strathclyde Police's decision to increase the police patrols after the local press (such as the *Herald Scotland* newspaper) has raised attention towards

6.45 Young people climbing the new Broomielaw Bridge

young people attempting to climb the two fins of the bridge. This was noticed also during our fieldwork as shown in the picture presented in Figure 6.45.

The issue was taken into consideration by the GCC when the design of the bridge was approved and several possibilities were examined, which would deter people from climbing it. In the words of William Douglas from the GCC:

> *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)*

Regarding the other two *Control* indicators, there are no signs deterring behaviour and no elements of sadistic street furniture. Regarding the latter, 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)*

*Physical configuration*

The *Physical configuration* dimension obtained a medium rating of **3.63**, marginally higher than the above-discussed theme of *Control*. Regarding macro-design, the indicators for *Crossing*s and *Fences* were rated the maximum **5** because the site is connected in all cardinal directions and there are no fences present. The *Public walkways* and *Cycle routes* were rated **4**, as the northern part of the site is not very accessible from a pedestrian perspective. Broomielaw Street (A 814) runs parallel to the river, becoming the main obstacle to pedestrians, although there are several street crossings present (Figure 6.46).

Moreover, the provision of an extra traffic lane for the *Fastlink* project (discussed in the previous chapter), has increased the severance effect while at the same time taking up a large amount of space from this already narrow structure. At the moment, the *Fastlink* is not operational, skateboarders and cyclists enjoying the space dedicated to it.

Several stakeholders interviewed acknowledged the weak connectivity towards the northern edge of the site:

> *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. 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, developer, Capella Group)*
>
> *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 is a main arterial route. 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 GCC planner)*

To remedy this situation, several solutions are discussed at the moment, such as: raising the road level to slow down the traffic, creating a similar colour pavement on the street and the adjacent sidewalks or planting trees along

6.46 The barrier effect of Broomielaw Street for the adjacent public place

the perpendicular streets which flow from the Broomielaw district into the site (interview with William Douglas, GCC; interview with Jim Fitzsimmons, developer, Capella Group). Although ideas exist, none of them has been implemented so far and it remains to be seen if this will happen or not when the pavilions will be created on site.

Regarding connectivity south of the place across the River Clyde, this is ensured by the new bridge which provides the needed walkway and cycle path connection. Both east and west along the river a series of passageways connect the site with nearby Custom House Quay and Anderson Quay (Figure 6.47a and b). The images show though that the underpasses are not in very good connections; they are dark and look worn out which can deter many users from walking along the river, especially during the evening and night-time.

Reflecting on the macro-design of the site, calculated to be **4.5**, it can be argued that this value does not represent very accurately the reality on site; the public place feels divorced from the surrounding urban grid, mainly because of a lack of permeability and visibility from the IFSD and the city centre. This is due partly to the height and mass of the office buildings delineating Broomielaw Street, partly to the nature of the urban grid. The city planners agree that bolder decisions need to be made to open up the city centre to its waterfront:

6.47 The connectivity of the new public place along the river. (a) (left) Towards east at Custom House Quay. (b) (right) Towards west at Anderson Quay

*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 GCC planner)*

However, similarly to the Pacific Quay development, there is a common view that creating better permeability, visibility and connectivity between the city centre and the river is a lengthy process:

*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 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 GCC planner)*

No one seems to take a stand and acknowledge how long this 'time' period needs to be.

In relation to micro-design characteristics, there are no active frontages opening towards the public place, either in the casino building or in the office developments along Broomielaw Street. These buildings were planned as office developments within the IFSD project and there was no intention to provide restaurants, bars, cafés or any other small commercial units at ground floor. The creation of the pavilions is meant to compensate this lack of active ground floor uses, hopefully bringing 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 that is incidental to the Broomielaw wall as maybe kind of small-scale commercial pavilions for restaurant and bar use. (Interview with GCC planner)*

The focused effort to make this into a distinctive public place, an outdoor room for the IFSD workers, was translated into a fairly good provision of both sitting and walking opportunities. *Sitting opportunities* was rated therefore **4** as there are new benches, present on the entire length of the public place, orientated towards the main viewing landscape, the river, and the main pedestrian route. However they are not very comfortable to sit on as they are made of metal bars on a stone support and they have no backs (Figure 6.48). The edges of the newly planted green beds as well as the bollards that recall in the minds of visitors the shipping past, function as informal sitting places (Figure 6.48).

Regarding *Walking opportunities*, the entire paved area is even and easily walkable, the indicator receiving the maximum rating of **5**. This shows the concentrated effort of the builders to create a high quality and easily walkable pedestrian environment by using natural stone, Italian porphyry and Chinese granite (interview with Jim Armour, Graham Construction). Although the public place invites people to walk along the Clyde and stop to enjoy the river environment, there are no opportunities to do anything else. There are no fountains, elements of public art or any other opportunities to actively engage with and discover this place. As a result, the indicator *Opportunities for active engagement and discovery* was rated **1**.

To sum up, 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. Nevertheless, there is still need to improve the permeability and accessibility towards the site from the northern 'Broomielaw wall' (interview with GCC planner) and implicitly the city centre. In addition, the upgrading of the adjacent public areas at Custom House Quay and Anderson Quay, including their connection points to Broomielaw, would lead to a much more coherent and consistent pedestrian flow along the banks 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.

*Animation*

This dimension of publicness has been overall rated **2.3**, through averaging the two indicators *Street Vendors and/or Entertainers*, rated **1.6** and *Diversity of activities*, rated **3**. Regarding the first, there is one food vendor on site represented by a small café placed near the riverboat restaurant, the Renfrew Ferry (see Figure 6.49).[9]

The *Diversity of activities* was graded **3** as there were on average 5 activities performed on-site at the same time. Regarding the difference between the three observation days, the highest number of activities was obtained on Friday and the lowest on Sunday (see Annexe 7). The overall impression is of a lively public place with over a thousand people being counted here during the three

9 This operates only during weekdays and, between 7 a.m. and 2 p.m. As a result, the ratings obtained in the three different observation days were 2 for Monday, 2 for Friday and 1 for Sunday, which averaged gave a 1.6 rating for this indicator.

6.48 Formal and informal sitting opportunities in the new public place at Broomielaw

observation days.[10] The most popular activities in Broomielaw are strolling, cycling and jogging, with more than 50 per cent of the people observed promenading along the banks of the Clyde. The general movement pattern of the users is on an east-west direction, reflecting 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.

[10] The exact number being 1,391 users, 51 users being present on average on the site in a five-minute time interval.

