James Desmond Compston

'Representing the City: Glasgow City of Architecture and Design 1999 in Context'

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Glasgow

Faculty of Social Science

Department of Sociology

November 2004

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abstract 1

Introduction 2

Chapter 1 **The Architecture and Design Festival in Context** 6

Bourdieu and Architecture: Form, Habitus and Power 16

Sociology of Architecture: Modernity and Place 24

Architecture in the Reimagined City 33

Beyond Culture City: Situationist Desire 38

The Social Implications of Urban Transformation 43

Chapter 2 **Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: Precursors to G99** 60

Glasgow's Monumental Architecture 68

The City's Great Exhibitions 72

1901 and the Glasgow Style 75

From Temporary Monument to Permanent Spectacle: Exhibitionary Glasgow 86

Chapter 3 **Politics of Representation: Glasgow as Exhibition and Work of Art** 89

The Discourse of Architectural Regeneration 92

Constructing the City of Design: The Proposal and its Development 105

Glasgow/Barcelona: Regeneration and Design 114

Design Culture and Cultural Regeneration 120

Chapter 4 **G99 Designed: The Festival Product** 124

Area Festivals 127

Building G99: The Festival's New Spaces 132

Architecture Centres 133

Museum Culture 139

The Architecture and Design Exhibitions 155

Design and Consumption 165

Chapter 5 **The Spaces of Glasgow's Architectural Distinction** 179

Architecture and Gentrification 181

Architecture in Glasgow: From Social to Spectacular Space 188

Conclusion 210

Appendix 1 214

Appendix 2 218

Bibliography 223

Acknowledgements

Many individuals helped in various ways during the preparation of this thesis and I would like to thank them here. Thanks for encouragement go to my brother, Ewing, and to Lynda Douglas and her family for cheerful support during the early stages. Andrew Smith was a stimulating example of the application required to do research and a support during the difficult moments. Neil McLeod always took time to offer the right kind of comment when I had little faith of ever completing. Simon Charlesworth offered his own form of critical support throughout the whole process. Laura Piacentini was another voice of practical advice and a cheerful friend on several much needed occasions.

Many people offered specific help during the research stage, I'd like to mention Pauline Gallacher of G99, the people I talked to at the Homes for the Future Expo, and the librarians in various institutions who offered excellent assistance to me over the years. My deepest intellectual indebtedness must be to my supervisors, Bridget Fowler and David Frisby, who agreed to supervise me in the first place and maintained their friendly support during the periods when I couldn't work on the thesis. Their continued enthusiasm enabled me to return to the project with new energy and focus after a long interval. Other members of staff in the Department offered considerable support and I'd like to express gratitude here to Maureen McQuillan, and especially to Harvie Ferguson and family.

Without the patient support of Zoe Ferguson writing the thesis would have been impossible; it is Zoe to whom it is happily dedicated.

Popular images of Glasgow, 1901 and 2001. Urban representation as an architectural exhibition and work of art

Abstract

The sociological issue addressed in this thesis is the assessment of recent work carried out in relation to questions of architectural and urban transitions. Glasgow's City of Architecture and Design festival is used as a test case to illustrate and apply the emerging concerns with the role of architecture and design culture in managing and driving urban change. It confirms the current applicability of some distinct theoretical positions drawn from studies of a range of cities. It suggests sociologists ought to be paying more attention to Glasgow as it exemplifies some main tendencies identifying it as a vanguard culture city developing a three dimensional culture of urban space. Writing with a theoretical and empirical focus on the experience of the 'city of culture', the thesis works through principal themes to clarify the range of factors driving change in the city of Glasgow. I compare the city's international exhibitions and modern architectural character to illustrate how centralised and flamboyant architectures supported powerful urban discourses of the socially just city. From observations at festival sites, and a study of some exemplary new city architecture, I examine and evaluate the official aims, intentions and productions of the festival in relation to the ongoing transformations of urban experience in the central city. The thesis provides a sustained sociological portrait of the city's architectural and design culture and points to specific questions concerned with the nature of the recolonisation of the valorised central city.

Introduction

The title, *UK City of Architecture and Design 1999*, for which 25 cities competed, was the last award of the Arts Council's *Arts 2000* competitions that had included UK City of Opera, of Visual Arts and of Literature. Like these earlier awards, 1999 was conceived to be a showcase of British culture in the lead up to the millennium, to celebrate and widen access to specific examples of the UK cultural environment at a moment of transition. The recently intensified phenomenon of city competition has been widely noted, especially in relation to a broad range of cultural developments and in terms of business infrastructure. It has been explained as a result of structural changes in the advanced economies, the transition to semi-autonomy in city economic development, and other associated factors such as requirements to support tourism and provide suitably interesting events and environments for tourists to gaze upon. The Glasgow City of Architecture and Design 1999 festival (hereafter 'G99' — using the convenient abbreviation for the festival as a whole and its executive management) was viewed as an opportunity to stimulate business interest in the city, and as a city-wide event to contest aspects of the changing city's social fragmentation in a festival of self-celebration. In grander terms, the design festival events seemed simultaneously to signify methods of assimilating the eviscerated world of placeless flows while managing a correspondingly disturbed sense of place rooted in a celebrated urban heritage and its historical associations. In relation to this, Zukin (1991: 54) argues that the contemporary urban landscape

> gives both material and symbolic form to the opposition between market and place. The market's constant pressure to reproduce variety contradicts the constant pressure on place to reproduce stability.

The festival's management and presentation of these conflicting forces in the context of the city's culture city identity constitutes the key context for my analysis. The research on various realms of social and cultural change in the post-industrial city offers a rich literature through which to approach a study of such an event in

Glasgow. Themes such as the management of place sense, official and personal approaches to aestheticization (variously understood), related aspects of the 'social inclusion' imperatives pivotal in urban regeneration discourse, and of the role of architectural design promotion, education and celebration in this inclusion form the grounding substantive issues of the thesis. I examine the historical and cultural context of G99, especially its representation as one more element in the unfolding identity of the city as fundamentally renewed. The socially inclusive claims inherent in the G99 programme are examined in relation to the discursive construction of the city as a work of art, of its real and imaginary transformation at the centre into an entertainment and consumption space, and more and more, a site of residential architectural spectacle and exclusivity in penthouse enclaves and urban quarters of architectural distinction. Deconstructing the G99 festival through key questions of urban transformation and architecture culture, the thesis relates the explicitly stated aims of confronting social and community fragmentation through inclusion in design culture, and of architectural appreciation and knowledge, to some wider theoretical discussions of social change, of new sources of solidarity in a radically individualised modernity, and of the centrality of consumption in modern life.

A central, if not unique, influence shaping Glasgow's place identity is its reiterated representation in a broad range of media as a city of ongoing cultural renewal after the decline and closure of its traditional industries. By now a familiar narrative, the city was one of the first in the UK to radically reshape itself through policies articulated within a cultural regeneration strategy, Glasgow's city managers quickly learned the lessons of the new situation for peripheral cities in a global network of world cities: the need to achieve the new regional urban standards for inward investment. The implications of failure in this endeavour were and are presented as being left behind in a rapidly accelerating world with all the implications of further economic and social decline. I discuss the policy and urban design manifestations resulting from this general perspective in a later chapter, what is important here are the widely acknowledged pressures to reshape and re-image cities to be successful in attracting inward investment. Alongside key economic and infrastructural developments and upgrades, the city was to be made more pleasant to visit, more attractive to the key employees of mobile firms, and a more profitable location. It

was assertively argued that this strategy would provide a sustainable future for the city. An important aspect of this history is, therefore, the powerfully insistent valorisation of cultural transformation. In this context, the greater access to the full realm of the cultural (here meaning art, shared identity and mundane material culture) through contemporary media must both add to and be affected by the transformations in the image and fabric of the city of Glasgow. At the same time, local agencies, following government policy in their funding considerations, have pursued socially inclusive outcomes from the provision of 'access' to consumption practices in a period of the 'generalisation of once exclusive stocks of cultural knowledge' (Berking 1996: 191, cf. Collins 2002).[1] This requires policies and practices directed at 'levelling-up'; enabling/requiring deprived groups to become more creative consumers through enabling a more discerning desire. A fuller appreciation and awareness of the pleasures of material culture (alongside an array of other inclusive policies, the argument runs) feeds into the making and sustaining of stronger communities. This was the explicit social argument of the G99 bid for Glasgow and was manifested in the festival itself to a considerable degree. A main question, then, concerns wider ramifications of such policies and practices that cultivate an image of enhanced social cohesion through modes of participation in the world of design.

Influential sociological perspectives on modern life (Featherstone 1991, Willis 1990, Giddens 1991, Berking 1996) claim individual consumption practices (primarily those of the expanding new middle classes) are increasingly autonomous, creative and accomplished. This individualisation and reflexivity of social life contributes to processes of dedifferentiation, aestheticization and the disruption of industrial modes of social life and its structures. This raises questions about the ethos behind notions of social inclusion through design education. Such education was intended to instruct a *particular* mode of aesthetic appreciation; one intended to construct an (architectural) image of cultural unity. Clearly, such a hypothesised unity could be presented as a substantive challenge to social divisions manifested in different and

---

[1] The devolved Scottish government recently promoted cultural activity and the arts as integral to their thinking in all policy areas. This asserts that culture in Scotland and the UK is, to a degree, integral to the development of the contemporary progressive state (see Hamilton & Scullion 2002) and is clearly a wide-ranging attempt to instrumentalise cultural production and reception.

unequal personal *cultural* capacities in an era of greatly increased material inequalities between the richest and the poorest. Importantly, this need for integration and inclusion, is argued to be partially the result of fragmented and individuated consumption. This is particularly relevant in relation to particularly disruptive global tendencies of social and cultural change. As I will illustrate, in the fragmented social networks of contemporary cities consumption is understood as a key foundation of new modes of sociation thus apparently confirming the agenda of G99. The thesis therefore evaluates the festival's contribution to the reintegration of a local world through the visually intensified consumption of the city and seductive examples of design. It maps out the social context of an architecture and design festival in Glasgow through reference to some key theoretical and substantive themes. An initial section establishes some broad social and cultural developments in the city over the last three decades, points to the large scale policy response to these, then outlines some main features of the festival's core social intentions in cultural policy. I then introduce the main interpretative sources I use to investigate and evaluate the varied social issues in relation to the festival and its role in contributing to and shaping the image and sense of a regenerated city. In outlining distinct themes in sociological and architectural studies, I aim to establish grounds for connecting these to my particular illustration of the festival's cultural and social ambitions, to think through the relationship between recent theoretical issues and such a high profile celebration of architecture and design. I begin with an attempt to organise and establish the connections between a particular set of concerns and disputes within (broadly) urban and architectural studies which are rarely brought into close relation, thus setting the ground for later chapters' thicker descriptions and analysis of the 1999 festival in spatial and historical context.

1

The Architecture and Design Festival in Context

> The city as didactic instrument. It is not then a question as to whether it should be so. It is rather a matter that it cannot be otherwise. And, this being so, it is therefore a question of the nature of the instructive information which is deliverable, of approximately how a desirable discourse is to be formulated, of what criteria are to determine the city's ethical content. (Rowe & Koetter 1978: 121)

Introduction

Those in a position to travel today have unprecedented access to the urban displays of postindustrial Europe. The degree to which certain elements of the cityscape of almost all cities, and often medium and small towns, have been subjected to programmes of upgrading, general polishing, and rediscovery of local vernacular attractions is striking. The city as the site of a massive reorganisation of consumption and the main visual context for the imagery of the burgeoning advertising industry, with particular architectures as exemplars, has come to frame the mainstream canon of desire as in no earlier time. Cities are more often tourist destinations and are represented as magical places of escape and aesthetic discovery. The 'urban' is the new thrill-space, bracketed with youthful adventure, bohemianism and speed, with design-mediated lifestyle choices, cultural hybridity and social marginality. Much of the work in this area has taken as its context the international economic factors driving these transformations. I will outline, in brief, the basic elements of this analysis. Alongside this global analysis are studies examining the local contexts in which these wider pressures take form. In setting the scene for this thesis, I emphasise studies that focus on the local strategies of cities responding to the trends of postindustrial urban regeneration; how these may impact on the experience of the city. The dual experience of amusement and entertainment is complemented by one of an emerging uniformity in the developing architectural character of Europe's regenerated cities (Castells 1996).

Studies emphasise the environmental forms which are generated in response to local demands (and external pressures) for modernisation and improved amenity in urban centres. Some of the early interpretations in this field emphasised the way governments of the New Right privatised the planning process, a major example being the neo-liberalised financial power deployed by the London Docklands Development Corporation. Here, the 'regeneration' of places of work and home was subject to forms of marketised modernisation that 'spew[ed] out varieties of architectural postmodernism and hi-tech in paroxysms of construction' (Bird 1993: 124). From the same collection of essays, Crilley identified a generalised mode of promotion and reception in representations of new architectural landscapes:

> [I]n the redeveloped city, architecture's mode of reception resembles that of advertising insofar as 'the public' are interpellated as spectators at a series of triumphant architectural displays. The modernist emphasis on the spatial experience of architecture and optimistic faith that architecture could be an effective instrument of social change, meeting the pressing needs of a reductive, physiologically-defined model of humanity, stands renounced and replaced by a deification of the two-dimensional, visual apprehension of the city (Crilley 1993a: 237).

The forms of regeneration outwith global business centres such as London, New York and Paris would develop in a closer relation to particular local conditions. For example, Julier (2000) outlines Barcelona's changes from a manufacturing and port town at the end of the Franco era to a peerless destination of regional tourism in only the eight years prior to the 1992 Olympics. In key media, especially television, aspirations to a democratic modernity in Catalonia were framed within northern European design standards and presented as the new 'normality'. Consumption of 'design' in Barcelona began to occur outwith the markets of the professional elite in the early 80s and the city became widely known for its emphasis on style both in public and domestic space (Narotzky 2000). Transitions such as these influenced Glasgow council officers in the various departments with a role in economic planning and quickly adopted for the city's own plan of postindustrial regeneration which would concentrate on 'reinventing' or 're-imaging' Glasgow as a city (by the late 1990s) of almost permanent, centrally administered and supported 'festival'. At the time of the final draft of this thesis (2004) there were 13 official summer festivals supported and to an extent organised by the city council's cultural events

department, including a new annual architecture festival beginning in 2004.[1] The jarring image of a 'permanent festival' indicates their festive nature should be open to question as a source of the remaking of collective identity through participation in a dramatic moment of life. The city's economic future is now premised on tourism. to a significant degree, and primarily as a 'cultural' destination identity. In this new reality, festivity is required to be susceptible to a cultural 'programme'. This is not to deny the popular, and active, participation in the local festivals that took off in the nineties (main examples being the West End, and smaller Merchant City, festivals), but they tend, as they grow, to be mainly opportunities to book travelling bands, theatrical groups and comedians. The main practice at the festivals is spectatorship, they tend to become spectacles, routinely administered events of *non-participation* managed by cultural workers.

The cultural strategy was implemented during the 1980s and 1990s and contested during the period around the City of Culture year (1990) by the emergence of a significant minority discursive refusal. The Workers City group of trade unionists, socialist and communist activists, writers and artists challenged the cultural politics of the response to de-industrialisation, viewing it as founded in a misrepresentation of the city's ordinary culture.[2] Publicly reported 'affairs' related to questions of city identity and history revealed, at one level, the significant sense for many of a distortion of the city's 'real' identity in aspects of its cultural policy, especially as a result of key staff appointments and the developing agenda of tourism and new spaces of consumption. Glasgow's centralised transformations, its new reputation as a shopping destination, as a centre of 'new' entrepreneurial design cultures and the marginalisation of the forms of valorised vernacular culture from which this critique

---

[1] A Tourist Board description of the city at www.seeglasgow.com runs as follows: 'Glasgow is an architectural dream: Victorian red and honey sandstone, Italianate steeples and medieval spires sit harmoniously with neo-gothic towers, the sensuous Art Nouveau of Mackintosh and the titanium, glass and steel of the contemporary city. No matter when you arrive you'll find live performances, festivals and entertainments fifty-two weeks of the year'.