6.49 The only street vendor on site – a café in the vicinity of the Renfrew Ferry riverboat restaurant

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 per cent of the users were seen either standing by the river balustrade or sitting down on the benches and the ledges of the planted areas. The majority of users preferred to sit in the central part of the public place 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 in the vicinity of the casino. This is a clear 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. Apart from these main activities, a smaller but distinct group of people were seen eating outdoors, in the vicinity of the café, which clearly contributes to the overall animation on site. From this research, it did not result that the new public place functions as a lunch destination for the workers in the IFSD, as envisioned. However, a more in depth study needs to be done in order to determine this with more precision. The western part of the site was also the area where groups of teenagers were seen skateboarding or doing stunts on BMX bikes, especially in the late afternoon and in the evening hours (Figure 6.50). Overall teenagers accounted for a low 8 per cent of the total number of users and were seen also strolling, cycling or sitting down on the edges of the green beds.

6.50 Teenagers enjoying the new public place at Broomielaw

Children were the least represented age category, with 5 per cent of the total number of users, which can be explained by the lack of opportunities to play in this public place. Overall, the data obtained regarding the diversity of users shows a fairly homogenous public; almost 50 per cent of the people observed are young and over 90 per cent of the users are white. In terms of the gender distribution, in a similar manner to the other two case study public places, there was a higher percentage of male users. Regarding the daily rhythm of use, the vibrancy of the public place is the lowest in the morning, and then it reaches the highest peak in the early afternoon and usually drops low in the evening hours. To sum up, 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 or the lunch outdoor room for the employees of the IFSD. It remains to be seen if this will be achieved when the proposed pavilions will be constructed.

*Civility*

The civility of the public place was rated overall **3.5**. Two of the four indicators gained the maximum rating, **5**: *Physical maintenance and provision of green areas* and the *Physical provision of basic facilities: lighting*. The green area is comprised of the grass and flowerbeds placed here temporarily and of two rows of trees, which look tidy, trimmed and healthy (Figure 6.51). The entire area is well lit, without any dark corners, and the lighting strategy includes both stainless steel lampposts along the river's edge and sunken LED spots placed among the tree lines (Figure 6.52). The bridge is lit along the length of its handrail adding to the overall ambience of the area at night.

6.51 Green space created at Broomielaw

6.52 Lighting strategies in the new public place created at Broomielaw

In contract to the above indicators, the *Physical provision of basic facilities: public toilets* was rated **1**, as there are no such facilities present on site. As discussed before, the GCC is 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)*

Overall, the area is relatively clean but parts of the public place are untidy and as a result, the indicator reflecting this, *Physical maintenance and cleansing regime of hard landscaped areas and street furniture* was rated **3.** Although bins have been provided in the entire new public place, some of them look untidy and are over spilling (Figure 6.53). In addition, there are instances of graffiti and the edges of several of the planted areas present signs of wear and tear.

The medium rating awarded for cleanliness in such a prominent urban location can be explained by two main factors. First, there is a common attitude of people in Glasgow to show lack of respect towards the tidiness of public places, a general attitude of incivility towards the built environment. For example, when asked what she thought was the element that mostly frustrates the publicness of public places in Glasgow, one of the GCC planners responded:

> *They are 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 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 can fine £50 for litter dropping. Second, faced with a lot of 'grime crime' in combination with insufficient budgets, the Council cannot and does not always maintain its public places 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 are delivering it, we are not maintaining it and that's shocking because studies have shown that if you maintain a space and manage it, that's 80 to 90 per cent of its success. (Interview with GCC planner)*

6.53 Instances of incivility in the Broomielaw public space

Aware of these two issues, in order to provide a good maintenance of the Broomielaw new public place, which, as presented in the development story is meant to be 'a postcard view' of Glasgow, other solutions are considered:

> *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 would 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 by the developer of the pavilions scheme:

> *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, developer, 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.

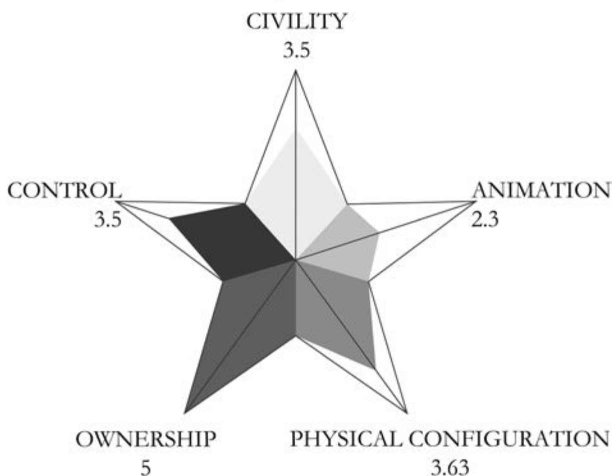
*The Star Diagram of Publicness*

A fairly well delineated Star Diagram of Publicness was obtained for the third case study public place, developed in Broomielaw, with an overall medium value of publicness of **3.63** (Figure 6.54).

The highest value was obtained for the *Ownership* dimension, **5**, a result of the site being owned by the locally democratic elected authority, the Glasgow City Council. A fairly high value of publicness was also obtained for the *Physical configuration* dimension. 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, there is still need to improve the connectivity towards the northern direction, across Broomielaw Street, and to upgrade the underpasses that link the site with the adjacent public areas along the river. In addition, there is a low level of visibility and permeability towards this public place from the northern urban grid of the IFSD, which needs improvement. While there is a very good provision of walking opportunities and both formal and informal sitting opportunities, there is a severe lack of active frontages in the adjacent buildings to the site and no opportunities for active engagement with the public place.

Medium values of publicness were obtained for both the *Control* and *Civility* dimensions. 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. Regarding civility, although the area is well lit in the evening and has 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.

6.54 The Star Diagram of publicness for the Broomielaw public place




The lowest value of publicness was obtained for the *Animation* dimension. Although the place is not as empty and desolate as before the renovation works, the new public place has not yet achieved the desired vibrancy of a waterfront touristic destination. This can be explained through a combination of factors such as the severance effect of Broomielaw Street, the lack of visibility and easy pedestrian accessibility from the city centre, the lack of any ground floor uses in its vicinity, the lack of development in Tradeston and also the absence of opportunities for users to

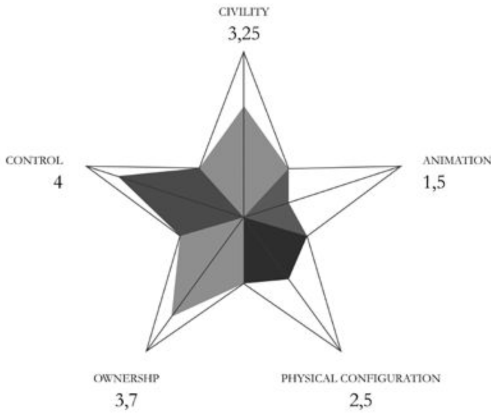
actively engage with the environment. It remains to be seen how the animation of the site and its overall publicness will be influenced by the future development, including the promised pavilions.

## 6.4 THE PUBLICNESS OF NEW PUBLIC PLACES ALONG THE WATERFRONT OF THE RIVER CLYDE

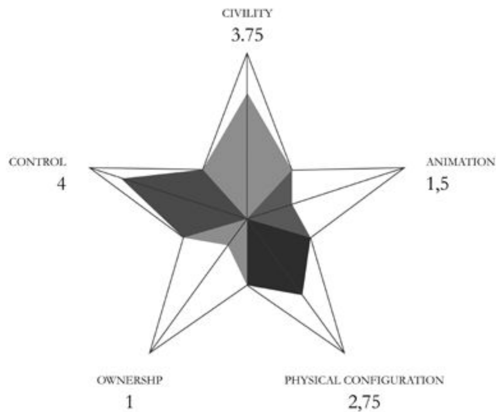
One of the main reasons for creating the Star Model of Publicness was to have a robust framework to compare and contrast different public places. Its trial application on the post-industrial waterfront in Glasgow yielded promising results. Looking at the there case studies together, it can be stated 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 6.55). The Star Diagrams allow for a more in depth comparison in terms of each dimension of publicness, with the ratings being explained through the exploration of the sites' development stories.

With regard to the first dimension, the different ratings obtained illustrate different shades of ownership. Broomielaw scores a maximum rating as it is in the public ownership of GCC who has led the regeneration process and had kept its hold on the site. Pacific Quay has a mixed ownership, by the BBC and the Science Centre, the first being 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 high degree publicly accountable, illustrated in the high rating **4**. Glasgow Harbour rates minimum **1** as it is in the private ownership of Clydeport, the local port authority who has always owned this land and who has led the regeneration process. Here, the GCC did not express an interest in taking over the ownership of the public place after redevelopment. The privatisation of the port authority in 1992 is seen today as a mistake by many of the interviewees who participated in this research. Related to the discussion in Chapter 2, these results show that there is no phenomenon of privatisation of public space happening at the moment on the Clyde's waterfront. However, a larger study, involving more case studies and looking more closely at land ownership patterns would be required to establish this. The results also showed that there is no solid argument for a growing phenomenon of oppressive control in the new public places created by Glasgow's River Clyde. There are no signs deterring behaviours, no sadistic street furniture, no private guards. Daily police patrols were observed only in Broomielaw due to the prominence of this area in the urban grid, to the existence of a negative image for a long period of time and to recent incidents of children climbing the new bridge. However, there is evidence for an increased phenomenon of electronic surveillance in the new public places developed on the Glasgow waterfront, with CCTV being present in all three locations. It seems that Glasgow has embraced the recent UK trend of securitising public space through close circuit video technology in most of its areas, reflected in the creation of the *Streetwatch* CCTV company in 2001.

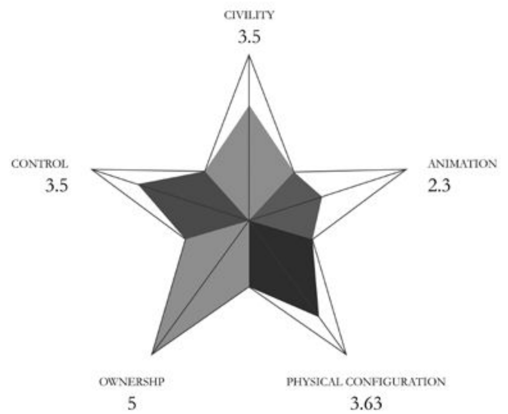
Star 1 | Pacific quay




Star 2 | Glasgow Harbour




Star 3 | Broomielaw




6.55 The Star Diagrams for the publicness of the three case studies considered for analysis: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw

Related to *Physical configuration*, the case studies are better discussed separately in terms of macro- and micro-design. By comparing the macro-design features, none of the public places was found to be well integrated in the surrounding urban grid. Out of the three, 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 Glasgow City Council's strategy of linking it to both the newly created IFSD and the less developed south side of the river. Both Pacific Quay and Glasgow Harbour are very poorly connected in the surrounding urban grid, apart from their northern direction. In the case of Pacific Quay, this is due to a lack of development of the surrounding areas, resulting from weak leadership from the part of the SEG, continuous delay to undertake development from the part of the private actors and the lack of an articulated vision for the development of the area. 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 regarding the crossing over the river. Overall, although there are no fences, there is a general lack of visibility and permeability towards all three public places from their surroundings and in order to make them *more public*, this crucial issue needs to be tackled.

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 view for the IFSD and Glasgow as a whole. Pacific Quay has very few and poor quality sitting opportunities, a reflection of weak emphasis on the development of the outdoor public place in this location. 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 any of 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. As a result, it is of no surprise that all the three places rate lowest regarding their animation. Pacific Quay and Glasgow Harbour have the same rating and give one the overall feeling of generally empty and bleak places. Broomielaw is slightly more animated which can be explained by its better connectivity and by its proximity to the City Centre. The additional data collected for the *Animation* dimension showed that the most favoured activity in all the public places was strolling, with other popular uses being cycling and jogging. This shows their poor design quality, as the places do not invite people to stay for a longer time; they are corridors of movement and very few users spent more than a few minutes in any of these locations. A contributing factor to this is the lack of public toilets, which may deter specific categories of users, such as tourists, senior people and children from using them for a longer time. This can be seen a result of the Glasgow City Council's policy of closing them

down on account of diminished public budgets. Related to civility, medium ratings have been obtained overall as all three public places have a fairly good provision and maintenance of greenery and lighting and are generally tidy.

## 6.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented the application of the dual nature of public space theory on three case studies, created as part of the Clyde's regeneration in Glasgow, Scotland. The development history for each place was presented, followed by the Star Analysis of their publicness. We concluded by comparing the three sites using the Star Diagrams and the findings from their development stories. The three case studies can be seen as representative for the hard and troublesome journey that Glasgow has undertaken from a dying, former successful industrial centre into a contemporary, vibrant post-industrial city. The Pacific Quay site shows the increased concentrated focus towards enhancing the media service economy and the touristic base; Glasgow Harbour is illustrative for the new trend of creating up market, luxury housing while Broomielaw is part of the last decades' strategy to establish 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 show that there is still a lot of room for improving the city's public places. Several factors have led to these average results. Among them, of crucial importance is the relatively late regeneration of the waterfront (compared to other cities), begun only at the end of the 1990s, and undertaken without a focused effort. This is reflected in the lack of a single agency in charge of the river's regeneration, although this idea has been mentioned many times when the waterfront's activation has been on the agenda in the past years. The Clyde Waterfront partnership has been such an initiative but unfortunately it did not manage to become a prominent and strong leader for the waterfront regeneration process in Glasgow.