[2] The conflicting responses to this emphasis on high culture and consumption within an increasingly differentiated local counter culture included the 'Free University of Glasgow' January 1990 two-day event, 'Self Determination and Power' (which drew 300 to hear Noam Chomsky and James Kelman) and the street-level and gallery-based Festivals of Plagiarism and Non-Participation.

sprang contributed to its decline though it has continued to inflect the few critical discourses on the city's development.

As I discuss more fully in the next chapter, a main theme within recent work on urban cultural upgrading has been the promotion of the built environment in cities where public bodies, institutions, or firms (in earlier periods of industrial or merchant success) had commissioned major buildings in key districts stressing 'respectability' (Macdonald 1989), so financing the emergence of densely designed cityscapes. Following a global pattern, such revalued cityscapes were put in the service of city re-imaging as repositories of culturally and economically significant architectural inheritance; especially important as the properly symbolically-dense locations for the new service industries. The particular strategy adopted in Glasgow has been to protect and promote the value of the city fabric with the aim of attracting a new class of professional resident into city life on the back of a decade of cultural events and an increasingly sedimented city identity as an exciting place to live. At no time was this element of the broader strategy of a regenerated Glasgow economy more explicit than in the programming for the G99. I describe the cultural strategies of the city in relation to the specifics of the G99 programme in a later chapter, I now turn to a brief outline another key perspectives on the cultural city as a resource for regeneration.

Fainstein and Gladstone (1998: 119) point to the key experience and expectations of urban tourism arguing that

> the tourist 'attraction' must convey something special to serve its economic purpose of drawing people to it. Thus when spaces function to nurture the fantasies of tourists, their structures diverge from that of locations which just serve the needs of nearby residents. The construction of place in accordance with the tourist hopes requires a manipulation of social and geographic relations by suppliers.

Such observations focus on the sense in which the cultural city can be understood as a product for the gaze — one of whose potentially desirable consumers is the tourist. Increasingly urban-designed to please and to inform tourists, it is the fate of many of those moving through the city's main areas of spatial transformation, who may never actually enter into their interiors, or sense their purpose as an enclosure for internationalised business exchange, to become tourists of the everyday 'enriched'

experiences of the city. For one key theorist, tourism has become a modern social practice 'more powerful and important than any other institutional force ... the only unifying grounds for modern culture and consciousness' (MacCannell 1998: 353). For this author, though the 'pseudo-event' and routinised experiences of 'staged authenticity' have been widely instituted in response to the intrusiveness and predictability of tourism, it still offers authentic 'non-substitutable experience where there is an unbreakable prismatic moment in one's life, linking a specific attraction to the feelings and meanings that can only be refracted in 'that' moment in 'that' place through 'that' consciousness' (355). Urry (1990, 2002) disputes MacCannell's depiction of a universal pilgrimage to the modern sacred, identifying more fluid practices and desires in the segmented and multiple attitudes involved in tourism such as a search for playful and ironic experiences within a generally 'universalised' tourist gaze in novel conditions of social and spatial mobility. Urry's (1995: 172) attention to changes in European mobility patterns, the flows and 'massive patterns of short term mobility' and their 'tremendous effects upon the places visited' are significant in explaining evident reinterpretations of local culture. Thus, the more frequent and reflexive tourist experiences of 'aesthetic cosmopolitans' in Barcelona and Amsterdam, for example, drives the provision and consumption of a new design economy in Glasgow. The city's residents now expect Glasgow to be toured, its architecture visually consumed by a gaze they are familiar with, they expect their city to be made ever more physically seductive. In this situation, the G99 festival sought to promote the authenticity of the built environment; a tourist experience without leaving the city. This is a situation connected with the phenomenon of globalization. For Waters (2001), globalization theory identifies the 'deterritorialisation of social life'. One main cultural impact is the 'postmodernising declassification of tourist and non-tourist areas' and the accompanying 'declassification of cultures':

> [T]here is no non-tourisic space from which one can escape. One can no more escape the tourist gaze by living in Glasgow ... than by living in Orlando or Cannes or Florence, perhaps less so because in the former one is part of the object of attention while in the latter one is merely incidental to the main event (Waters 2001: 206-207).

Deep-seated changes across the social and symbolic landscape (in Zukin's sense of the word as 'the contentious, compromised product of society') are widely agreed to

produce new urban experiences and forms of sociation. In employment trends, for example, rising numbers of white collar employees working and living in the central districts of the city, in the shared spaces of work and leisure including a rapidly expanded licensed trade catering for a client group who require standards of service which matches their own self-image. In demographic changes such as more single person households, later marriage, more common divorce, and in the rising social density and visual miscellany resulting from new policies enforcing building on 'brown field' sites using sustainable techniques requiring the use of non-traditional materials. In all this, environmental imperatives to resist urban sprawl complement the need to rebuild the city tax base reduced by suburbanisation, boundary changes and emigration.[3] Much of the work in relation to these questions remains at a dryly empirical, comparative and predictive level which is not the tone of this thesis. However, some research on these trends draws out more general conclusions and identifies the interconnections between economy, society and the form of the built environment. This has produced a body of work that is directly relevant to the unfolding transformations in Glasgow, and it is to this material that I will now turn.

The spatialising practices of visual artists was the key transatlantic phenomenon. Their colonisation and occupation of small scale industrial neighbourhoods (SoHo in Lower Manhattan, New York and London's East End) imbued newly established residential areas with an atmosphere of adventure, vitality and independence. The fashionability of loft living among higher earning professionals raised demand and rents in the loft market eventually creating a rolling gentrification effect in which previously working class districts were changed into zones catering for a new urban lifestyle-oriented service class. The gentrification and loft living theme has since entered into a common language of urban change; a process now broadly understood as a 'natural' and manageable driver of current social transformations in lifestyles and demographic patterns. This naturalisation takes the form of distinct city quarters becoming perceived as places of both living and working with new intensity, of 'supporting' spaces of consumption and associated tourist crowds. As Zukin (1990: 41) observed,

---

[3] The city's population continues to decline by an average of a thousand people per annum. From its highest level in 1938 at over 1,127,000, population has declined to the 2001 figure of 578,710. Glasgow lost 125,130 between 1982 and 2000 (Scottish Executive figures 2002).

> we note that goods and services that cater to gentrifier's consumption needs … displace existing, lower income residents as surely as higher rents. Shopping thus joins with architectural restoration to create a coherent space of consumption. The more coherent the ensemble, the more gentrification assumes a significant political thrust. This consumption space legitimises the appropriation of the central city by upper-middle-class users.

While O'Connor & Wynne (1997) note the limitations of its analytical application in the central Manchester context (a professionalised gentrification scene based in the networking of a commercialised, 'design' culture, rather than a small gallery and high art attractor) Zukin's well-known themes now inform city planning strategies and the semiotics of property marketing making its relevance to this work clear. An analysis of the property pages of Glasgow's newspapers reveals the unprecedented extent of 'loft' development in the city, mainly in office buildings rather than the light industrial premises identified in both Zukin (1982), Hudson (1987) and Smith (1996). In contrast to the 'pioneering spirit' myth linked to individual coloniser's practices by these authors, the Glasgow loft living 'experience' is almost entirely provided by speculative housebuilders acting increasingly rapidly (regenerating their properties' profitability) in what was, until the late 1990s, a slowly expanding market for apartments in the city centre.[4] Glasgow's residential phenomenon is, in this respect, a return to the centre managed like the latter period of professionalised and routinised New York loft living — as a packaged lifestyle option.

Importantly, because 'unsuitable' social elements (from the point of view of property developers) have long been relocated to the city's peripheral estates, and with no tradition of squatting or 'red neighbourhoods' in Glasgow, this gentrification has not required encroachments into contested spaces with the ensuing 'frontier' clashes described in Smith (1996). Mooney (1999) describes the social construction of these peripheral areas (planned, built and managed by an often paternalistic state) as 'places of disorder'. Built to house populations displaced during the development of

---

[4] In the context of overall population decline, there was a rise of 4.1% in the Central Area (from 11600 to 12074, in 400 more dwellings) between 1991 and 2000; an additional 207 being listed by March 2002 (Glasgow City Council). Conversions and new builds, including the 1930's art deco *Express* building in the Merchant City, will add approximately another 400 homes by 2005. 1700 new homes have been built along the Clyde since 2000 (Glasgow City Council 2004). The wider context is that, together, Scottish public authorities have built below 100 dwellings per annum since 1999 (*Housing Trends in Scotland* 2003).

the urban high-speed motorway system and area redevelopment, they were, he argues,

> product of attempts to de-intensify urban life and to impose a new sense of urbanity in different settings ... The result of urban differentiation and segregation, they have contributed to new forms of urban spatial difference, standing in sharp contrast to the locales of the affluent and middle classes (Mooney 1999: 80).

This social and spatial process of urban differentiation can only be exacerbated by the now constant emphasis upon the image of the city centre over the last two decades. In this sense, the new emphasis on the centre reflects a move from a centrifugal to a centripetal development of the city. The emphasis upon social exclusivity, architectural quality, on distinction and artistic associations in the new and redeveloped apartments (which I illustrate in a later chapter), in conjunction with the remarkable architectures of commerce and entertainment appearing in the city, create a situation where the urban centre is now highlighted as the locus of the city's symbolic future. A study of the same process of change in Lancaster by Bagulley et al (1990) produced the useful theme of the 'restructuring of population':

> A fundamental consequence of the kinds of shifts that we have been describing is literally to change the inhabitants of the locality. This is partly through in- and out-migration in response to labour market changes, and partly through transforming the conditions and experiences of those who live there (156).

This restructuring is the result of the influx and new hegemony of the consumerist section of the service class in a deeply restructured local economy. A general process of restructuring is an ongoing aspect of modernity, the theme here is a radically accelerated one linked to industrial transformation and the multidimensional changes and consequences of a relatively rapid move to a post-Fordist economy.

To return to the earlier point, inherent in this process of gentrification are associated outcomes of social exclusion as marginalised groups are left without the key skills essential for participation in a 'knowledge economy'. This severe disparity in formal knowledge and skills, an element in the 'dual city' thesis of 'separate development', is a result of the enormous inflation of skills in symbolic manipulation over the last twenty years. Castells (1996: 404) notes how the new economy's global flows of information commodities disrupt cohesion at the local level where the 'dual city'

becomes simultaneously 'globally connected and locally disconnected'. This perspective has emerged in a period when predominant trends in urban theorising during the 1990s developed within the influence of social constructivism, the decline of attempts to develop theories of specifically 'urban' socio-economic *systems*, and the rise of multidisciplinary co-operation and interdisciplinary approaches (Nylund 2001, Savage, Warde & Ward 2003). In relation to issues of culture and place, the restoration of city centres and edge cities has led to Koolhaas's description of the proliferation of the 'generic city'. In this argument, a homogenisation of form takes place simultaneously with the segregation of city populations. Burgers' depiction of prevalent patterns in spatial management of 'urban landscapes' is relevant here. He depicts the way elite consumers' desire for the symbolic power of the urban fabric cuts across ownership of dwelling space and the sense of being 'in place' in the urban realm. This influential desire is related to the development of 'erected space' (financial areas where planning relaxation is sought for building higher and more elaborately), an 'architectonic and urban development multiplier effect' where the trend to commission designs for impact in the new branded world of office building density pushes architectural statements to higher levels and more immediately distinctive outlines. Such development has an affinity with the background requirements of 'displayed space', the leisure places of design distinction and exclusivity occupied by 'urban employees who frequently experience gradual transitions from their work to leisure time' (Burgers 2000: 149)[5] . High incomes and 'time poverty' contributes to a competitive market in designer bars and restaurants where individuals can display their lifestyle, class identity and shared cultural capital in suitable surroundings. He argues this social pressure

> has led to the virtually unlimited availability of limited editions. One result of this is the sharp rise at the local urban level in the heterogeneity of multifarious products, but this increased heterogeneity often manifests itself in cities in much the same way. Cities have become more homogeneous in the heterogeneity of consumer merchandise (149-150).

---

[5] Scott (2000: 17) refers to this in similar terms: '[I]n contrast to the classical industrial metropolis, the functions of leisure and work seem to be converging to some sort of (historically-specific) social equilibrium.'

In relation to this 'blandscape' of exclusive distinction and glamour, it cannot be argued that an emphasis on 'appreciating' architectural form, in contrast to the more complex expenditures and practices involved in *attending* sacralised cultural performance in socially elevated spaces, is equally directly excluding. It is this aspect of cultural policy, an *equal access* to the riches of the cityscape that has a deeper problematic. The built form of the city is a 'free' show, without the mediation of the ticket office, the correct clothes and prescribed sense of the game of cultural practice. Thus, the overwhelming emphasis of G99 was the promotion of a wider appreciation of the city's riches whereas it cannot be assumed this in itself is an unambiguously rewarding practice. G99 operated within an overall social context of high (architectural) culture with varying elements which made the year's programme span from the popular and national, such as an exhibition of the competition entries for the new Scottish Parliament, locally presented fashion shows or aspects of food design and gallery-based exhibitions of the work of Modernist canonical figures such as Mies van der Rohe, Alvar Aalto and Frank Lloyd Wright. One aspect of the year was precisely an acknowledgement by those organising the bid of the abstruse discourses and elite social groupings constitutive of the design field and the assertion that these would be inherently and significantly challenged by the festival. Thus, although the key element for many of the city authorities was the tourist and image upgrade which came with the award of the status in 1999, the year would also be represented as an opportunity to empower Glaswegians to both better understand the *central* city resemanticised as a 'masterpiece' and to participate in the ongoing architectural development. This was intended to enhance 'cultural inclusion' in a period when a rising and diffuse demand for quality built environments had resulted in improved design imagination in architectural and landscaping interventions. Established social and communicative barriers between the varied construction and design professions and the public, it was argued, reinforced after the social housing failures of the sixties, were diminishing as the profession worked harder to respond to the interests of 'user groups'. The festival presented vaguely ambitious intentions, some of the aspirations to which I've referred were used to win the festival status and only infrequently, if ever, directly encountered again, whereas the emphasis on the city's architecture as a direct source of social cohesion recurred throughout at different levels of the ongoing management of the event. The real levels of inequality

and poverty in the city disappeared within the attention paid to social exclusion, which received no discrete programmed attention. A significant and growing aspect of the everyday experience of the city was hushed up as an embarrassment; without minimal direct confrontation it became clear the issue was considered too disordered to be included in a festival of design. In light of these factors, and the earlier disputes in the city over cultural festivals, there is a clear justification for a sustained study of the G99.