# 7

## 'A Journey of a Thousand Miles Starts with a Single Step'

### 7.0 UNDERTAKING THE STAR MODEL EXPERIMENT

This book has started from a desire to understand if indeed many of the new public places created in our cities are not as public as they should/could be. The decrease in the publicness of our urban public realm has been argued for by writers such as Sorkin (1992), Mitchell (1995), Davis (1996) or Zukin (2000). They have identified among the key reasons a creeping privatisation and large-scale commodification of urban public space, and an overarching phenomenon of increased control. However, the literature also shows that there is considerable confusion in the field of research on public space due to the existence of numerous disciplines, with different perspectives on publicness, as well as most studies being descriptive and lacking empirical backing. In order to fill this gap, the author aimed to discover a more rigorous and objective way to describe and if possible *measure* the publicness of public places. to better understand and compare them.

Expanding on the previous works, publicness is treated here as a concept with a dual nature: it is both a cultural reality and a historical reality, as inseparable as the two sides of a coin. It is proposed here that although each public place has its own identity, all public places created in a certain time and cultural context share certain characteristics which together create a certain standard of publicness. This is the conceptualisation of publicness as *cultural reality* and the understanding of any public place to be a *cultural artefact*. When interrogating the public space literature available, written mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world over the past decades, five dimensions of publicness were identified: *Ownership*, *Control*, *Physical configuration*, *Animation*, and *Civility*. These are conceptualised here as following:

- *Ownership* is the legal status of a parcel of land; recently an increasing phenomenon of privatisation of public space has resulted in the blurring of boundaries between public and *private.*

- *Physical configuration* is the design dimension containing two levels: macro-design (beyond-the-place) and micro-design (within-the-place).
- *Animation* is the socio-anthropological dimension of publicness, referring to both the users and the uses of a public places.
- *Control* comprises the measures and policies taken to limit the basic rights of people in public space, mainly their freedom of expression.
- *Civility* refers to the maintenance and upkeep of a public place.

All the five dimensions have degrees of variation from 'more public' to 'less public'. By gathering the 'more public' description of each dimension, the standard for public space, today, in the western world, can be defined 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, the publicness of public space is not only a static image to be analysed at a certain point in time through these five dimensions; it is also a historical construct emerging from the development process of each site. This is the conceptualisation of publicness as a *historical reality* and of public space as a *historical construct*, which can be understood through the land and real estate development process. Nowadays, this is the main vehicle of delivering public places around the globe. In this respect, an event-sequence model and an agency model provided a framework for analysis. The former describes the creation of a public place as a series of stages where, at any point, different events can lead to the improving or diminishing of its overall publicness. The latter describes the publicness of a public place as resulting from the agreements, compromises and 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, and therefore a key issue for a thorough research of a public space is to understand how publicness was negotiated in the power play among them. Understanding this dual nature of publicness led to a complex, mixed method approach used in this book involving three stages:

- In the first stage, the Star Model of Publicness was introduced as a method to measure publicness. It is based on finding and defining indicators for each of the five dimensions of publicness and calibrating them on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is the lowest level of publicness and 5 the highest. An equal weight was given to all the indicators when rating each dimension, and all dimensions an equal weight when obtaining a publicness value for a particular public place. The Star Diagram of Publicness is a pictorial representation of the results.

- In the second stage, after careful consideration, three research case studies were decided upon (as explained in detail in Chapter 5). All three are new public places, created in the process of the River Clyde's regeneration in Glasgow, Scotland: Pacific Quay, Glasgow Harbour and Broomielaw.
- In the third stage, the methodology was designed and the empirical fieldwork was undertaken. Archival research, document analysis and semi structured interviews were employed to understand both the general historical background of the regeneration of Glasgow and the particularities of each case public place's development process. Structured observation was performed for three days, for each site, in the autumn of 2009 to measure the places' publicness (for the observation pro-formas, see Annexes 3 and 4).

After the model was perfected so that it was robust but also flexible enough to be applied in practice, it 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 (see the end of Chapter 6).

## 7.1 REFLECTIONS ON THE STAR MODEL APPROACH

Before posing some questions for future research, we will take a moment to reflect on the approach presented in this book and discuss first the key strengths and then some of the weaknesses of the Star Model.

In terms of strengths, the Star Model brings together different key elements of publicness into one single entity and, as a result, publicness becomes a multilateral concept, resulting from the interaction of the five dimensions. As such, the model brings needed clarification to the concept of publicness and offers a comprehensive image of what makes a public place, public.

Second, it is hoped that a Star Model analysis will help the main actors with influence in changing the built environment make better-informed decisions towards the improvement of urban public places. More than often key decision-makers have limited available time resources and the Star Diagram of Publicness is a useful tool to show someone at a glance what works and what doesn't work in a certain public place. It is hoped that in this way, delays in the development process can be overcome and better public places created. Furthermore, by bringing together different dimensions of publicness, the model shows to the participants in the development process that the success of a public place depends to a high degree on the cooperation of different agencies and experts (for example, the owners, the planners, the designers, the maintenance agency, the police etc.).

Third, the model offers a much-needed method to compare and contrast different urban public places allowing for a clearer understanding of which public places are more public than others. Moreover it helps to explain why this happens, making knowledge exchange possible and allowing for lessons to be learned from the success and/or failure of different projects.

Fourth, by giving a clear and comprehensive definition of what a standard public space is, the model facilitates the flow of information in the development process. This way it helps decision-makers to overcome misinterpretations, a common cause for many projects to be compromised in terms of quality. It was shown in Chapter 5 that one of the factors frustrating the publicness of public places is the different meanings that the various actors in the development process attach to the term public space. By offering a standard for public places, the model functions as a decision support tool helping the different actors create not 'just another public place', but a public place with at least, for example, a publicness rating of **3**.

Fifth, the Star Model is a relatively easy[1] to use tool, which can be employed by anybody interested in a public place who wants to assess its publicness and find out where and why it 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 in improving their environment according to their own objectives and usage patterns.

Sixth, by using the dual nature of publicness conceptualisation and the Star Model, it was possible to gain insight into a fairly under-researched area of investigation: the regeneration of the Clyde waterfront in Glasgow. In this respect, key elements were highlighted: ownership patterns, the relationship between the public and private sectors in delivering the, the maintenance and the control strategies, and also the way in which the public uses the new public places.

Critically reflecting on the Star Model, although its first testing was considered a success and the author believes that it can help both public space research and practice, several limitations should be highlighted and some 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 an intrinsic characteristic of all models, especially when applied to the social world.

Second, the basic Star Model presented here has a large potential for further development. For example, it would be possible to refine the indicators and their weighting in the overall publicness score. Also, even though the Star Model tries

[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 day or 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.

to measure 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 dimensions or indicators to measure publicness and create other tools and models. We hope that the Star Model and this research as a whole will open avenues for more rigorous and objective studies of public space and publicness.

Third, although it was attempted to describe each dimension of publicness by indicators as representative as possible, it can be argued that these do not fully capture the complex nature of the concepts. For example, in relation to *Physical configuration*, the literature discusses the importance of designing a public place according to the specific weather conditions. In Nordic cities especially, 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, it could not be created. Another example is related to the indicator *Crossings* (for a detailed account of the indicators, see Chapter 4). It is considered here that crossing points from the public place towards the surrounding urban environment should be present in all cardinal points (for a maximum rating of publicness – **5**) but it does not say anything about the quality of the crossing points. Research showed (see Jan Gehl 1996, 2010) that users prefer ground level crossings to an underpass or a bridge. Also, even when underpasses cannot be avoided, as it was seen in the case of Broomielaw (see last part of Chapter 6), the Star Model does not say anything about their quality. A third example is in relation to the *Control* dimension where an indicator could not be found to illustrate public space as the stage for political manifestations. In the case of measuring the *Animation*, of a place, more indicators were searched for but the theoretical standard, *a public place is more public when there is a larger and more diverse public, performing a wider variety of activities* (see Chapter 2) was very hard to translate into measurable indicators. 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 for the purpose of being able to measure animation. In retrospect, an alternative way to measure publicness would be by dividing it into two entities: *potential publicness* and *effective publicness*. The Star Model would comprise only four dimensions ownership, physical configuration, civility and control and would measure the potential publicness.[2] 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 limbs 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

2 Or five dimensions, like in the initial stage of creating the Star Model, when *Physical configuration* was represented by macro-design and *Animation* by micro-design, with no indicators for the actual use of the place. This was presented in Varna, G. and Tiesdell, S. (2010) Assessing the Publicness of Public Space. The Star Model of Publicness, *Journal of Urban Design*, 15 (4) November, pp. 575–98.

the activities, 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.

In the circumstances that other researchers might find the Star Model worth testing further and developing, two practical recommendations are made. 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. Secondly, in relation to the animation dimension, much more accurate data could be obtained by using teams of observers or video footage. Overall, it is recommended to treat the Star Model as a prototype and hopefully future research can improve it through large-scale testing.

## 7.2 THE STAR MODEL – THE FIRST STEP IN A JOURNEY OF A THOUSAND MILES

By reviewing a broad and multi-disciplinary literature, in which public space and publicness are conceptualised and defined in many different ways, this research gives a multidimensional definition of public space and proposes a unified theoretical model to describe its publicness. By doing so, it lends itself to satisfying 'the need for more pragmatic research' (Nemeth and Schmidt 2007: 283) in a field dominated by descriptive and often speculative studies. At the same time, the book shows 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: xv). It also confirms what the American scholars Staeheli and Mitchell found out throughout their own research, namely that '…"public space" is a slippery, complicated and shifting kind of space' (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008: 117). Measuring publicness has proven to be a difficult task and although a model has been created with promising results, plenty of scope for improvement remains.

Nevertheless, through the application of the Star Model, 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 and increased control of public places. Concerning the first, the results obtained in Glasgow did not show conclusively that such a phenomenon is taking place in the Scottish city. However, they did show that indeed, there is an increased blurring of the boundaries between public and private, as noticed by commentators such as Madanipour (2003), Kohn (2004) or Marcuse (2005). The results show that one of the case study public places is privately owned, one is in semi-public ownership, and one is owned by the democratically elected, public authority. Concerning the control of public space, the results did show an increase in electronic surveillance measures (i.e. CCTV). This 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 2).

It has been pointed out in the beginning of the book that in the practice of building public places the different actors have their own understandings of what 'public space' is and that 'publicness' is often lost during the process of negotiations and compromises between different parties. Indeed, through interviewing various development actors, involved in the regeneration of the River Clyde, it was understood that, often, a lack of standards and accurate ways of measuring publicness make the built public places less public than envisioned. However, more research is needed regarding the practice of placemaking and the building of more liveable cities.

It can be concluded that this study asks more questions than provides answers and it is the sincere hope of the author that it has added value towards building a more substantial foundation for the field of public space research. Overall, this book 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 and a new way of measuring it were brought forward, this is just a first step in a long journey towards more rigorous and more empirically-based studies in the practice of placemaking.

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 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).

*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?)

*Physical configuration*
Macro-design: connectivity, visibility, accessibility.

- Crossings/public walkways and cycle routes in each cardinal point;
- Fences (if present – why are they there, if not – will the public place be fenced in the future?)

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?

*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?)

*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?)

*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?
- 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.

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

## Annexe 2:
## Observation Days and General Weather Conditions

| Date (2009) | Day of the week | Case study public place | Temperature | Humidity and wind |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 September | Sunday | Glasgow Harbour | Mean: 10°C<br>Max: 16°C | 81<br>11km/hour |
| 25 September | Friday | Broomielaw | Mean: 14°C<br>Max: 15°C | 85<br>17km/hour |
| 28 September | Monday | PQ and SECC | Mean: 14°C<br>Max: 15°C | 92<br>21km/hour |
| 5 October | Monday | Glasgow Harbour | Mean: 8°C<br>Max: 14°C | 82<br>7km/hour |
| 11 October | Sunday | PQ and SECC | Mean: 10°C<br>Max: 14°C | 76<br>17km/hour |
| 16 October | Friday | Glasgow Harbour | Mean: 9°C<br>Max: 14°C | 82<br>4km/hour |
| 19 October | Monday | Broomielaw | Mean: 9°C<br>Max: 12°C | 92<br>5km/hour |
| 23 October | Friday | PQ and SECC | Mean: 10°C<br>Max: 13°C | 92<br>9km/hour |
| 8 November | Sunday | Broomielaw | Mean: 9°C<br>Max: 14°C | 90<br>4km/hour |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# Annexe 3:
# Non-time Dependent Observation Pro-forma

## 1. PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION

| MACRO DESIGN: CROSSINGS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5<br>high publicness | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1<br>low publicness |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = Crossing points present in all cardinal directions<br>4 = Crossing points present in only three cardinal directions<br>3 = Crossing points present in only two cardinal directions<br>2 = Crossing points present in only one cardinal direction<br>1 = None | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| MACRO DESIGN: PUBLIC WALKWAYS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5<br>high publicness | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1<br>low publicness |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = Connecting the public place in all four cardinal directions<br>4 = Connecting the public place in three cardinal directions<br>3 = Connecting the public place in two cardinal directions<br>2 = Connecting the public place in one direction<br>1 = None | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| MACRO DESIGN: CYCLE ROUTES | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5<br>high publicness | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1<br>low publicness |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = The public place is connected in all cardinal directions by cycle routes<br>4 = The public place is connected in three cardinal directions by cycle routes<br>3 = The public place is connected in two cardinal directions by cycle routes<br>2 = The public place is connected in only one cardinal direction by cycle routes<br>1 = The public place is not connected by cycle routes in any cardinal direction | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| MACRO DESIGN: FENCES | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5<br>high publicness | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1<br>low publicness |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = No physical restrictions to access (no fences)<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>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** | | | | |