Bourdieu and Architecture: Form, Habitus and Power

The G99 programme promoted a key aspiration to work on the perceptions and appreciations of Glaswegians in terms of their own city — to facilitate a change in the dispositions of individuals in relation to the aesthetics of the cityscape. It was proposed in very clear terms as an opportunity to widely distribute what was generally constructed as the enriching experience of architectural appreciation. Those who were deprived, or simply unaware, of these experiences would be given the opportunity of participation in the year's events. The architecture of the city was to be a source of social unification and it is this point that can be considered in relation to Bourdieu's work. An initial analysis of this policy using certain of Bourdieu's categories as evaluative criteria begins an interrogation of the festival's promotion of architectural appreciation. In *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) Bourdieu developed an analysis of the art world based upon an innovative approach to understanding its production within a universe of structures particular to the field. Kant's universal operation of aesthetic judgement is rejected by Bourdieu for whom the reality of differentiated participation in the manifold practices of cultural production and consumption is rooted in social reproduction within institutions such as the family, school and elite universities. Families in the higher levels of the professional classes gift their members the cultural inheritance enabling confident presence and an embodied sense of the game within the elite social spaces of the art world. In the arts field, cultural capital is the embodied form of knowledge, the 'unacquired merit' (Bourdieu & Darbel 1991: 111) essential to the development of the 'empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in' (Johnson 1993: 7) the skills of deciphering encoded art works and particular social spaces and situations. His practical response to this analysis of the 'consecration of the social order', one

often interpreted as indicative of a systematic hostility emerging from within a deterministic social theory, is to argue for a work to '*universalize in reality* the conditions of access to what the present offers us that is most universal' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 84-85, original emphasis).[6] The vulgar critique of the art world's broad reliance on the promotion of 'aesthetic belief' uses social scientific 'weapons' to reveal and promote an 'artistic experience shorn of ritualism and exhibitionism' (ibid.: 87). Bourdieu's co-authored study *The Love of Art* [1969] indicates policies directed at popularising and democratising access to 'culture' can simultaneously profit the privileged classes most and perpetuate existing class monopolies if not pursued through necessarily radical policies of universalising conditions of access (ibid.: 88, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991: 88).[7] The work of art, in this argument, or, in the present case, the city in exhibition and the exhibitions in the city presented as the work of art, cannot independently and in isolation 'awaken the grace of aesthetic inspiration in all people' (ibid.: 112). G99 identified a socially disabling insensitivity: the lack in many city residents of an unspecified but proper, or at least better, understanding of Glasgow's architecture. It set out to provide access to aesthetic experience of the city which cut across the 'social conditions of cultural practice'.

To summarise, the public aims of G99 included widened participation in knowledge, imagery and material productions of a particular section of the cultural field thus raising cultural capitals related to design and changing the prevailing form of the field. To the extent that such aims were realistically pursued, G99 can be understood, in its social programme, as an attempt to redistribute symbolic power and thus contribute to improving the quality of life for some through a more enabled participation in design decisions. Indeed, the levels of participation which such policy statements depict are reflected in such slogans as 'you're the experts in urban

---

[6] For Rigby (1991) the existence of dominant cultural goods, could no longer, by the early seventies, be automatically related to a sense of inferiority in the 'culturally dispossessed' in France. Bourdieu (and Malraux) missed both the declining social importance of the century's politicised and militant viewpoints on both high culture and the rising popularity of mass entertainment affirmed in, for example, de Certeau's *La Culture au Pluriel* [1974] which theorised 'ordinary people's culture' as the creative product of active agents; one constituting 'a plenitude of experience within existing capitalist society' (1991: 124, 33-34).
[7] They note (1991: 89-90) a Lille exhibition of 'everyday' Danish interiors and applied arts, expected to attract a more socially diverse public due to the low nature of the subject, actually drew a higher than usual number and proportion of educationally, and so in Bourdieu's terms, cultivated, visitors.

design now' that the Commission on the Built Environment in England (CABE) directs to public housing 'user groups', and that events such as G99 and, more broadly, the UK's new architecture centres, promote in their varied advocacy of the of common 'ownership' of cities.[8]

In *Distinction* (1984) Bourdieu analysed the differentiated consumption of art and culture in terms of a predisposition, 'consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences' (1984: 6-7) contributing in this way to the process of social reproduction. I suggest that this is applicable not only to the consumption of the work of art, but also in some degree to cultural objects powerfully and consistently *presented* as works of art, namely the distinctively represented architecture of the city of Glasgow. My approach, then, is to deploy some of his main categories and arguments on the centrality of culture in modern life, of the autonomous field of cultural production and its erosion, in relation to the popular justifications used by G99 in its powerful representation of the architecture of the city. This is done at this stage to establish a grounding for initial interpretations of those explicit social intentions I have outlined.

Bourdieu provides a theory of cultural change that may be utilised in connection with the wider changes in Glasgow, especially in relation to the promotion of the city as a centre of design culture, the most important sector of consumption in contemporary capitalism. Gartman's (2002) analysis of change in the production and consumption of cultural goods develops Bourdieu's (1984) picture of social change as driven by a dynamics of class imitation. The cultural change he describes, however, (cultural pluralisation) does not delegitimate class stratification theories as,

> the new leveled, and pluralised culture continues to legitimate class inequalities but in a different way to Bourdieu's model of class cultures. Instead of clearly marking out class differences and asserting the superiority of some over others, the new pluralised culture legitimates class inequalities by hiding them behind a superficial equality of consumption (266).

---

[8] The cross-disciplinary architecture group, FAT, dispute such concerns with the 'nature of occupation'. They argue institutionalised democratisation agendas within architecture originated in guilty repudiations of 'difficult paradoxes and unpalatable truths'. The centrality of the high culture tag on architecture (its status as an art) in this argument, affirms values of complexity and difficulty in design and challenges simplistic notions of inclusion (cf. 'Contaminating Contemplation' in J. Hill (ed.).

This correlation of superficial equality and widened access to consumption raises issues for the agenda of pluralisation under review as the G99, as indicated, presented powerful claims for the value of Glasgow's architecture and its design industries as an agency of social inclusion. Concentrating on the subtext of the event, architecture was presented as an existing public resource promoting a shared public culture, but one which frames a city of increasingly unequal consumption of symbolic goods, an inequality widening the existing cultural and social divide in the city. In terms drawn from work defining social exclusion, projects aimed at widening the capacity for participation in architectural appreciation interrupt 'aesthetic exclusion' and indirectly affect the more urgent experiences 'of being shut out, fully or partially from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society' (Walker & Walker 1997: 8).

Bourdieu comments indirectly on such cultural policy perspectives within his theory of cultural domination suggesting policies designed to counter inequalities in access take shape in a limited social space where only two options are available:

> In the realm of culture, historically and broadly speaking, this translates into an alternative between, on the one hand, the celebration or canonisation of 'popular culture,' whose hyperbolic limit is the *Proletkult* that entraps the working class into its historical being and, on the other, what I call 'populi-culture,' that is, policies of cultural upgrading aimed at providing the dominated with access to dominant cultural goods or, at least, to a degraded version of this culture (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 82).

Could G99, a celebration of architecture and design, not of autonomous pictorial art or literature, be understood to offer a 'degraded version' of the dominant architectural culture? The manner in which the architecture of the city was represented becomes important here. The city was explicitly presented as a work of art with individual buildings as art objects and their designers as artists of genius. The proper mode of assimilation was conveyed as an attention to and appreciation of their individual value within the city as a collection and exhibition of architectural art works. Indeed, G99 presented architecture as primarily artistic practice, thereby authorising the 'profession's traditional ideology of charismatic authorship' (Larson 1993: 165). This requires an explanation as conflicting understandings on the value

of, and real limitations upon, the autonomy of architects received far less attention during G99. In relation to Bourdieu's theme of cultural domination, the year's exhibition programmes presented a somewhat distorted situation of architecture in asserting the values both of the restricted field, and of the luxurious pole of the mass production field, of architectural production. Moreover, it did this in a situation where most architecture in the city is produced in relation to the external imperatives of the expanded field of generic production most directly affected by the 'the heteronomous logic of the marketplace'. Interestingly, Lipstadt's (2003) study of architectural competitions uses Bourdieu's categories to identify a significant degree of temporary autonomy as central to the collective drives of the entrants. In the context of a long-standing dispute within the profession over its autonomy, competitions reveal shared interests in establishing the 'artistic element' of professional identity, the *doxa* so central to architects of the restricted field. This produces a 'field effect' similar to that of the relations of 'autonomous' cultural production where the format and *illusio* (belief in the game, investment in its outcomes) of the competitions allow the consecration of winning designs as artworks and distributes individual and collective symbolic profits throughout the 'art profession' of architecture. This depiction of architectural competitions, which have a 'historical and functional association with publication and exhibitions' (Lipstadt 2003: 409) informs my analysis of the architectural exhibitions of the G99. Here, in place of a design competition, the *doxa* and *illusio* was nevertheless similarly presented or promoted through the nature of many of the G99 events. Architecture, as in the case of G99, and perhaps generally in design exhibitions, is promoted as an artistic practice. The built environment is 'published', more and more, as an aesthetic realm created from disinterested considerations which deny the interests of economic power in 'framing places' (Dovey 1999). And this is the case even as such exhibitions contribute directly, and are celebrated in the press locally as, culturally reframing Glasgow's economy.

Another dimension of this formal and ordered presentation of architecture is related to its significant effect upon the subject's conception of the environment. For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 51) institutional exhibition spaces and events mediate common spatial experiences into 'heritage' and 'render the quotidian spectacular':

> Like the picturesque in which paintings set the standard for experience, museum exhibitions transform how people look at their own immediate environs. The museum effect works both ways. Not only do ordinary things become special when placed in museum settings, but the museum experience itself becomes a model for experiencing life outside its walls.

This initial outline of the representation of the built environment as autonomously created, of its origins in disinterested creative activity, and of the considerable power of the gallery and museum to reframe perception, indicates the degree of influence G99 had in constructing a new Glasgow imaginary.

Bourdieu's theoretical work has recently been applied within analyses of the consecration of contemporary urban built environments and architectural practices. For example, Dovey (1999, 2002) points to an inherent complicity in processes of symbolic domination resulting from the routine and unquestioning architectural emphasis on form. Bourdieu's analysis of cultural domination is deployed within the power relations of recent architectural practice and discourse. In developing his usage of 'habitus', he argues it 'combines the sense of *habit* and that of *habitat*, the sense of 'place' and one's 'place' in a social hierarchy. It is 'a way of knowing the world … It is at once a di-vision of the world and a vision of the world' (citing Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice*). He adds,

> The connections of habitus to architecture lie in the connection of habitus to habitat; the ways in which space frames social practice. For Bourdieu space is at once both physical and social: 'Social space tends to be translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space'. (quoting Bourdieu's *Pascalian Meditations*)

Symbolic domination 'involves the power to establish the legitimacy of a particular symbolic order within a given field' which leads to aesthetic taste in some being misrecognised, first, as universally legitimate criteria and, second, an inner quality of the individual rather than a function of the discursive field. The social generation of this symbolic capital is denied and thus naturalised:

> Unlike social capital, of which more or less may be produced, symbolic capital is a fixed resource, a zero/sum game. There is only so much distinction and prestige to be distributed. If everyone gets 'good' architecture, no one wins the symbolic capital (272).

He outlines the theory of distinction and social power via symbolic profits but then suggests Bourdieu's logic is too restrictive, and that 'aesthetic producers such as architects seem inextricably enmeshed in practices of symbolic domination'. He thus asserts a relative autonomy of the *avant garde,* where its shock value is not entirely appropriated as symbolic capital. His argument derives from Deleuze and Guattari and de Certeau's attention to resistant forms of life where 'the residual effect of opening cracks and breaches in the symbolic order … [allows] opportunities for new forms of practice'.

This approach to power proposes 'a methodological framework for analysing power as mediated by spatial programs'; one that identifies architecture as a form of power structure. It argues architectural practice must emphasise its complicity in establishing social order and thus develop a 'noisy complicity' which articulates this unavoidable presence of power while rejecting the *ideology* of routine professional autonomy:

> Like the frame of a painting or the binding of a book, architecture is mostly cast as necessary yet neutral to the life within. This relegation of the built form to the unquestioned frame is its silent 'complicity'. The more that the structures and representations of social practice can be embedded in the framework of everyday life, the less questionable they become and the more effectively they work. This 'complicitous silence' of architecture is the source of its deepest power, in both the worst and the best senses of the term 'power' — oppression and empowerment; privilege and resistance (2002: 275).

This problematises the festival's objectives of improving the 'appreciation' of its own canon of symbolic value. The reinforcement and normalisation of this silent complicity as the forms of the regenerated and preserved city are consecrated as neutrally positive for social integration and personal identity, as 'collective cultural capital' (Harvey 2001). He suggests extending these observations to an analysis of the ongoing reshaping of the field including, 'discursive analysis of the primary circuits of symbolic capital within the field — architecture magazines and monographs — where the dominant architectural narratives are constructed and sustained' (Dovey 2002: 276). G99 organised the secondary dissemination of such primary circuits to the public, to exhibition-goers and latterly to the consumers and

aspirational readers of the ads for the city's new chic apartments. In chapter five I illustrate local examples of the use of such dominant architectural narratives and identify G99's supporting role in making such narratives prevalent and normalised, thus smoothing the re-imaging of the city as a place of flawless design experience.

Architecture is often restricted to the production of an imagery with the programme (the layout of usable space) being left in the hands of clients. The important result is that the 'illusion of "changing the world" is maintained through the production of ever-new imagery while the reproduction of social practice continues unchallenged' (Dovey 2002: 278). Glasgow's design-based renaissance is revealed in such an observation to be reliant on an imaginary dimension of change. Dovey's response is to argue that architecture, in terms of its essential tasks, as the most social of arts and the most aesthetic of professions,

> carries an obligation to imagine a future world; as a profession it carries an obligation to practice in the public interest .... A socially engaged architecture entails the deconstructive and reconstructive tasks of exposing and giving voice to real public interests; unpacking and restructuring the habitus. Such a programmatic deconstruction would entail a systematic engagement with the ways in which the lifeworld has been sliced, its functions categorised, coded, juxtaposed and omitted. (278)

Hills' (2002) study of post-industrial Manchester's 'intense gentrification' highlights the dramatic refunctioning of industrial architectures by new middle class consumption practices. The materiality and symbolism of Manchester's discrete industrial working class spaces is safely utilised to anxiously glamorise their social distance from the culturally conservative suburban middle classes, a process that results in the depoliticisation of a particular historic terrain. Here, the detailing of the Manchester scene is valuable, but she surely overemphasises the '*frisson*' enjoyed by the colonising new middle classes in the interstitial spaces of the industrial city such as the bars under the Deansgate Locks railway arches. It seems too easy to interpret any and all such presence in these places, once the site of 'working-class labour' as a 'flaunted exteriorization of a social fear' or a 'flirtation with Otherness' (2002: 112). What is more interesting in her paper is her observation that distinctive mill, warehouse and grand office architectures attracts this group's attention:

> the new urban middle classes — defined here by their *habitus* — choose to live in the warehouses thereby appropriating to their new residences the architectural language of the aristocratic palace (Hills:110).

Her point here is to invoke Bourdieu's (1991) category of symbolic power, the 'invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it' (237). Hills is drawing attention to the refunctioned role of eclectic and historicist architecture as a site for economic and cultural capital investments in symbolic power. There is an illustration here of similar ambitions that may have existed within the G99 festival; the ranking up of the symbolic power of the central city's landscape, its exercise of an invisible power of domination understood as a benign cultural democratisation.

Bourdieu's studies are highly relevant in a project such as this. Glasgow's cultural identity, and its more specific architectural presentation in the G99 drive to distribute aesthetic abilities and codes, can be critically assessed in terms of a substantial body of work on cultural democratisation, the dynamics and structures of the cultural field in relation to the field of power, most especially regarding the increasing representation of the city, and of specific leisure and residential architecture, as primarily aesthetic objects.

A main undertaking of the thesis is the analysis of the festival in relation to some prevailing issues in architectural thought. This involves relating key categories established within social studies of architectural and urban design to substantive changes in Glasgow's built environment and evaluating these in relation to the claims made for G99's socially integrative ambitions. The following section offers some initial outlines to be developed throughout the thesis. I follow this with a review of some substantive examples of social transformation in contemporary modernity; an array of both theoretical and cultural policy developments that situate more concretely this interpretation of Glasgow's festival.

Sociology of Architecture: Modernity and Place

The term 'sociology of architecture' tends now to class studies of the architectural profession and its different levels and types of relationship with the forms of the

built environment, the state and the prevailing socio-cultural context of architectural practice (Champy 2001, Larsen 1990, Blau 1984). The 'person-environment', or architectural psychology school attempts to link the impact of design in the built environment to measurable psychological implications (Alexander 1964, 1966; Ankerl 1981; for a searching synthesis of the social and psychological see Hubbard 1997). Another area of the literature contains the field of environmental aesthetics and the philosophical discussion of the aesthetic dimension in holistic and ethical considerations of human environments (Porteous 1996, Carlson 2002, and see Smith 2001). This approach is characterised by its idealist and mentalist categories and is concerned with developing or thinking through the implications of universal models of sense perception. In the more immediately relevant work in this area, aesthetic questions emerge as urgent social concerns. For example, Porteous (1996: 28) points to a key issue in this study in noting the emerging concepts of 'aesthetic welfare' and 'aesthetic justice':

> Aesthetic welfare suggests that some effort should be made to redress the imbalance in modern cities between neighbourhoods of aesthetic affluence and those of aesthetic poverty … so that more harmonious environments may eventually be created, there must be an immense effort in aesthetic education.

Like many writers in this field, he invokes the modern impoverishment of the array of sense domains (touch, taste, smell) arguing city centres are marked by a growing uniformity and absence of visual complexity as a result of their construction with relatively unvarying 'global' materials such as concrete, asphalt, glass and steel. Importing an ethics into the field overrun with prevailing aesthetic concerns has become a dominant attitude within varied perspectives on urbanism. Moving closer to the approaches most relevant to this work, we find distinct areas of architectural theory informed by sociological categories and phenomenological conceptions of the built environment as a key domain in sensual life (Dovey 1999, Mugerauer 1994, Seaman 1987, Leach 1999, Livesy 1998, Franck and Lepori 2000). An exhaustive general review of this field (Gieryn 2000) underscores how the fullest development of these theoretical parameters promotes a heightened awareness within social science of the particularities not just of social, and especially urban, space, but also importantly of 'place' in a comprehensive set of meanings and interconnections. For

Gieryn sociology has to *emplace* inequality, difference, power and other concerns. Social processes happen *through* the material forms that we design, build, use and protest and thus are invested with meaning and value because places are doubly constructed:

> Place is at once the buildings, streets, monuments, and open spaces assembled at a certain geographic spot *and* actors' interpretations, representations, and identifications. Both domains (the material and the interpretive, the physical and the semiotic) work autonomously *and* in a mutually dependent way (Gieryn 2000, 466-467, citing Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice*).

A prevailing approach in the literature emphasises the relation of architecture to the city and place sense, especially in the context of instrumental uses of urban cultural promotion. The universal pursuit of differentiation can result in a homogenised scene of invariant locality. As such, urban developments in a globally competitive context become more and more reliant on a 'strained individualism' and 'regimented chaos' (Glendinning 2001) ironically resulting in homogeneous spectacles of 'pseudo-place' (Relph 1987).

For Pallasmaa (2000: 78) the decline in regard for a continuity of locally-rooted form leaves architecture as the principal source of sensory impoverishment, as an 'art form of instant visual image' projecting 'retinal images for the purpose of immediate persuasion'. This emphasis on the visual is now quantitatively *predominant*, with certain implications:

> Focused on visual imagery and detached from social and contextual considerations, the celebrated architecture of our time — and the publicity that attempts to convince us of its genius — too often has an air of self-satisfaction and omnipotence. Buildings attempt to conquer the foreground instead of creating a supportive background for human activities and perceptions … The task of responsible architects is to provide resistance to current cultural erosion and to replant buildings and cities in an authentic existential and experiential soil (ibid.: 84).

Heidegger's later theme of 'dwelling' is evident here, as are those of *deracinement* and 'homelessness' in nineteenth century philosophy. Enduring philosophical themes of the plight of dwelling address the persistent question of homelessness, its 'ineliminable necessity' as the leitmotif of modern human experience (Harries 1998).

The anthropological origin of this ongoing search, the moment of 'standing up' to confront the world is one of simultaneous uprooting from the local way of life and of the freedom to know the world objectively:

> But, and this is the other side, the purer our understanding, the more the world becomes a collection of objects, a mere picture before which the human knower stands, a mute other that does not claim him and points in no direction; and the more the human subject becomes a disinterested spectator (Harries: #30).

The emphasis on the *reverie* of the lost home and its related cosmos, of this tradition of thinking through a 'poetics of dwelling' has been situated by Vidler (1992: 3-9, 63-66) as a deep-seated response to the existential traumas of modernisation and the rationalised management of life within geometric space and the defamiliarized city.

A powerfully contrasting stance to this architecture of 'reconnection' understands spatially-applied phenomenological ideas as attempts to think through and restore non-alienated experience. For Jameson (1997) when such an image of harmonious serenity is compared to the 'desperate violence of the modern' this humanism appears reactionary. Such 'simplicities' of architectural phenomenology are falsely Utopian; drawn from a narrow perspective on the privileged aristocratic body. His challenge is in terms that resonate with some dominant themes of G99:

> The phenomenological view of architecture is Utopian in so far as it promises to restore or to resurrect from within the fallen body of the modern city-dweller — with clogged and diminished senses, therapeutically lowered and adjusted feelers and organs of perception, maimed language and shoddy, standardised, mass-produced feelings — the glorious Utopian body of an unfallen being who can once again take the measure of an unfallen nature … [T]his is bad Utopianism … it asks for resurrection without paying the price; change without politics; transformation by simple persuasion and common sense — people will react directly to this beauty and demand it (whereas the argument started from the premise that people could no longer perceive fully in the first place) (1997: 267).

Similarly, Dovey's (1999) discussion of phenomenological accounts establishes 'intersections' with the theories of power in built form. He identifies grounds for taking forward the claims of phenomenology into a critique of architecture which is

not based in claims for a universal ontological response to 'bad building', or a means of identifying 'authentic' places. As he puts it:

> Phenomenology should not be a quest to define some presupposed 'sense' or 'spirit' of place — it should be an opening to the world, not a reduction of it. Phenomenology is a necessary but limited approach to the understanding of place. The key problem is that the focus on the lifeworld can involve a certain blindness to the pronounced effects of social structure and ideology on such everyday experiences. From this view the focus on experience runs the risk that the ideological framings of place remain buried and hence powerful (Dovey 1999: 44).

He identifies wider critical possibilities inherent in appreciating the limited effects of spectacular 'readerly' buildings in disrupting deep-seated responses to place. From this perspective, contemporary urban responses to architecture are not simply subject to manipulation and flattening. A clarity emerges when we appreciate that '[t]he meanings of place are subject to the vagaries of a voracious meaning market with little autonomy from the struggle for privilege, power and profit. The ontology of dwelling embodies a power which may be used and abused' (ibid.: 45).

The related work in this area includes Sennett's (1997: 61) depiction of the search for a place of stability in different ways in the conditions of 'a truly new' economic era that has transformed 'both the work people do and the places where they live that, a mere twenty years ago would have seemed unimaginable.' As work loses its capacity as a source of identity, or is specifically disorganised around 'flexible' roles, so place emerges as a newly important source of enduring sense. The new economic environment induces a common sense of exposure providing 'no secure framework for the self' — place sense comes to be seen as a compensation for this loss in labour. In terms of a general developmental aspect of capitalism he identifies an intensifying 'paradox of experiential impoverishment and structural development'. This fragmentation of duration and security in economic life leads to his emphasis on the qualities of city 'place' that counteract the new vulnerability, such as the sense of being in the crowd: 'a peculiar antidote to selfhood with all its burdens, a release into a less personalised existence' (69). Sennett thus envisions an enlivened urban life as a potential remedy for the ills of work, but regrets that

> concern for long-term human relationships in the city has been left to visual and social reactionaries — who have hijacked the term 'place-making' — whereas finding new forms of durable human connection should be the very crux of confronting the emerging political economy ... Place making based on exclusion, sameness or nostalgia is socially poisonous and psychologically useless; a self weighted by its insufficiencies cannot lift that burden by retreat into fantasy. Place-making based on more diverse, denser, impersonal human contacts must find a way for those contacts to endure (69).

For Massey (1992) widespread disorientation and fragmentation of local cultures results from processes of time-space compression (Harvey), and she too refers to the central trope of loss of a sense of place when 'the local' becomes adorned with global cultures and capitals. She disputes the emphasis on the face-to-face, on presence and absence in place sensitive social relations affected by time-space distanciation and asserts that the 'place called home was never an unmediated experience' (8, and see Crook 1998). Authors like Massey and Urry (1995) are concerned to stress how globalised economic and cultural flows *increase* local distinctiveness and *enrich* hybrid forms of everyday life. In this view, places are where such flows slow and become entangled in the particular *local* networks.

A main recurring theme is the use of aggrandising design to signal status and power. The effect is one of an increasingly stylistically differentiated urban environment, in which, as Larson (1993: 243) noted for the American context, 'any style can be impressed in the service of speculative profit'. This concern with ornamentation has deep roots in architectural history but has been most recently revived within architectural postmodernism. Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, for example, in *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) argued against Modernist spatial ideals subject to rationalised principles of decontextualised human need and for the desires and symbols of ordinary, 'popular' taste. Harvey (1990: 40) summarises their main theme and sketches an impression of the changed scene:

> It was time, they said, to build for people rather than for Man. The glass towers, concrete blocks and steel slabs that seemed set fair to steamroller over every urban landscape from Paris to Tokyo, and from Rio to Montreal, denouncing all ornament as crime, all individualism as sentimentality, all romanticism as kitsch, have progressively given way to ornamented tower blocks, imitation medieval squares and fishing villages, custom-designed or vernacular housing, renovated factories and warehouses, and

> rehabilitated landscapes of all kinds, all in the name of procuring some more 'satisfying' urban environment.

This usefully describes the thematic trajectory to 'place' and authenticity which in the terms of *Learning from Las Vegas* could, in the Californian context, be places marked by *depthlessness* and a straightforward commerciality. Frampton's (1985: 291) discussion of this 'ruthless kitsch of Las Vegas' criticised the authors' argument as 'an exemplary mask for the concealment of the brutality of our own environment [which] testifies to the aestheticising intent of their thesis.' Scott Brown responded that the research represented user advocacy; a cultural humility concerned with the aesthetic values of local 'taste cultures' and complexity; a counter to the Modernist telos of progress, and the idealistic critical architecture of the 'return' to unity through the local inflection of rational form (Larson 1993: 173, and see Kolb's (1990) well-considered criticisms of Frampton's assumption of an undifferentiated, placeless consumer culture).

A variety of responses to Modernist architecture emerged in the last thirty years. Town planning (linked with the Modern movement in its positivist approach, its conception of the city as a *tabula rasa*, a site for progress, rationality and mobility) has been the target of many postmodern writers and the neo-Marxist utopian architecture movements in of the 1960s and 70s critical of the restrictive needs-based rationality concretised in the European New Towns. Such criticisms were influential in urban renewal debates, especially over urban design and tourism considered as a degraded leisure form.

The totally designed spectacle city relates to the dominant, 'retinal' architecture in several ways. One main example is in digital technologies and the professional practice in virtual space, interpreted widely as opening up a new frontier of spatial imagination with transformative implications for social life (Spiller 1998, Thrift 1997, Amin and Thrift 2002). Urban space in this view will become a radically pluralised frame for stimuli in an endless construction of the image of a consumer paradise (Leach 1999). Architecture as a source of shared identity, of links to place and historical continuity is undermined and transformed into a 'high quality image of place' (Harvey 1990: 92) suitable for an accelerated society. This is close to a common theme within social theory, for example in the categories of reflexivity,

ontological insecurity and disembedding in the work of Giddens (1991). Here, the experience of place is more and more mediated by the presence of the disembedding mechanisms of globalised 'high modernity' which 'recombine the local activities into time-space relations of ever-widening scope [such that] place becomes phantasmagoric' (Giddens 1991: 146). This new spatial everyday becomes both a source of anxiety about the authenticity and meaning of place and the unstable frame of reference in which ontological security is maintained.

Ongoing arguments in architectural thought reflect this anxiety in terms of the defeat of the social programmes within the Modern Movement. Alongside modes of analysis which understand large cities as spaces of a epochal social transformation amidst a storm of global flows of communications, migrancy and cultural hybridity they often assert the pain of disorientation and placelessness in this new world. Where some poststructuralist cultural geographers, for example, posit postmodern 'distanciated communities' and criticise as nostalgic notions of the community linked to place in the unpolluted urban idyll of 'face to face', the architectural literature resistant to these categories portrays spatial disorientation as the dark side of designing and shaping places as commodities in 'generic cities'. The pressure for novelty in a competitive market for urban spectacles is exemplified in regeneration landmarks such as the Bilbao Guggenheim (near-equivalents in Glasgow include the sparkling residential and media developments on both sides of the Clyde, the Radisson Hotel and Toyo Ito's spectacularly 'coming soon' Selfridges department store[9]) and the 'museumification' of central ornate heritage architectures (Crilley

[9] Japanese architect, Toyo Ito's '£90M' Selfridges, to open in 2007, has been described as 'the most spectacular ever seen in Glasgow', more of an 'experience' than a shop. Liz Davidson, Merchant City Initiative director, exclaimed 'it could be amazing and have people travelling all over the world to see it' (*Evening Times*, 30 June 2003). In another newspaper report Davidson commented that 'there were no straight lines, it was a zigzag of walls, alien to conventional concepts. It is going to be one of those buildings that defines the term, landmark'. A Selfridges executive is reported describing the department store as providing Glasgow with an 'enduring work of art' ('Design Guru to Work in Glasgow' *Scotsman* 21 June 2003). Bognar (1999) argues, in his discussion of Japan's 'Creative Chaos', that Ito's design philosophy represent the ephemeral and the phenomenal; new urban sensibilities favouring ambiguity and perceptual instability, with an implicit indeterminacy of meaning. Note here the pursuit of the ephemeral and the dematerialised is a rejection of the *monumental*. Ito has spoken of his large urban designs as camps for 'urban nomads' in a flux-like world. His image of the big city is one where architecture 'floats' because life is detached from reality and 'all of life is becoming a pseudo experience' therefore 'architecture today must be made to relate to this situation' (Ito, in Bognar 1999: 115).

1993a, Frampton 1985, Müller & Dröge 1997).[10] In Glasgow this takes various forms: a rapid development of new urban apartments and the redevelopment of both large and smaller scale stone-fronted warehouses and offices into lofts with 'hi-tech' upper level additions and penthouses that dominate the skyline of streets in the Merchant City and the new business quarter south of Argyle Street; residential and office developments within the main business district of the city commonly finished in synthetic 'hi-tech' materials and articulated in forms that momentarily interrupt the eclectic grid of already ostentatious mid-nineteenth century 'Northern Renaissance' facades, twentieth century Beaux-Arts office-palazzi and monumental 'American' banks (Glendinning et al 1996: 387, 394). Amid this dominant streetscape rise examples of late Modern, 1980s post-Modern and early hi-tech. The polemical response below is a local illustration of alarm at this latest emphatic addition of style:

> [T]here is an architecture of unbridled image, a vision made possible by the unrestrained, computer-aided production of electronic form and space; a vision of isolated prestige buildings, gestures of pure form conceived as the built 'signatures' of master designers; a vision of heroic, self-referential brilliance turning its back on the everyday world around it (Glendinning & Page 1999: 2).[11]

Architectural concerns such as these appear frequently in the work of key sociological authors while the categories of social theory have long had currency in architectural discourse. (Dovey 1999, Scaff 1995).[12] More broadly, the political importance of the built environment during a period of environmental crisis and expanding need for housing has catapulted major figures of the architectural world (such as Norman Foster and Richard Rogers) into the forefront of policy making for a managed and improved urban life.[13] Highly publicised commissions on urban

---

[10]Kuala Lumpur's Petronas Towers have recently been reported as a viable approach to producing Glasgow's 'world class skyline'. For Hanzala Malik, GCC regeneration convener, sites 'like [the towers] show that you can bring in fine-looking buildings which are practical, cost efficient and provide fantastic opportunities for people and business ... We should be unashamed to copy some of these developments' (*Herald*, 4th October 2004)

[11]In their critique, they argue the Postmodern emphasis on the retention of the historic layout and form of the city has led to a 'tyranny of the tenement' which produces 'a lack of differentiation; a subtle, homogenising ossification (1999: 150).