| MICRO DESIGN: SITTING OPPORTUNITIES | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5<br>high publicness | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1<br>low publicness |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>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)<br>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.<br>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<br>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<br>1 = No benches and no informal sitting opportunities | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| **MICRO DESIGN: WALKING OPPORTUNITIES** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = Even and easily walkable surface on the entire paved area of the site<br>4 = Even and easily walkable surface in more than approximately 75% of the paved area of the site<br>3 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 50% and 75% of the paved area of the site<br>2 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately in between 25% and 50% of the paved area of the site<br>1 = Even and easily walkable surface approximately below 25% of the paved area of the site | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| **MICRO DESIGN: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT AND DISCOVERY** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = More than three different elements (statues, fountains, opportunities for play etc.) for active engagement and discovery<br>4 = Three different elements for active engagement and discovery<br>3 = Two different elements for active engagement and discovery<br>2 = One element for active engagement and discovery<br>1 = No elements for active engagement and discovery | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| **MICRO DESIGN: ACTIVE FRONTAGES** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>2 = 3–5 premises every 100m; little or no range of functions; predominantly blind or passive facades; flat building surface; few or no details<br>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

| CONTROL TECHNOLOGY: CCTV CAMERAS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| high publicness | | | | low publicness |
| DESCRIPTORS<br>5 = No cameras<br>4 = Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; covert type of surveillance – cameras are hard to see<br>3 = Few cameras, less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; overt type of surveillance – cameras are highly visible<br>2 = A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are hard to see<br>1 = A large number of cameras – more than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance; cameras are highly visible | | | | |
| FIELD NOTES | | | | |

| CONTROL BY DESIGN: SADISTIC STREET FURNITURE | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| high publicness | | | | low publicness |
| DESCRIPTORS<br>5 = No sadistic street furniture<br>4 = Presence of one element of sadistic street furniture and only in one or two places across the site<br>3 = Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in several places throughout the site (less than half of the area)<br>2 = Presence of one or two elements of sadistic street furniture in multiple places throughout the site (more than half of the area)<br>1 = Presence of multiple elements of sadistic street furniture (more than three) throughout the entire site | | | | |
| FIELD NOTES | | | | |

| CONTROL BY DESIGN: SIGNAGE | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| high publicness | | | | low publicness |
| DESCRIPTORS<br>5 = No signs deterring behaviours<br>4 = Sign(s) deterring one behaviour<br>3 = Sign(s) deterring two behaviours<br>2 = Sign(s) deterring three behaviours<br>1 = Sign(s) deterring more than three behaviours | | | | |
| FIELD NOTES | | | | |

## 3. CIVILITY

| CIVILITY: PHYSICAL MAINTENANCE AND CLEANSING REGIME OF HARD LANDSCAPED AREAS AND STREET FURNITURE | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>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)<br>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)<br>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)<br>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<br>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** | | | | |

| CIVILITY: PHYSICAL MAINTENANCE AND PROVISION OF GREEN AREAS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = Tidy, trimmed, healthy<br>4 = Tidy and just slight signs of wear and tear<br>3 = Several signs of deterioration (broken or unhealthy looking trees, trampled or missing grass)<br>2 = Serious signs of deterioration, green space looks overgrown and untidy<br>1 = No green space | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| CIVILITY: PHYSICAL PROVISION OF BASIC FACILITIES – PUBLIC TOILETS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |
| **high publicness** | | | | **low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>5 = Present, easy to find and well maintained; free access<br>4 = Present, easy to find and not well maintained, free access<br>3 = Present, hard to find, well maintained, free access<br>2 = Present, hard to find, not well maintained or toilet with paid access<br>1 = No toilets | | | | |
| **FIELD NOTES** | | | | |

| **CIVILITY: PHYSICAL PROVISION OF BASIC FACILTIES – LIGHTING** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5**<br>**high publicness** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1**<br>**low publicness** |
| **DESCRIPTORS**<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>2 = Only approximately 25% of the site is well lit, there is generally a dark and unfriendly, unsafe ambience, one type of lighting<br>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 | |

| ANIMATION | |
|---|---|
| **Presence of street vendors** | |
| **Presence of street entertainers** | |

| CONTROL PRESENCE | |
|---|---|
| **Police officers** | |
| **Private guards** | |

| ANIMATION – DIVERSITY OF USERS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number** | | | | | |
| **Age** | Children | Teenagers | Young | Middle aged | Pensioners |
| | | | | | |
| **Gender** | Female | | | | |
| | Male | | | | |
| **Ethnicity** | White | Black | Asian | Other | |
| | | | | | |

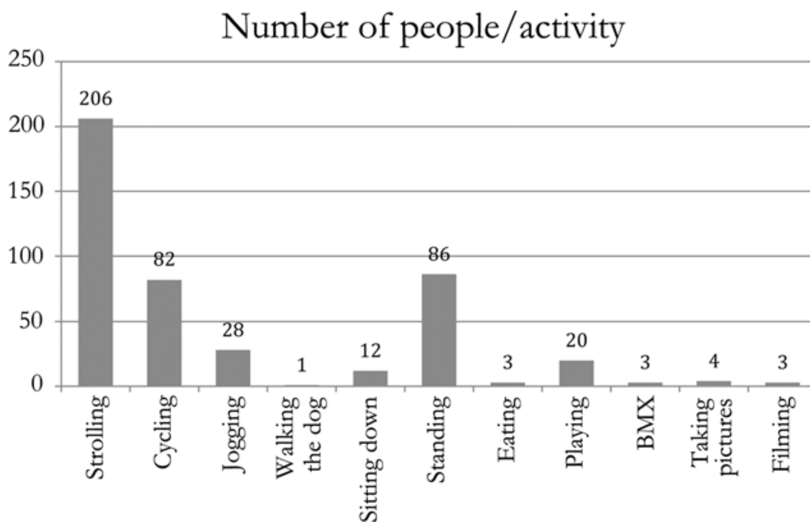
| **ACTIVITIES** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Type of activity** | **Users** | **Time spent** | **Users** | **Time spent** |
| **Passing through** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Strolling** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Standing** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Sitting down** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Cycling** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Jogging** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Playing** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Eating** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Drinking** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Walking the dog** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Walking the baby (mothers/fathers with baby prams)** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| **Other** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">M</td><td>W</td><td>C</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">B</td><td>T</td></tr>
<tr><td>Y</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">A</td><td>M</td></tr>
<tr><td>P</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">F</td><td>W</td><td>C</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">B</td><td>T</td></tr>
<tr><td>Y</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">A</td><td>M</td></tr>
<tr><td>P</td></tr>
</table>

| **NOTES** |
| --- |
| |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

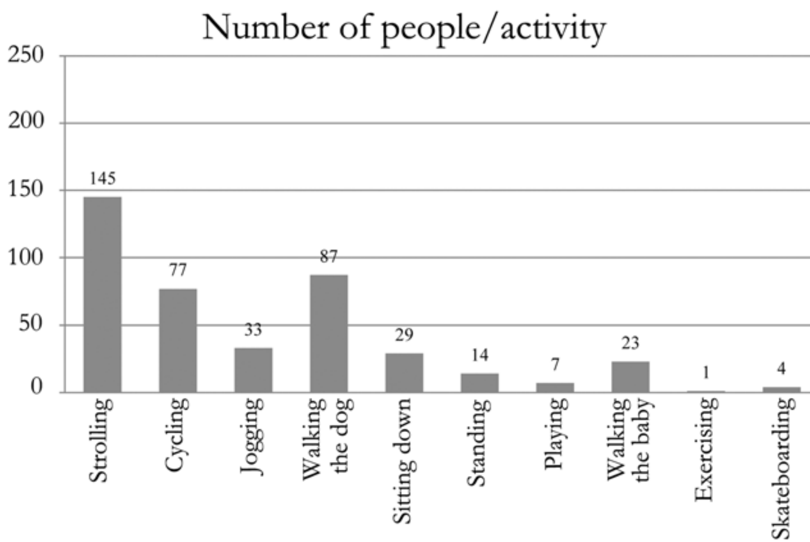
## Annexe 5:
## Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Pacific Quay




| 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 |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

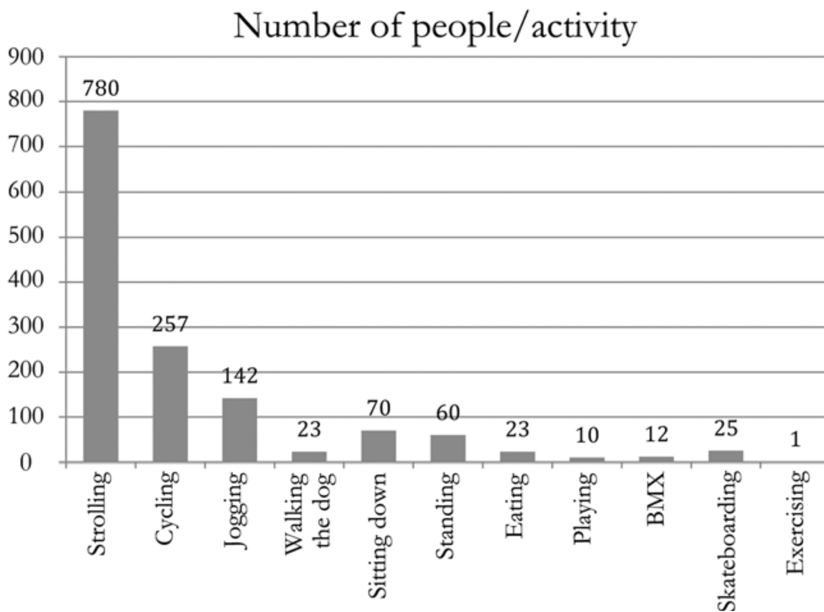
# Annexe 6: Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Glasgow Harbour




| Observation day | Average number of activities/ 5 minutes interval | Total number of activities during the 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 |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

**Annexe 7:**
**Diversity and Number of Activities Recorded during Observation in Broomielaw**




| 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 |

*This page has been left blank intentionally*

# 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.

Boyd, R. (2006) The value of civility? *Urban Studies*, 43 (5/6), pp. 863–878.

Boyle, M. and Hughes, G. (1994) The politics of urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow, *Geoforum*, 25 (4) November, pp. 453–470.

Braiden, G (2009*) High-street giants set for war over Glasgow Harbour project*. *Herald Scotland* [Internet] 20 October. Available from: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news> [Accessed 20 November 2010].

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. eds. (2002) *Spaces of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Briffault, R. (1999) A government for our time? Business improvement districts and urban governance. *Columbia Law Review*, 99 (2), pp. 365–477.

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.web archive.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., de Magalhães, C. and Hammond, L. (2008), *Public Space: The Management Dimension*. Oxon, Routledge.

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.

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 20 February 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.

*Concise Science Dictionary* (1991) Oxford, Oxford University Press.

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.

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.

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.

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., Fraser, C. and Percy, S. eds. (2003) *Urban Regeneration in Europe*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Creswell, T. (2004) *Place: A Short Introduction*. Cornwall, Blackwell.

Davis, M. (1990) *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London, Pimlico.

DCLG (2009) *World Class Places: The Government's Strategy for Improving Quality of Place*. London, HMSO.

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.

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.

Dick, M. (1986) *Half of Glasgow's Gone*. Glasgow, Brown, Son & Ferguson.

Dickens, C. (1990) *Hard Times*. New York, W.W. Norton & Company Inc.

Doucet, B. (2010) *Rich Cities with Poor People. Waterfront Regeneration in the Netherlands and Scotland*, PhD thesis, Utrecht University.

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.

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 and Regional Research*, 25 (5), pp. 658–664.

Forty, A (2001) Give public spaces back to the people. *The Independent* [Internet], 16 May. Available from:<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.

García, B. (2005) Deconstructing the City of Culture: the long-term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies*, 42 (5/6) May, pp. 841–868.

Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*. Skive, Arkitektens Forlarg.

Gehl, J. (2010) *Cities for People*. Washington, Island Press.

Gehl, J. and Gemzǿe, 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 Gemzǿe, 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; PA 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.

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, 31 May [Internet]. Available at:< www.gia.org.uk/GUDP/Minutes> [Accessed on 15 June 2010].

Glazer, N. and Lilla, M. eds. (1987) *The Public Face of Architecture. Civic Culture and Public Spaces*. New York, The Free Press.

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.

Goodsell, C. (2003) The concept of public space and its democratic manifestations, *American Review of Public Administration*, 33 (4), pp. 361–383.

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.

*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.

Hall, S. (2003) New Labour's double-shuffle, *Soundings,* pp. 10–24.

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.

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.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, Random House.

Jauhlainen, J.S. (1995) Waterfront redevelopment and urban policy: the case of Barcelona, Cardiff and Genoa. *European Planning Studies*, 3 (1), pp. 3–23.

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.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwells.

LeGates, R.T. and Stout, F. eds. (2003) *The City Reader*. New York, Routledge.

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. and 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.

MacKay, D. (2006) The changing nature of public space – CCTV. *Security Journal,* 19, pp. 128–142.

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.

McCarthy, J. (1998) Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging: the case of Rotterdam. *Cities*, 15 (5) October, pp. 337–344.

McIntosh, S. (1991) Atlantic Quay International Class. *Herald Scotland* [Internet], 27 March. Available from: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen> [Accessed 30 November 2010].

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].

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 and 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].

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.

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.

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.

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.

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. *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.

Varna, G. and Tiesdell, S (2010) Assessing the publicness of public space. the Star Model of Publicness, *Journal of Urban Design*, 15 (4) November, pp. 575–598.