[12]Dovey (1999: xii-xiii) notes how 'scholars such as Foucault, Derrida, Eagleton, Giddens, Lefebvre, Habermas, Bourdieu and Harvey are widely cited in architectural discourse.'

[13]These two architects were ennobled by the New Labour government, or at Tony Blair's request in the year before its election. Rogers was the main architectural influence in the

futures stress the need for much more than isolated spectacular gestures. Within the profession, and in related fields such as urban design, town planning, environmental agencies, and in council housing and regeneration departments, a broad issue of concern is the need to control the growth of the city in an era of planned urban re-population.

The key debates in the historical studies of Modernist architecture are often cited in sociological studies of the cultural domains and are often deployed to illustrate core themes in social theory. Examples would be categories of urban experience shaped by administrative reason in functional 'container' architecture, or the 'untenable' and 'terroristic' grand narratives given form in architectures and landscapes shaped by avant-garde visionaries. Though such arguments have a significance for this study, their own totalising rejections have been subject to a questioning. For instance, Harvey (1990 115-116) notes the real achievements of the Modern movement in its best cases and its considerable successes in post-war redevelopment and housing provision. He also identifies an evident postmodern and deconstructivist reliance on its achievements for a design language. In city planning such critical themes were enabled and mirrored in 'Utopian comprehensiveness', that became significantly too expensive in the recession of the seventies, and resisted in the politics and protests of localities. Modern architecture and the planned city were such strong resources for the wider cultural politics of modernity that they have been charged with an 'inherently irrepressible tendency to edify' (Rowe and Koetter 1990: 120-121). These historical and technological developments have been linked to the rise of 'postmodern' expressions of playfulness and contradiction in architecture that inform the theoretical background to the development of recent work on urban experience in an age of so-called 'de-materialised' and surface architecture. I consider only the most relevant of these concerns in the following section.

Architecture in the Reimagined City

Castells (2002), Amin & Thrift (2002), Thrift (1996), Lash & Urry (1994) and Lash (2002) provide arguments and descriptions in relation to the range of transformative 'flows' acting on the urban environment that build upon concerns with the architecture of the surface. For example, spectacular computer-generated

---

Urban Task Force report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999).

architectural designs (paradigmatically in the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum) refuse any association with the history of the site. Rather, drawn from a palette of forms and surface effects, the new architectures reflect the contemporary valorisation of designed form which is produced first outwith architecture but which expands to colonise it. This colonisation is discussed in terms of an 'aesthetic reflexivity' (Lash & Urry 1994), a key element in the self-constitution of the professional middle class. The inescapable presence of design culture is perhaps overstated by Lash (2002) whose fuller analysis of the spatial implications of 'global informational culture' are persuasive. His focus on the permanent presence of mediated culture has implications for the concept of the architectural that impinge upon any understanding of a city wide celebration of architecture and design combined:

> We no longer live in a culture of subjectivist distance. Culture has left its stead as representational and narrative to become — as Benjamin suspected — architectural. We live in the world with immaterial and material cultural objects. An increasing proportion of all the objects we live with, use and interact with are cultural. As culture has lost its temporality, losing first its past and then its future in the immediacy of the event, in the immediacy of real time, it has become spatial, it has become architectural ... Culture is now three dimensional, spatial, as much tactile as visual or textual, all around us and inhabited, lived in rather than encountered in a separate realm as representation (2002: 148-149).

The broad notion of reflexivity in this context refers also to the trend in urban writing influenced by the cultural turn in social geography which challenges the cardinal theme of 'rationalisation' as an unavoidable tragic narrative of modernity, and generates new perspectives on re-enchantment in cities of magic, technology and of post-human cyberspace. Thrift (1997) refuses such an emptying rationalisation in his depiction of the magic of cities:

> Most cities have offered, over the course of history, an increasing range of experiences which it is possible to use as imaginative resources ... a sky which is often filled with activity. It is made of all kinds of materials that let us sense in new ways; for example glass ... new means of apprehension, from photography to film to video to CD Rom, which have allowed us to touch the city in new ways, to memorise it, to rewrite it, to make it tactile ... These 'new magics' are chiefly examples chosen from the visual

> register ... It is worth underlining this point: if we could measure the process, perhaps our experience of places has thickened, not thinned (Thrift, 1997: 141).

This interpretation of the city has to be taken seriously though it clearly goes against perspectives in social theory which portray the city as a space, or modernity as a time-space from which meaning was being leached (in which 'placelessness' was a main theoretical category) by cultural reification and an overstimulating objective culture (Marx, Weber, Simmel). For modern authors, this described a situation in which the once intimate city was being 'rendered strange by the spatial incursions of modernity' (Vidler 1992: 11). Amin & Thrift (2002) affirm uncanny 'posthuman' technological experiences of contemporary life characterised by the diminishing role of face-to-face contacts; their replacement by technologically mediated connections at a distance.[14] This identification of new means of interaction at a distance, they claim, results in diminished possibilities for an architecture of place and dwelling. Indeed, to posit a desire for such an architecture is viewed as anachronistic; a refusal to appreciate the potential of the posthuman present and future to enable societies of optimism and adventure (2002: 50). Chiming with Noever's (1993) provocative depiction of avant-garde architecture as 'spaces of desire in an age of extinguished utopias', such postmodern conceptions of irreducible plurality form a 'restless politics of ellipses, drifts and leaks of meaning which keeps defamiliarisation alive by juxtaposing events rather than just facades' (Amin & Thrift 2002: 50). And a similar notion in the architecture literature (Solá-Morales 1996: 77) outlines a now common position in disputes over the centrality of place themes in design:

> The places of present-day architecture cannot repeat the permanencies produced by the force of the Vitruvian *firmitas*. The effects of duration, stability and defiance of time's passing are now irrelevant. The idea of place as the cultivation and maintenance of the essential and the profound, a *genius loci*, is no longer credible in an age of agnosticism; it becomes reactionary ... The loss of these illusions need not necessarily result in a nihilistic architecture of negation. From a thousand different sites the production of

---

[14]Livesey (1998) argues post-industrial urban design and mobile communications have contributed to the decline of gestural variation and intensity characteristic of public life and encounter in the metropolis. The 'tyranny of intimacy' (Sennett), and the decline of the public, is more marked in a world where gesture is increasingly 'filtered through technology'.

> place continues to be possible. Not as a revelation of something existing in permanence, but as the production of an event.

This approach is interesting in so far as it introduces the element of radical postmodern linkage between city experiences and architectural form broken away from a sustained place sense valorised so centrally throughout much of the literature. Soltan's (1996) discussion of such acontextualism in the discourse of deconstructive architecture asserts the trend is to diminish buildings as a 'solid physical emplacement carrying certain embodied cultural meanings':

> Their work seems to argue that the catastrophes of our recent past … as well as the perpetually bewildering reality of our present life within multinational capitalist economies, belie the structural integrity of the values and meanings cherished by western European culture. Architects, like other artists with this new form of awareness, must now confront us with the emerging unsettling truths of our time, so as to enable us to live in the world lucidly and without aggression (236).

Contrasting with the rejection of univocal meaning in deconstructive architecture, its embrace of flux, Melhuish's (2002) argument, drawn from the anthropological perspective, focuses upon architecture's technological 'dematerialisation'; the replacement of stone, for example, with lighter, synthetic materials. This long-standing debate (Ruskin and others made the same point) now connects with current demands for sustainability but, unlike the nomadic and tribal cultures which affirm a light footprint in their built cultural forms, contemporary buildings fail 'to perform the [ethical] role of cultural representation, or [do so] only at a superficial level' (Melhuish 2002: 222). The 'problem' of contemporary Western architecture is the loss of cultural substance in the loss of material substance. The new technology results in

> a thoroughgoing destabilisation of physical form and structure, and the creation of an architecture of mutability which undermines conventional social and cultural expectations of architecture's role in providing and constituting a framework of ontological security (224).

Globalising pressures, the promiscuity of the image, and the postcolonial forms and value systems of the western cities remove the shared cultural continuities needed for meaning to inhere within societies' built forms (225). For Melhuish, 'context' in

the current environment is mainly 'contextualism' where public and spectacular buildings operate at an abstract level, as contemporary 'wonders of the world' that 'speak to, and draw in a global audience'.

Castells (2002: 347) describes the basic social differentiation in the era of the space of flows succinctly: 'elites are cosmopolitan, people are local'. He outlines how the cultural codes of the information elite are the sources of access to power: gated communities, exclusive restaurants, lifestyle and spatial forms produce a *unified symbolic environment* for the global elite. He argues international hotels offer similarity, predictability and abstraction from the surrounding local world and an international culture and cultural connectedness produces architectural uniformity in key cities. Ironically, after Postmodern architecture's rebuttal, Modern prescripting has now become a 'generalised rule' of prestigious built form:

> Thus, the space of flows includes the symbolic connection of homogeneous architecture in the places that constitute the nodes of each network across the world, so that architecture escapes from the history and culture of each society and becomes captured into the new imaginary, wonderland world of unlimited possibilities that underlies the logic transmitted by multimedia: the culture of electronic surfing, as if we could reinvent all forms in any place, on the sole condition of leaping into the cultural indefinition of the flows of power. The enclosure of architecture into an historical abstraction is the formal frontier of the space of flows (ibid.: 349).

His main comment here is his hypothesis that

> the coming of the space of flows is blurring the meaningful relationship between architecture and society. Because the spatial manifestation of the dominant interests takes place around the world, and across cultures, the uprooting of experience, history and specific culture as the background of meaning is leading to the generalisation of ahistorical, acultural architecture (ibid.: 350).

Such conflicting approaches provide another theoretical context in which to investigate the festival of architecture and design in Glasgow. The city's economic development and symbolic promotion as a postindustrial city places it in a clear relation to many, though not all, of the categories asserting the construction and destruction of architectural place sense. At the same time, the festival was a celebration of architecture represented as a provision of social inclusion via access to

the city's architectural meaning. It was concerned with both historical architectural sources of place sense and the jumbled forms of contemporary international architecture and product design. Such themes were clearly intended to establish and promote Glasgow's connections to networks and global modes of design practice and consumption while simultaneously contributing to the developing social management of the changing forms and experience of city life.

Beyond Culture City: Situationist Desire

I'll now move on to introduce some main arguments of the situationist group, continuing this varied discussion of themes related to current changes in Glasgow and the politics of the built environment. Like many of the authors introduced above, Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1994) [1967] described modernity using a core image of the mythical unity lost in the transition to a secularised world. The modern world was structured through its continued domination by unifying images of illusory unity. Debord's '*diffuse* spectacle' referred to the modern omnipresence of the commodity form as the aestheticised justification of the existing world, opposed to (but as equally totalitarian) as the *concentrated*, or religious spectacle, of bureaucratic, or non-differentiated societies. For Debord, the spectacle was to be understood as 'the material reconstruction of the religious illusion' (1994: #20).

Primarily written in the mode of polemical political philosophy, situationist work sought (within its critique of capitalist society) to identify, critique, and resist the implications of rationalisation in modernist architecture and city planning. Their focus of concern, considered here primarily in the writings of Debord (1995) and Constant (1959), was the commodification of everyday life (in consumer culture) and its immediate results in the planned standardised housing that re-placed 'authentic' urban quarters. Emerging from the intellectual context of left libertarianism in post-war France, their analysis of modernity centred on bureaucratic domination; the 'technique of separation' reducing the directly lived life to a level of 'non-participation' and the 'elementary desires' inherent in cultural domination. In this regard Debord (1994: #17) paraphrased Marx in his general description of the 'degradation of being into having' and of having into 'appearing' and representation. Their urban politics effectively centred on the spatial qualities of Paris, understood as the exemplary urban space of revolutionary festivals, and their sensual analysis of

its ruination through projects to accelerate circulation and consumption. Most importantly, for this study, the situationists' anger at the destruction of authentic places of labour (notably *Les Halles* market), of 'vital heritages' (Habermas) and of well-known, rough-edged places of public mixing for planned leisure connects with many of the tragic themes introduced above in its questioning of a simultaneous decoration and decline of urban space. The situationists' critique of the rational planning of the city was developed in the early theory of psychogeography, especially in the rejection of geometric space in mainstream urban representations. Their interest in the residual ambience of urban neighbourhoods was drawn from a process of inhabiting and constructing space during the both everyday and 'experimental behaviour' of the solitary or group *dérive* (drift). For Griel Marcus, to 'drift' was

> to give yourself up to the promises of the city and then to find them wanting — to drift through the city allowing its signs to divert, to 'detourn' your steps, and then to divert those signs yourself, forcing them to give up routes that never existed before (cited in Bonnett 1992: 77).[15]

This was a politicised development of surrealist investigations of chance and the solitary *flâneur* figure's textualised 'acute observations' (Frisby 1994: 93). With an approach rooted in antipathy towards both the scholarly attitude (Ffrench 1996) the 'situs' playfully identified gaps within dominated public space, claiming to reappropriate and assert the 'use value of space' over its exchange value thereby outlining instances of the visual and spatial contestation of the meaning of the city (McDonough 1994: 68). In his *Theory of the Dérive* [1956] Debord informed his readers that drifts involved disorienting strategies such as the 'possible rendezvous', taxis, hitchhiking without destination, trespassing in darkness in empty buildings and 'wandering in subterranean catacombs forbidden to the public' (in Andreotti & Costa 1996: 26).[16] Thus, for Shields (1996: 245) the practice expressed a critical response to abstracted and distanced urban analysis in that it

---

[15]Bonnett identifies (1989, 1992) an avant-garde arrogance within their totalising critique that 'undermines its libertarian intent', but concludes the situationist development of a strong critique of the 'socio-spatial specialisation of creative activity' brought into view creativity 'beyond the terrain of art' (1992: 86). Cf. note 9.

[16]This interest in trespass and the drift is now a popular, 'sub-cultural' activity in outmoded, or simply hidden, spaces such as disused railway tunnels, underground stations, and warehouses. It attracts those determined to have independent adventures, feel fear; those

> [d]e-emphasises the dogma of urban theory and planning: that hidden economic forces shape experiences of the city. Instead we are confronted by the fractured logic of everyday life which superimposes a less rationalised experience of the city based on appearances, not essentialist socio-economic forces. *Dérive* arguably operates at the level of pragmatics, reversing the primacy of goal-oriented behaviour and intentions in favour of an emphasis on achieved effects and unanticipated consequences.[17]

We can compare this with Borden's (2001: 131) conception of a contemporary situationist architectural practice, itself heavy with an approving imagery of the random:

> Situationist architecture counters the bounded, privatised building of urban squares of mono-functional intentions with variable spaces of atmosphere, spaces with no particular boundaries (whether physical or mental) with spaces of change and indeterminacy. Above all, these are spaces of the unexpected: unexpected forms, unexpected events, unexpected collisions and sounds, unexpected anythings.

The spectacle concept is also utilised in analyses of some major contemporary architectures and urban design projects as the latest defining aesthetic language. Here, stripped of the critical semantics that Borden identifies, 'the spectacularisation of the environment is [merely recognised as] a fact of life' (Ockman & Adams 1999-2000, cf. Ockman 2000). Thus, Swyngedouw (2002: 157) feels the need to emphasise, in contrast to many of the recent books and exhibitions that concentrate upon the situationists' critique of the city as passionless and regimented, how the practices outlined above were directly related to their core criticism of the city's 'spatialisation of the most advanced form of capitalism'. And with this we are reminded of the full ambition of the group, their utopian and romantic sense (Löwy 1998) that things were bad but could be passionately remade and re-enchanted (a 'magic' quite different to Thrift's depiction, above) by subjects capable of both

---

who have a 'need to discover' their city independently (Romito 1997: 140). One report identifies the Glasgow scene as a 'band of middle class desperadoes [and] thrill seeking students' (Belcher 2001). The chat room at hiddenglasgow.com illustrates the varying levels and realms of interest in these activities.

[17]For Ley (1996: 333) the historical irony of the situationists' 'Dionysian goals' is that their example helped a broader 'lifestyle of liminality and anti-structure' take root 'in the counter-culture enclaves of the inner city, and its influence passed into the aestheticism of the professional middle class who followed them.' This informs Glasgow's rise as a city of culture, of architecture as a frame of touristic consumption, but also of excitement, 'buzz', of the city 'as a work of art'; all based in a more widely enacted aestheticism.

becoming aware of their distorted world, their 'exclusion from life' (Debord 1994: #114) and of its transformation in constructed situations.[18]

An influential response to such depictions of the 'real' is found in authors keen to dispute images of stability and unity in the realm of everyday life (de Certeau 1984, Crook 1998, Latour 2002), of 'authentic' place (Amin & Thrift 2002, Solá-Morales 1996) and who reject as nostalgic the 'paradigm of everyday life in physical co-presence.' For Crook (1998: 538) categories of unmediated existence misidentify the real relations of social practice as

> nostalgia for 'real' experience feeds off a failure to recognise that human experience is always 'mediated', that culture has always been material culture, that the technologies and representations of all cultures create 'worlds' that in some part supplant those of day-to-day life.

Arguments such as these have proved important in directing attention to 'techniques for revealing the strangeness of the normal'. Such perspectives, for Highmore (2002: 23)

> begin to fabricate an 'alternative' aesthetic for attending to the experience of modern everyday life ... Theirs is an aesthetic that in negotiating the experience of everyday life never claims to exhaust it. It is an aesthetic of experimentation that recognises that actuality always outstrips the procedures for registering it (23).

Such avant-garde approaches highlight the disputes between theorists seeking a more open basis upon which to develop ideas of the multidimensional experience of a world of commodities and those who identify in aspects of this new plenitude sources of social damage perpetrated in simple relation to the flood of things and technology into the world, a flood, crucially, based on the constant expansion and endless deferral of needs in desiring practices. Thus, although the theory of spectacular society and its transformation is criticised as an emancipatory metaphysics[19], it has, in many cases, been critically adopted by urban social

[18]For Rigby (1991: 146) the situationist response to Malraux's *Maisons de la Culture* after 1968, their rejection of state-managed democratisation of culture, really only offered a more dramatic and aggressive call for 'a truly democratic and popular culture that had been issuing from the movement for cultural democratisation ever since the war'.

[19]Plant's study (1992: 150-187) argues the situationists' transgressive and totalising analysis of spectacular society and desire was inverted and recuperated in notions of, for example, 'the inescapability of the continuity of capitalism and its opposition', the rejection of an nostalgic originary reality outwith obscene simulation (Baudrillard) and Lyotard's

movements, such as 'Reclaim the Streets' who dispute the value of the aesthetically presented investments under discussion. The representative exhibitions I discuss later exclusively presented either safely canonical, museumised or attention-grabbing local architecture or the high design 'dream houses', iconic galleries and exotic places regularly featured in the magazines. The festival's overwhelming theme was the celebration of the preserved or newly established architecture of residential and business status, entertainment, transport and consumption, with very little room for undistinguished architectures commonly located beyond the mundane tourist city. Thus, in the terms laid out above, it is open to assessment as a spectacular management of cultural consumption. The festival's spectacular context also inflects the aesthetic learning it sought to provide; by restricting inclusion generally to visual consumption, the architecture of the city was objectified and depoliticised.

Looking back over the main themes in this section, it is clear that a simple conception of an integrative role for Glasgow architecture is untenable. The disputes over whether architectural form and place sense is given too little or too much attention (a theoretical argument which in its different forms, whether from the writings of Pallasmaa and the phenomenological tradition, the rejection of the authentic in Poststructuralism, or the embrace of the authentic *and* nomadic in the situationists) can be understood here to recontextualise G99's affirmation of architectural appreciation. Thus, the question whether such exhibitions of heritage, the architecture of the globalised economy and the seductive object can be understood as a source of place sense and identity in a city deformed by a 'social blitzkrieg' (Wilson 1991) can be worked through in light of these considerations. This is especially so when we note how the city's expressive neo-modern and hi-tech architecture is purposefully unrelated to locally sedimented architectural form and materials in the attempt to aggressively exhibit the city as an information age location. The festival's social programme, integrated within a main events diary and representational rhetoric simultaneously serving the exhibitionary requirements of tourist spectacle, seems to have been addressed primarily at the inclusion of an immobile group whose exclusion is being firmly established in the post-industrial transition. Their salvation is now to be included and rooted through the security of valuing heritage and an enriched sense of urban location while the same architecture

affirmation of an 'uncontestable' consumer society as the end stage of history.

provides tourists and conference parties with something to look at, a place in which to feel temporarily at home. Developing these latter points will require identifying the connections between G99's accent on aesthetic learning and the use of imagery of the contemporary city in issues of governance generally, especially in relation to some prevailing concerns with the broad social role design issues now have in urban regeneration discourse and it is these related themes I discuss in the next section.

The Social Implications of Urban Transformation

'Social Exclusion', 'Cultural Democratisation' and 'Aestheticization'

For Levitas (1998) the 'new Durkheimian hegemony' is the prevailing image of modern social structure defining social deprivation as a marginal pathology within a generally cohesive system. A dominant theme in this hegemony is an assertion of the centrality of a moral integration reinforced in all facets of exchange relations, especially paid work and mainstream consumption patterns. This core aspect of the depiction of social inclusion is developed in Byrne's (1999) emphasis on the spatial manifestations of social deprivation. For this author, the identification of the sources of exclusion from the dimensions of full citizenship (such as participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes) requires a broad analysis of recent social transformations. He locates many of the causes of social disintegration in the historic experience of union-busting and the 'obligation to engage in poor work' rather than ongoing, intergenerational separation from work (the underclass argument). And he continues:

> Social exclusion is an active process. Insecurity and low wages are the basis for a reconstruction of the relationship between labour and capital on a global scale … advanced industrial societies are converging on a norm of social politics organised around a flexible labour market and structural social exclusion … the convergence is very much driven by the ideology of liberal capitalism, by the manipulation of political processes and by the subordination of policies to business interests (Byrne 1999: 69-71).

Persuasive depictions of the newly disorganised urban environment reveal the social bifurcation of the postindustrial city (the loss of traditional bases for order and sense

and their replacement by new structures of sociation) and indicate the urban generality of 'two very different types of social experiences predicated on distinctive areas of residence'. For Byrne, urban regeneration, of the type celebrated in the Glasgow festival, is linked to the full development of an excluding post-industrial social order:

> The trajectories of spaces are in large part the product exactly of urban policies in interaction with the effects of other social policies. The evidence is that urban regeneration, far from reintegrating and empowering the dispossessed poor, has in general made their situation worse because it has been a crucial constitutive process in the creation of the postindustrial social order as it is lived by people in post-industrial cities. Exclusive development is meant to exclude after all (ibid.: 111).

Such critical and reconstitutive approaches to the discourses of social inclusion have been taken up within discussions of 'cultural citizenship' (Turner 2001, Bloomfield & Bianchini 2001, Chaney 2002) considering the sources of creativity and 'cultural empowerment' in deprived communities where local participation 'creatively and successfully' is the main aim of inclusion policies. In their discussion of cultural rights as extended social rights, Bloomfield & Bianchini note T. H. Marshall's emphasis on both a right to culture as an element of social citizenship and a duty to raise the level of civilisation of society through self improvement. This was envisaged as a process of absorption of an inherited elite culture which they would have no part in shaping. Interestingly, they note wartime ideas of 'cultural democracy' (from which Raymond William's strategic method of an anthropological approach to British culture as 'ordinary' would emerge) were more radical than those ordered under the later period's 'democratization of culture'. The latter perspective had far less ambitious goals and was 'based on the power of experts to define cultural value and the role of the 'state' to civilise the majority of people by making culture more widely accessible to them' (2001: 111). At the end of the long boom the European policy trend was towards more active encounters with various cultural practices; with far higher degrees of autonomous activity in independently developing fields such as independent radio, video and photography. Urban cultural policy intended the creation of *civic* identity:

> In an attempt to counteract trends towards social atomization — encouraged by the anonymity and isolation of suburban living and car culture — and the domesticisation of cultural consumption, these policies aimed at re-asserting the function of the city, and the city centre in particular, as a catalyst for public sociability for people of different ages, sex, social class, lifestyle and ethnic origin (2001: 113).

By the mid 1980s this had changed as urban cultural policies were reduced to 'a function of urban economic and physical regeneration strategies' (114). In response, citing the driving ethos of Jordi Borja's practice in Barcelona (that city as 'a system of life which develops desires') they identify a latter concept with clear affinities to the relation of the city to desire in key G99 discourses; the city as a cultural resource in itself:

> To establish a more explicit and intellectually grounded legitimation for cultural citizenship in the city, we need to retrieve the radical idea of the city as a *project* for the widening of cultural horizons and enhancing the capacity to redesign everyday life and the public sphere (120).

However, a more pragmatic picture of cultural policy is provided by Hamilton and Scullion (2002) who identify a dichotomy between two approaches to cultural policy for social inclusion: cultural democracy (widening access to high art forms) and the democratisation of culture (expanding its definition and redistributing funding to certain producers). Their sense is that today

> culture is being utilised as a key marker of and player in the re-creation of society and community … In contemporary Britain, the rhetoric goes, culture has emerged as a core part of a new symbiosis of the strategic economic investment, social responsibility, legislative and policy devolution, aesthetic and artistic innovation that reimagines the potential of society not just to be inclusive but also to be 'good' (137).

In this we can identify the themes of Matthew Arnold's concept of a common culture, of self realisation (*Bildung*) through cultural education, where all would be 'compelled to relish the sublime' and thus maintain social cohesion in a pluralising and seemingly anarchic late nineteenth century. Ryle & Soper (2002) propose a critical renewal of Arnoldian themes for the contemporary world. Drawn from considerations of literary art, their argument can now more easily apply to education in architectural appreciation:

> The general argument about cultural self-realisation ... takes it as axiomatic that ... other kinds ... requiring an element of work and learning and then rewarding this in deeper appreciation - can also give the sort of pleasure that Arnold calls 'sublime' (8).

In *Culture and Anarchy* Arnold argued culture 'seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been known and thought in the world current everywhere ... This is the *social idea*, and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality`. Enlightenment approaches to the aesthetic related it to the 'formal commitment to universal equality and freedom', of a common access to culture via education ensuring an order based in an 'ownership' of the culture. The role of the aesthetic in sustaining bourgeois hegemony can be seen as instrumental and ideological,

> [y]et it remains ambiguous: supposed both to harmonise and to integrate society, it at the same time inevitably operates as an immanent critique of the failure of the market to provide the material means of any such universal reciprocity (Ryle & Soper 2002: 41).

The popular image of the city as a 'project for the widening of cultural horizons' has clear resonances with the G99 social programme and the limitations of such programmes have been suggested above. The issue raised here is the relationship of 'cultural citizenship' to the new social realities of the postindustrial urban space. Can cultural citizenship be more than an aesthetic compensation for the experiences of social exclusion? Can multiple 'high quality' landscape design additions succeed in establishing an 'inclusive social reality'? (Zukin 1991: 17). A clear linkage exists here between the G99 claims for the quality of the city and the dominant strategies and rhetorics used to legitimise the contemporary social contract. The festival was presented as an opportunity to engage the excluded with the city presented as an art work, whereas, as I have shown, regeneration practices and discourse can be understood to construct the city as a new space of simultaneously disciplining and excluding aesthetic investments. The linked practices, techniques and discourses of urban regeneration and social inclusion are key themes in the management of urban community rehabilitation. We therefore need to look closely at how they contribute to understanding the broader intentions and implications of G99.

Regeneration and Architecture — The City as a Work of Art

An important context for the thesis, in relation to the representation of the city as an artwork is the historically varied conception and development of cities as works of art, and the more recent transformations within cities with areas of architectural distinction that has focused attention on the issues at stake in the design of the city. For example, Olsen (1986: 4) describes Paris and London as 'deliberate artistic creations intended not merely to give pleasure but to contain ideas, inculcate values, and serve as tangible expressions of systems of thought and morality'. The city as a work of art, in terms of nineteenth century conceptions of the nature and function of art; working 'in the service of virtue', is

> a collectively created complex of buildings, streets, phenomena, experiences and activities existing in time as well as in space … that serves to promote the happiness and exalt the dignity of mankind (5).

Olsen argues the 19th century orthodoxy understood architecture as 'an ethical agent, a means of exhortation'; that architecture contributed to disciplining social life via its grandeur and associationism. As applied to his three cities, it is but one intention among many:

> Many of the visual forms and structural shapes of London, Paris and Vienna were intended less to influence particular classes than to convey a moral message to society as a whole. Their intended audience was not limited to the residents of the cities but included provincial visitors, foreign tourists, visiting heads of state and, extremely important, posterity. Keeping the submerged proletariat content, or at least acquiescent, was but one of the functions architecture and urban design had to perform (292).

Such ideas were commonplace in 19th century Glasgow and I will say more about this later in specific connection with Glasgow's own promotion as a work of art. The link between the city created as a work of art and contemporary interventions in cities and in distinct areas of cities to represent their similar identity is an issue considered in many contributions to urban studies, perhaps especially in the work of Boyer (1994). Here, the built environment as collective source of public memory is established within popular investments in the city as a work of art but fragmented during rapid development and re-framed using strategies of spectacle and panorama in tourist-oriented urban scenographies. An 'aestheticised aggregate' of city images

and representational forms focuses attention away from the real trauma of creative destruction. Boyer's argument, which indicates much about the role of G99 in the re-imaging of Glasgow is that

> the city has been represented in different ways: that is, different structural logics — call them aesthetic conventions — have been imposed for various reasons and at separate times upon the city's imagined (imaged) form. Every discourse sets up a spatial order, a frozen image that captures the manner in which the transitory present is conceived. Momentarily arresting disruptive and energetic forces, representational forms become succinct records of what we consider to be present reality. These aesthetic models transform our sense of the real, for the image of the city is an abstracted concept, an imaginary constructed form (32).

In drawing out this sense of the varied methods of legitimising urban change via aesthetically oriented reconstructions and models, a review of literature on urban aesthetic developments across the UK reveals a context of widespread design investments in the urban realm, especially in the central city. Contemporary urban 'renaissance' masterplans and aesthetic additions in streetscapes have received considerable attention as an element of the rise of the new practice of urban design, and of its centrality within dominant rhetorics of urban regeneration. Importantly, urban regeneration strategies are the subject of wide economic debate throughout the UK. A common language of regeneration is used by the local government officers and council figures from cities throughout the country. Northern English cities share a theme of investment in the existing built form of the city and the development of prestigious, attention-grabbing architecture is evident in both the cityscape and in the language of council documents for which Glasgow's own urban regeneration strategy has often been the template. Throughout the literature on this subject, Glasgow is often identified as the foremost example of the transformational possibilities of regeneration (Julier 2000, Lash & Urry 1994, Bird et al 1993, Crilley 1993a, Quilley 1999). Quilley notes how there has been a 'pervasive homogeneity in the models of urban regeneration pursued by western cities since the 1980s'. This has led to reports of the experience of 'sameness' and placelessness in a variety of different cities, with global brands present within shopping streets and a street level cityscape detailed with street furniture and signage to common urban design standards. He argues (1999: 189) that this

> bland homogeneity results from what might be described as "off the shelf McGeneration" — a standardised bundle of supply-side interventions which are understood and implemented as a package by policy makers.