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

www.clydeport.com

www.clydewaterfront.com

www.glasgow.gov.uk

www.glasgowharbour.com

www.heraldscotland.com

www.lfsdglasgow.co.uk

www.landengineering.co.uk

www.pps.org

www.saferglasgow.com

www.scottish-enterprise.presscentre.com

# Index


access 34, 38, 63, 65, 84, 86, 89, 116, 125, 126, 135, 137, 138, 164, 167, 199,
  to public space 4, 28, 53, 54, 55, 56–58, 59, 62, 246, 249
  visual access 40–41
accessibility 8, 15, 26, 41, 52, 53, 54, 66, 85, 101, 178, 183, 184, 218, 226, 240 *see also* access
*agora* (Greek agora) 4, 6, 31, 54, 55, 62–63
Amsterdam 98, 99, 101, 103
animation 11, 27, 41, 45–49, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 122, 156, 164, 168, 169, 170, 172, 194, 199, 203, 218, 220, 226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 235, 236, 240, 241
  measuring animation 87–89

Baltimore 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 208
  Baltimore Harbour 133, 158
benches 37, 42, 86, 149, 164, 169, 192, 193, 194, 215, 218, 220, 240, 246
BID (Business Improvement District) 29, 30, 33, 83, 84

CABE 7, 8, 9
Carmona, M. 3, 23, 24, 43, 4, 52, 54, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 85, 87, 99
CCTV (Close Circuit Television) 35–36, 84, 92, 114, 188, 211, 213, 214, 248
civility 11, 15, 27, 49–52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 85,170, 171, 172, 195, 198, 221, 226, 229, 231, 232, 235, 241, 249–250
  measuring civility 89–90
Clyde River 11, 90–91, 97, 106, 110, 113, 115–128, 130–131, 132, 133, 139, 142, 145, 147, 148, 172, 178, 186, 187, 199, 201, 204, 208, 216, 218, 229, 237
Clydeport Authority 131–133, 174, 176–177, 179, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 198, 199, 227, 229
control 11, 27, 32, 33–40, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 69, 86, 100, 114, 115, 124, 135, 159, 164, 171, 188, 198, 211, 215, 226, 227, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 241, 248
  measuring control 84–85
convivial public space 46, 49
Copenhagen 1, 44, 56, 101
culture 4, 5, 21, 30, 45, 108, 109
cycling 2, 48, 85, 126, 168, 172, 194, 198, 219, 220, 229, 252

democracy 31–32, 34, 62
development
  development actors 68, 70–77, 237
  development agencies 37, 106
  land development process 6, 9, 11, 39, 60, 61, 68–71, 102, 147, 158, 159, 171, 183, 189, 232, 233, 234

proactive development control 9
urban development 66, 72, 75, 97, 134

environment/environmental 1, 2, 37, 46, 100, 125, 128, 182

fences 41, 44, 57, 85–86, 164, 167, 172, 192, 215
Fraser, N. 1, 26, 75
freedom general 84
of expression 31, 34, 38, 54, 77, 159, 232
individual freedom 40, 45
freedom of action 51

Gehl, J. 16, 19, 22, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 56, 87, 89, 169, 235
Glasgow 11, 74, 77, 90, 91–92, 97, 99, 106–115, 120, 128–137, 141, 143, 145, 150, 154, 203, 204, 213, 224, 225, 227, 229, 230, 233, 235, 236 *see also* Glasgow City Council, *see also* Glasgow Harbour
Glasgow City Council 118, 123, 133–136, 159, 199, 203, 211, 221, 226, 229, 230
Glasgow Harbour 91, 120, 122, 132, 135, 172–199, 227–230

Habermas, J. 16, 19, 76
Hadid, Z. 74, 110, 186

indicators 8, 82–90, 92, 94, 159, 163, 168, 170, 188, 189, 192, 195, 215, 218, 221, 224, 232, 234, 235, 236, 240
industrial revolution 65

Jacobs, J. 16, 36, 39, 45, 46, 64, 74, 85

Lefebvre 16, 45
London 35, 66, 102, 103, 106, 110, 115, 145, 203
London Docklands 101, 102

macro-design 40, 44, 85, 86, 161, 164, 167, 189, 192, 194, 229
Madanipour, A. 2, 2, 4, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 45, 50, 53, 54, 56, 62, 63, 64, 236
methodology 8, 10, 81, 86, 233
micro-design 40, 41, 43, 44, 48, 85, 87, 164, 167, 168, 172, 192, 194, 198, 217, 218, 229, 232

New York 8, 17, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38, 45, 47, 51, 66, 83, 102
Newcastle 101, 105

Olmsted, F.L. 66
ownership (of land) 4, 11, 19, 27, 28–33, 39, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 69, 71, 94, 101, 130, 143, 144, 145, 157, 158, 159, 168, 171, 187, 188, 199, 211, 224, 226, 227, 231, 234, 236
measuring ownership (of land) 83–84

park 1, 2, 18, 19, 22, 23, 31, 34, 35, 40, 42, 45, 49, 65–66, 137, 138, 145, 178, 181, 182, 183, 188, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 215
physical configuration 11, 15, 27, 37, 40–45, 48, 50, 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 92, 157, 161, 167, 168, 172, 189, 192, 194, 198, 215, 226, 229, 231, 235, 238, 240
measuring physical configuration 85–87
placemaking 62, 63, 65, 73, 77, 133, 237
planning 40
British urban planning 99
history of modern planning 61–76
planning permission 123, 148
Scottish planning system 124–126
urban planning issues in Glasgow 135–136 , 190, 197
police 36–37, 39, 53, 56, 84–85, 159, 188, 213, 226, 227, 241, 251
power 15, 28, 37, 38, 55, 58–59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 74, 75–76, 130–131, 133, 158, 232
ambient power 31, 37–38
privatisation of public space 1, 3, 18, 28, 30, 31, 38, 114, 115, 227, 231, 236
pseudo public space 29
public realm 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 40, 41, 43, 44, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 74, 90, 99, 100, 110, 112, 115, 122, 126, 128, 135, 136, 137, 138, 154, 197, 204, 206, 207, 215, 224, 231, 236

real estate development, *see* land development process
Rogers, R. 150, 206, 207

Sennett, R. 3, 16, 18, 32, 44, 47, 49, 50, 74
street 1, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 63, 64, 88, 110, 138, 177, 204, 215
street furniture 37, 51, 52, 59, 84, 85, 89, 89, 112, 122, 159, 164, 170, 188, 204, 207, 215, 224, 226, 227, 236, 248, 249
surveillance 2, 34–39 , 53, 159, 202, 213, 226–227, 236
sustainability 1, 167

urban design 3, 6, 9, 40, 61, 63, 74–75, 100, 135, 150, 161, 164, 189
urban planning 9; *see also* planning
urban renaissance 99, 100, 101, 125
Urban Task Force 3, 99, 125
urbanisation 1, 108

waterfront regeneration 11, 69, 72, 91, 98–107, 133–134, 188, 230
Whyte, W.H. 16, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 64, 74, 169

'zero-tolerance policy' 35, 37, 50
Zukin, S. 1, 3, 4, 17, 19, 21, 24, 29, 30, 31, 34, 45, 47, 56, 75, 97, 231