He makes an interesting point drawn from his research on the management and generation of an elite consensus of entrepreneurial normality in Manchester, a city noted for a strong political alliance with corporatism. In interviews with council employees the concept of an unquestioned language of regeneration is developed; a powerful discourse repeated in the policy reports in glossy 'professional' formats:

> In so far as it entails a common language and conceptual vocabulary, one could talk about a *script*, shared and adhered to by actors involved in all aspects of urban regeneration — a script which crosses institutional and political lines. For instance officers in the city planning department talk about doing their *spiel*: "We are in the business of re-imaging the city. The copy goes something like: Manchester is a major European city, it has cosmopolitan qualities" (Quilley 1999: 190).

I begin this section here to indicate how an identical script may be found throughout those documents produced by the Council and its partners such as the Glasgow Alliance, in Scottish Enterprise Glasgow's Annual Reports and activity documents. The 1999 document produced by Glasgow agencies, for example, identifies the following goal in the city's development:

> To improve Glasgow's competitiveness, nationally and internationally by nurturing aspirations to world class achievement ... by improving the city's marketing and its connectivity and by developing a *world class urban product* appealing to inward investors and tourists everywhere (Glasgow Alliance, 1999: 44, my emphasis).

G99, an official festival with the social power of grand celebration, celebrity, and elite design practices clearing the way to a better future supported the construction of Glasgow's new urban realities and contributes to the varied social and cultural consequences of establishing this 'world class urban product'. Analyses of the discourse and forms of regenerative interventions in public art and urban design (Deutsche 1996, Demos 2002, Miles 2000) inform the wider concerns of this thesis around G99's role in the redefinition of Glasgow as an aesthetic space in a cultural economy.

McKenzie (2002) reminds us that the unveiling of a new public sculpture was, in the 1840s, a major city spectacle, but the attention given to sculpture was seriously diminished by the end of the first world war. By the later twentieth century, public art practice responded to the interest in place to include the 'subjective experiences of the communities with which its identity is historically and demographically bound up':

> Glasgow, like many other cities, has begun to embrace the full range of creative practices that constitute public art today, with new works appearing on the streets that are clearly informed by the lively theoretical debate in which those practices are now embedded. The concept of site-specificity has become a crucial concern here, shifting the focus of interest away from conventional questions of aesthetic 'quality' in the evaluation of individual pieces, to a more sophisticated appreciation of the requirements of the place in which it is located (McKenzie 2002: xvii).

In Deutsche's (1996) analysis of the relationships between urban and aesthetic events, she too examines the social function of art in contemporary urbanism with a focus on art practice that avoids recuperation in 'unreflective consumption of past architectural forms to oil the mechanism of revitalisation', and that interrupts, via a 'reorientation of vision', the 'aura of isolation that idealist aesthetics constructs around architectural forms'. She refers to New York City's policy to protect built heritage as 'a restricted and spectacularised notion of cultural preservation', as the 'reinforcement of the existing urban context'. The city is a product of social practice, not a hypostatised physical object for the aesthetic gaze. For Boyer, public art

> participates in the production of meanings, uses and forms for the city. In this capacity it can help secure consent to redevelopment and to the restructuring that constitutes the historical form of advanced capitalist urbanisation. But like other institutions that mediate perceptions of the city's economic and political operations — architecture, urban planning urban design — it can also question and resist those operations revealing the suppressed contradictions within urban processes (1992: 56).

New public art (often reduced to street furniture and additions of urban design) has an important level of utility and thus 'the new art claims to unify a whole sequence of divided spheres, offering itself as a model of integration' (65). This describes the ethos of urban design generally, and the specific role of much recent Glasgow public

art. An example is the city's programme of 'landmark lighting' (using the NVA arts group) described by the council leader, Charlie Gordon, as both entertainingly staging the cityscape at night while offering residents a 'greater sense of security' (*Evening Times* 20th Aug. 2003).[20] For Deutsche, a depoliticised public art 'moves into the field of spatial design in order to create, rather than question, the coherence of the site, to conceal its constitutive social conflicts' (68). This analysis, in a global city context, draws on the same connections as MacLeod's (2002) work on Glasgow's postindustrial development; the city's 'extraordinary reaestheticisation' viewed alongside the political measures taken to ensure the maximum spatial productivity for the city's new identity as an entrepreneurial space. In contrast to Smith's (1996)[21] theory of urban 'revanchism' which draws on the French term for 'revenge' (a neoliberal retribution upon subjects of the postwar welfare settlement) his position is that Glasgow's city managers have not fully enforced a 'downtown' space of homogeneous consumption by clearing away the presence of homeless people and 'aggressive beggars' although prominent media campaigns regularly suggest this course of action. In discussing the development of the new 'public spaces' in entrepreneurial cities such as Glasgow, he argues

> [a]s with most political-economic expressions of neoliberal hegemony, the new urban glamour zones conceal a brutalising demarcation of winners and losers, included and excluded. Indeed, in some senses we might speculate that the lived spaces of the neoliberal city symbolise an astonishingly powerful geographical expression of the erosion of Keynesian ideals of full employment, integrated welfare entitlement, and 'social citizenship' (MacLeod 2002: 606).

One 'glamour zone' which MacLeod doesn't identify in his analysis was produced by the transformation of the former public library in Royal Exchange Square into an art gallery. This building of grandeur and urban centrality couldn't be maintained as a space of mundane reading in the context of the contemporary pressures to expand

---

[20]The most intensively re-lit area under the city's 'Lighting the City' project has been Buchanan Street. Here, old lights were removed from building fronts and street lamps were used to enable the more dramatic uplighting of the street's facades.

[21]Smith (1999: 197) provides an interesting discussion of his usage of the term 'revanchist' as the widespread results of the 'strategic withdrawal of the national and local state from the management of social reproduction'. Of course, the state 'continues to be at the heart of current forms of urban politics, as *organiser* of new forms of investment, market regulation, new forms of control and policing and as *disorganiser* of old forms of welfare provision and social collectivity' (Savage et al 2003: 197).

the central zone of spatial distinction. Its heritage value, in other words, was fully exploited as a site of visual culture and tourism.[22] In 2002 a library was installed in the basement with a different spatial experience than was previously available: knowledge and casual access to books and a seat out of the rain or the heat has been literally placed below the orderly, supervised attention to visual culture and spectacle. As the public library service across the city is reduced through closures and restricted hours, MacLeod's depiction of a brutal demarcation drawn in relation to the promotion of the urban glamour zones as the new reality of the city's 'public spaces'. Rather than urban development for a 'mass public' in all its plurality, the new initiatives 'appear to be "reclaiming" public spaces for groups involved in new modes of production and consumption alone' (*ibid.*).

This interpretation of a dimension of Glasgow's urban design, although supported in similar studies (for example Evans & Foord 2003) can, of course, be disputed. Urban design, for Lynch (1960), was 'the art of shaping cities for sensuous enjoyment' and his approach investigates one particular visual quality — the 'legibility' of the cityscape. Arguing that the city is experienced as both the site of excitement and fear, as splendid and terrifying, he suggests an 'education in seeing' is required to encourage the 'citizen to act upon his visual world … causing him to see even more acutely' (120). For Lynch, and this clearly applies to the social aims of G99, urban design can aid the development of critical and attentive 'audience'. This critically integrative concept of vision is applied in Evans (1998) (an urban designer with the favoured Glasgow urban design firm, Gillespies). *Glasgow's Public Realm Strategy*, part of the city's general 'communications strategy', was, we are told, rooted in a

> belief in the meaning of place, understanding, revealing, and interpreting the meaning of the city physically and culturally, allied to interventions of lasting quality which is the overarching principle guiding the work (1998: 475).

The firm's rationale behind its *Glasgow Pedestrian Sign System*, he says, was influenced by currently influential work on the creation of 'meaningful places', and also by understanding the processes leading to 'the loss of place on the one hand and the recovery of place on the other' which can allow excluded groups to participate in the 'corporate identity of the city' (Evans 1998: 479). Glasgow's 'extraordinary

[22]Glendinning et al (1996: 219) note David Hamilton's original 1829 redesign of the Mansion as the City Exchange was itself, ironically, part of an urban improvement scheme.

reaestheticisation', is interpreted here as enhancing its place sense, stabilising and recovering sources of collective meaning with inclusive consequences. As noted above, the disagreement over the issue of the capacity of architecture to provide such stability and place sense is significant.

In returning now to the area of regeneration, Furbey (1999) argues for organicist and social Darwinist associations in the term when considered as a metaphor. Terms such as inclusion, networks, cohesion (order) and 'urban body' reveal a close root in conservative organicism which is always predicated on market individualism. For this author, the development and application of regeneration policies encompass ideas and associations which are well below what is required to deal with the real extent of community destruction in Britain. Within the image of a unified society, only some are required to be reborn, purified, personally regenerated and included; the excluding structures, institutions and agents avoid being cast in the overall picture. Noting the real change in recent years within regeneration policy in terms of attempts at inclusion and genuine participation such as the 'bottom-up' strategies and best-practice in resident involvement, he continues:

> this voice from below remains strongly mediated. Although 'regeneration' can denote radical social transformation, we have stressed its actual association with conservative and individualistic perspectives. Hence the acknowledgement of localism and diversity confronts a strong 'top-down' centralised, consensual corporatism in urban policy and in funding regimes designed to foster 'competitive cities', together with a drive to address the degeneration of poor people and poor places through personal and community change and empowerment (437).

While analyses like this emerge from reviews of national policy and practice in the specific areas of local regeneration, a great deal of attention has been given to the most formative text in the development of the discourse of urban design led regeneration. *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, the official report of Richard Rogers and the Urban Task Force, focused on the regenerative and humane effects of well-designed cities. In *Cities for a Small Planet* (1997: 16) Rogers outlines this argument:

> Active citizenship and vibrant urban life are essential components of a good city and civic identity. To restore these where they are lacking, citizens must be involved in the

> evolution of their cities. They must feel that public space is in their communal ownership and responsibility. From the modest back street to the grand civic square these spaces belong to the citizen and make up the totality of the public domain, a public institution in its own right which like any other can enhance or frustrate our urban existence. The public culture is the theatre of an urban culture. It is where citizenship is enacted, it is the glue that can bind an urban society.

Borden (2003) applauds Rogers' aspirations, but his criticism is directed at its vision of civilising design, of homogeneous consensus and the 'public city' of European urban conviviality. Holden & Iveson (2003) discuss evocations of the power of contemporary urban design in 'urban renaissance' policy discourses. Their discussion of the recently developed image of the 'good city' elaborates upon research identifying sustained connections between urban redesigns and local revanchist policies consistent with state intentions to routinise neoliberalism (2003: 62). Again, after listing the significant qualities of the Roger's Report, Amin et al (2000) criticise continued over-confidence in design solutions to social problems. In response, they assert an irreducibly conflictual model of the democratic, plural city of difference and claim the report lacks adequate attention to the normal differences within cities (ethnicity, mundane practices, everyday emotions), the dynamism of urban social forces which must be harnessed and confronted. Cities are social arenas as much as they are built spaces; sources of fluid identity, of changed relationships between locality and community where (contra Rogers) conflict is normal and essential. They satirise the aspirations of New Labour urban regeneration policies:

> How should cities be set up? So that that they will attract workers in these industries - especially younger managers and professionals who will give a city the buzz. In turn, working class people will find a niche — servicing these middle class people, acting as evidence of multicultural cosmopolitanism or exemplifying problem communities. They will only be allowed to cheer from the sidelines as the niceness squeeze of this gentrification continues (2000: 22-23).

Aestheticization

A main area of substantive concern for a study such as this, a central historical theme of urban sociology and cultural studies generally, is the pronounced centrality of the aesthetic across a range of social fields. A main stimulus for this emphasis in recent

sociology was the revival of interest in Benjamin and Simmel in the 1980s alongside analyses of the significance of the aesthetic domain as an organising principle and formal aspect of life in contemporary societies and in modern and postmodern sociality (Frisby 1985, Lash 1990, Lash & Urry 1994, Featherstone 1991). Lash & Urry's (1994) depiction of the disorganising global economy's generation of high demands for aesthetic reflexivity is one source of the concept of the 'aestheticization of everyday life':

> Nothing is fixed, given and certain, while everything rests upon greater knowledge and information, on institutionalised reflexivity ... such increasingly uncontrolled economies of signs and space are inconceivable without extraordinarily complex and ever-developing forms of information, knowledge and aesthetic judgement.

Thus, amid disputes over their origin, extent and implications (Featherstone 1991, Savage et al 1995) aestheticised practices, especially in distinctive uses of consumer goods, are seen as key symbolic building blocks in the constitution of a significant proportion of society. Theses of intensified individualisation (Giddens 1991) and 'internalized freedom' (Beck 1998) are applied to aesthetic resources in Berking (1996) and Maffesoli (1996) to identify an emergent 'progressive' solidarity in fluid, tribal contexts of self-identification. Such views interpret 'aesthetics in the widest sense', 'taste groups' and 'solidary individualism' as enabling 'social bonding to go on well after the concept of community has apparently exhausted itself' (de la Fuente 2000: 241). The long-standing debate on the commodification of culture has now to take into account the new realities of late modernity. Böhme's (2003: 72) depiction of the transformed importance of the aesthetic economy emphasises the 'ubiquitous phenomenon of an aestheticization of the real'. The generalisation of 'aesthetic labour' (designated as 'the totality of those activities which aim to give an appearance to things and people, cities and landscapes, to endow them with an aura, to lend them an atmosphere in ensembles') undermines the contemporary adequacy of the art-kitsch distinction in culture industry theory. This newly-integrative labour form operates within the 'entire spectrum' of practices dealing with appearances over 'materiality and practicality'. Basing his perspective on 'the almost total retreat of class-specific consciousness' and rejecting the concept of 'inauthentic' or illusory satisfaction in mass cultural consumption, he finds little to support in Haug's ascetic

Marxism and Bourdieu's class reproduction via cultural distinction. His stance in relation to the driving forces behind aestheticisation is that in the affluent society it becomes obvious

> that while luxury and excess may contribute to the distinction and realisation of social status, they are also something more generally human, and therefore relate to a fundamental human need. This need … is the wish for life's intensification [in a period of capitalist development where individuals] invest their emotions and playfully and pleasurably rehearse desired life forms (77-80).

Notwithstanding the affirmation of these unfolding developments, the critique of aesthetic economy is undiminished. Thus in an era characterised by the pleasure principle (Marcuse), 'the gates of freedom are not automatically flung open'. The excessive expenditure driving an economy based on limitless desire requires worldwide exploitation and reveals the thorough ambivalence of the aestheticized real. Advanced economies organised around surfaces still depend on global and personal relations of violence, and it remains the case that '[a]musement under late capitalism is the prolongation of work' (Horkheimer & Adorno [1947] cited in Böhme 2003: 80). Indeed, while the broad rejection of tragic and intellectualised visions of commodity seduction have significant explanatory power, it needs to be kept in mind (as in Harvey 1990: 115) that urgent emphases on otherness and the 'temporary contract' (Lyotard) in postmodern thought can also describe the long trend of regressive wealth redistribution and acute social exclusion. Neo-tribalisms are not to be understood simply as liberated modes of solidarity, emerging as they do in the real context of the diminished and smashed ethical foundations of solidarity's modern forms; they can as easily be read as attempts to locate enduring bonds of community. The stressful imperative of constant adjustment to new scenes can equate to a 'privatised survival' of the increasingly isolated individual (Bauman, in Lury 1996: 253). Developing this theme, Zizek's (1998) reinterpretation of individualism foregrounds the radical depoliticisation of the economic sphere. Forms of tribalised post-politics are viewed as fundamentally 'interpassive', a depiction informing his analysis of an inchoate domination within contemporary modernity. Thus the motor of the very fluidity celebrated as heralding the new world is the same old 'inexorable logic of capital' where

> [f]ar from being confronted with the abyss of their freedom, i.e. loaded with the burden of responsibility that cannot be alleviated with the helping hand of Tradition or Nature, today's subject is perhaps more than ever caught in an inexorable compulsion that effectively runs his life (1998: 162).

To finish establishing the theoretical material and the concerns of the thesis we can note Welsch's (1997) identification of deep-seated 'aestheticization processes' driven by the economic colonisation of the symbolic and aestheticised perceptions of reality; a process of aestheticization where the 'unaesthetic is made, or understood to be, aesthetic' (1997: 7). In terms of aesthetic *perception*, he argues, like Bourdieu, that this contemplative mode of attention allows people to direct their gaze 'exclusively towards specifically aesthetic aspects and relations of objects, without being drawn into the real ones' and identifies in the global 'suffusion of epistemological aestheticization in the 20th century' a key element in explaining social change. Rather than produce a dead end of individuated consuming nomads, he argues, a 'genuinely aestheticised culture' could enable 'a transfer of aesthetic sensibility to social issues through a specific analogy between conditions in art and in life' (1997: 26). In a similar vein, and more directly concerning the implications of urban form, Bentley (1999) understands such aestheticised outcomes as the result of conflicting interests deployed in the 'form-production battlefield' where the interests of developers dominate the thoroughly culturalised and aestheticised production process in architecture. As a result, the potential for 'richness' in experience of city form is reduced in the resulting urban transformations; worsened by aesthetically-oriented design practices which 'all too often result in rich representations of projects, rather than rich settings in the world of everyday experience' (1999: 174-175).

While such questions are, of course, relevant to the wider concerns of this thesis (the implications of the authoritative promotion of an aesthetic relation to Glasgow's central built environment and to 'design') my main approach will be to consider how themes in this field directly inform the core issues of this study. Thus, persuasive perspectives on aestheticization are deployed to interrogate the legitimising depiction of the city as a work of art; the emphasis on public space as consumption and

exhibition space, and the question of the requirement for, and politics of, a social diffusion of architectural appreciation.

Theory and the Festival

The G99 festival cannot escape an intimate involvement with many of the themes laid out above. It made no specific claims for an intervention in any detailed sense, but announced an agenda of design education and appreciation with clear origins in cultural, economic and political debates about the potential of city life and regeneration. The event was always more than an opportunity to boost the image of the city with implications for the urban economy, to receive, multiply and spend state funds in popular projects of celebration and civic pride. The festival was understood as an opportunity to develop the transformation into a contemporary city, was understood as a process of progress, of qualitative change, the development of the new identity of the city, one with the potential to be more widely shared.

The main themes laid out above, a connected series of theoretical and substantive areas, informs to varying degrees of centrality the main focus of this study. These categories and concerns provide determinate signposts for the following chapters, placing the events described in the context of explanatory discourses of urban cultural change and widespread practices of urban design. The social, cultural and material context manifested within different categories of concern is the aestheticization of the city itself — as an aspect of its conflicting representations and as a key attribute of the newly dominant groups. These overlapping domains are understood in relation to dominant trends in consumer societies and modes of representation that legitimise urban development directions. Regarding the main aesthetic theme, the thesis inquires into the relationship between, on the one hand, the representation of a democratised architecture and 'design' aesthetic as an inclusive policy offering individuals a more secure place in the world, and on the other hand, disagreements regarding the capacity of architecture to provide benign and enduring sources of stability in contemporary life. This involves a close analysis of the means through which the G99 festival asserted its own representation of Glasgow, of the architecture and architectural 'meanings' it emphasised, and the cultural changes which were publicly envisaged as a more or less direct result. Thus, with reference to these main themes and discussions, and using categories drawn

from a broad field of social theory and multidisciplinary urban studies, I describe and evaluate the city's most recent large-scale cultural festival.

In the following section I develop an analysis of Glasgow's nineteenth and twentieth century great exhibitions. Such an historical analysis provides a richer understanding of the particular social pressures, ambitions, and cultural dynamics which constitute the initial framework of Glasgow's reputation as a design centre. In looking at the city's most important accomplishments in architecture and visual culture I draw out some key contextual and developmental underpinnings of the city's transformation in repositioning itself as a place exposed to many of the themes discussed above.

2

Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: Precursors of G99

> The Europe one reads about in Arabic accounts was a place of discipline and visual arrangement, of silent gazes and strange simulations, of the organisation of everything and everything organised to represent, to recall like an exhibition some larger meaning. Outside the world exhibition, it follows paradoxically, one encountered not the real world but only further models and representations of the real. Beyond the exhibition and the department store, everywhere that non-European visitors went … they found the techniques and sensation to be the same. Everything seemed to be set before one as though it were the model or picture of something. (Mitchell 1988: 12)

> I think Glasgow's gone back to the situation in 1900 where it had its own sense of itself and I think it's got that again. (Deyan Sudjic, 1998)

Introduction

The Great Exhibition of 1851, in its collection and display of a modern multiplicity was a monument to consumption and one of the first 'global' events. This prototype of modern architectural form and spectacle, of the organisation of the gaze, established the model exhibitionary techniques that would structure Glasgow's own Exhibitions. The cultural and historical themes of spectacle and vision resonate with those raised earlier in that the exhibitions can be understood at one level as moments in the developing aestheticisation of the city, and of Glasgow's image as a city of architectural distinction. They were large scale events intended to showcase commodity production, and to do this within visually and spatially innovative, temporary architectures. This chapter develops the general and specific aspects of the exhibition phenomenon in Glasgow with reference to the commentaries that theorise their historical role in the development of capitalist culture. What becomes clear is the city's changing relationship to large scale exhibitions and the emergence of an emphasis upon the historic architecture as a source of attraction and economic promotion.

The 1851 exhibition has informed the cultural analysis of modernity from a series of perspectives. For example, Hoffenberg's (2001) emphasis on the developing Imperial and colonial power structures, the social imaginaries which emerge in 1851's taxonomy of the empire into displays of global domination and ordered hierarchies of the civilised and non-civilised 'other'. Discussing the way the 'shared fantasies' of identity, in displays of nation and empire linked visitors together imaginatively while establishing new divisions, he writes,

> [t]he envisioning of the material and social worlds at the exhibitions made public and visible much that was generally private and invisible. The exhibitions revealed, for example, peoples, goods and machines usually hidden behind walls of various types and, in doing so, made visible and comprehensible various commercial and social links. These illustrated the growing ideologies of Britain's New Imperialism and colonial nationalism in living pictures. Exhibitions created images of Empire and nation which in the words of one English scientist, "annihilated" time and space, or previously assumed chronological and geographical distances, while simultaneously creating other distinctions (Hoffenberg 2001: 18).

This perspective emphasises the new 'international' consciousness, shaped and reflected in the exhibitions of the human and material resources of the British Empire. Capitalist competition symbolised in the machinery, process and plant displays was naturalised in a context of the European self-image within a racialising hierarchy. Hoffenberg's study is concerned to reveal the historical impact of these events in establishing the parameters within which states affirmed new power relations across space. The exhibitions are viewed as texts capable of multiple interpretations and their use to shape hegemonic relations between the 'centre' and 'periphery' is revealed in a manner which reintroduces the historical agency of the represented 'other'. Bennett's (1996) extensive study theorises this tragic dimension in an analysis of the social development of museums and art galleries. In the context of change in the management of social order in the nineteenth century, he argues the contemporary development of the museum was the locus of a subtle disciplinary technology. His concern is with the forms of cultural domination that emerge alongside and within the expansion of the museum and which have two main modes: the permanent display of ordering power in the museum as institution, and the international exhibitions as a temporary and refocusing technology of power. An

inward movement of power relations is identified in the relocation of punishment from a public 'dramaturgy' to a structured, enclosed, space of surveillance: 'an inward-looking web of power relations'. Bennett compares the model prison technologies of Mettray and Pentonville (1840/1842), the key developments in Foucault's history of the panoptic society, with the design of the exhibitions in the Crystal Palace. Foucault had been predominately concerned with government, the 'ordering' of the unstable populace made fully visible to the forces of panopticism. Bennnett's more elaborated 'exhibitionary complex' relies on an internal order that results from gazing *on* the ordered collections which symbolise the accumulated authority of the state in which,

> through the provision of object lessons in power — the power to command and arrange things and bodies for public display — they sought to allow the people, and *en masse*, rather than individually, to know rather than be known, to become the subjects rather than the objects of knowledge. Yet, ideally, they sought also to allow the people to know and thence to regulate themselves; to become in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows (Bennett 1996: 63).

He develops his complex through an expanded application of Foucault's genealogy of power where state responses to transgression enable techniques of power, a de-institutionalised 'swarming of disciplinary mechanisms' to produce a society of surveillance. Where Foucault emphasises surveillance over spectacle as the main social dynamic through which order is managed, Bennett gives equal attention to the ordering force contained in the exposure of power 'for all to see', of order as a spectacle. The developing relationship of the subject to the state is a seductive 'association with power'. Rather than simply being the object of power, as in Foucault's schema, Bennett makes the following point about the exhibitions' ordering force:

> To identify with power, to see it as, if not directly theirs, then indirectly so, a force regulated and channelled by society's ruling groups but for the good of all: this was the rhetoric of power embodied in the exhibitionary complex ... This power thus subjugated by flattery, placing itself on the side of the people, by affording them a place within its workings ... (*ibid.*: 67).

This privileged position was an illusion, but one whose main principle was most fully enacted in the international exhibitions which placed the world, past and present, 'metonymically available in the assemblages of objects and peoples they brought together … before a controlling vision'. The new architecture of the exhibitions would be the enabling technology for the spaces in which these normalising transformations would take place. The visiting crowds, exploring a world beyond their everyday experience, were a core element of the exhibition, constituting the subject and regulated object of the gaze in the context of a display of commodities. The popular viewing towers, and the viewing galleries of the exhibition buildings, were material and symbolic locations for the new self-regulating and disciplining experience of optical power, of viewing and being the view, the new experience of spaces of constant mass surveillance. Society 'performed' its own management as an element in a display of the material production of that society. The developed exhibitionary complex, by late nineteenth century, involved the establishment of permanent, publicly owned museums 'providing new instruments for the moral and cultural regulation of the working classes', and was further attained with an imposition of control over popular fairs through their regulation in the entertainment zones of the international exhibitions. Bennett notes the central importance of classifications in late nineteenth century exhibitions, the order and power relations of the world and its commodities arranged in ascending order of quality to culminate in the achievements of the metropolitan powers:

> The Great Exhibition led the way in sponsoring a display of architectural projects for the amelioration of working class housing conditions. This principle was to be developed, in subsequent exhibitions, into displays of elaborate projects for the improvement of social conditions in the areas of health, sanitation, education and welfare — promissory notes that the engines of progress would be harnessed for the general good. Indeed, exhibitions came to function as promissory notes in their totalities, embodying, if just for a season, utopian principles of social organisation which, when the time came for the notes to be redeemed, would eventually be realised in perpetuity (*ibid.*: 82).

Museums were permanent spatial representations of the new exhibitionary complex, whereas exhibitions were temporary and flexible enough to 'respond to shorter term ideological requirements' which allowed them,

> to serve the conjuncturally specific hegemonic strategies of different national bourgeoisies. They made the order of things dynamic, mobilising it strategically in relation to the more immediate ideological and political exigencies of the particular moment (ibid.: 80-81).

This section introduced some analyses concerning the informal power relations of modernity which ordered the new mass populace through a disciplined culture of the gaze. These interpretations stress the exhibitions' institutional role in establishing foundational experiences for a populace, disciplining experiences of visual consumption and desire, by its self-disciplining desire for what it was shown and how it saw itself. I'd now like to introduce analyses which emphasise the role of vision in these foundational experiences but are more concerned to contextualise the experience within sociological perspectives on city life in the metropolis. Moreover, the consumption these authors emphasise is primarily that of commodities rather than the visual consumption of works of art and artefacts which were to be found, categorised and ordered in the museums. The main contributions here are those of Walter Benjamin and Georg Simmel.

Simmel's 1896 essay (Simmel 1997) comments on the Berlin exhibition's temporary architecture and the moving crowd, but his emphasis is on the exhibition space as an experience of modernity in microcosm and as a representation of the increasingly globally constituted and networked metropolis (Frisby 2001: 111). It was developed from his sociological conception of the response to a 'commodity culture' of urban modernity, understood as an aestheticized human culture of, and relation to, a rationalised world of things. He makes the following key point about the organisation of the exhibition:

> The way in which the most heterogeneous industrial products are crowded together in close proximity paralyses the senses — a veritable hypnosis where only one message gets through to one's consciousness: the idea that one is here to amuse oneself (1997: 255).

Simmel argues an outward appearance of unity is the result which is in reality the product of radical separation of interests:

> It is a particular attraction of world fairs that they form a momentary centre of world civilisation, assembling the products of the entire world in a confined space as if in a single picture. Put the other way round a single city has broadened into the totality of cultural production. (1997: 256)

His key concerns in this essay are to interpret exhibitions generally through his review of the Berlin example. He argues for their world historical role in marking the power of cities to organise such events, and the source of this power in the things on display. The array of commodities exemplifies how rationalised objective culture is presented as a magical display of things dissociated from the meaningful conditions of their production. Simmel offers an explanation for the emphasis on display in the exhibitions, and for their role as places of fun and entertainment:

> While increasing civilisation leads to ever greater specialisation and to a more frequent one-sidedness of function within an evermore limited field, in no way does this differentiation on the side of production extend to consumption. Rather the opposite: it appears as though modern man's one-sided and monotonous role in the division of labour will be compensated for by consumption and enjoyment through the growing pressure of heterogeneous impressions, and the ever faster and more colourful change of excitements. The differentiation of the active side of life is apparently complemented through the extensive diversity of its passive and receiving side. The press of contradictions, the many stimuli and the diversity of consumption and enjoyment are the ways in which the human soul — that otherwise is an impatient flux of forces and denied a complete development by the differentiations within modern work — seeks to come alive. No part of modern life reveals this need as sharply as the large exhibition (256).

The experience of the exhibition is, then, one which reflects the general management of consumption in modernity, and therefore 'is a form of sociation into the culture of things' (Frisby 2001: 107) and a source of temporary relief from the relentlessly calculating nature of production. The enchanting and amusing forms which commodities take on reflect this desire for meaning in urban life dominated by rational administration. As a concentrated variant of the city and of the display

technologies of seduction born of competition, exhibitions aestheticise everyday consumption, thus composing urban life within a 'dreamworld' of commodities.

Walter Benjamin's section in 'Paris - Capital of the Nineteenth Century' discusses the Expositions Universelles in Paris in 1855 and 1867 in the following terms:

> World exhibitions were places of pilgrimage to the fetish Commodity ... [that] glorified the exchange-value of commodities. They created a framework in which their use value receded into the background. They opened up a phantasmagoria into which people entered in order to be distracted ... The world exhibitions erected the universe of commodities (Benjamin: 1989: 165-6).

Buck-Morss (1989) has drawn out the broader concerns in Benjamin's work which relate to this conception of the exhibitions. In her reading, his characterisation of the exhibitions is as an element in the conception of modernity as a hellish repetitive cycle of the social relations of capitalist commodity production. Simmel's theme of asymmetry in the productive and consumptive experience is present in Benjamin's own conception of the dominant relation to consumption in modernity as a phantasmagoria of the return of the ever same in the form of the seductive commodity. For Benjamin, the international exhibition is the paradigm example of the eternity of repetition within capitalism. Crowds were processed through the buildings and learned 'to look but not touch'; they collectively and individually experienced, 'the intoxication of the commodity around which surges the stream of customers' (Benjamin 1989: 55). Such spectacles of display initiated the modern forms of a pacifying commodity fetishism in an age of revolutions. In this regard Benjamin referred to the expositions as integrative 'folk festivals' of capitalism:

> The message of the world exhibitions as fairylands was the promise of social progress for the masses without revolution. Indeed the fairs denied the very existence of class antagonisms (Buck-Morss 1989: 86).

Thomas Richards' (1990) study of the Great Exhibition focuses on its relationship to the development of British advertising and the new representational modes of the commodity-saturated world. He grounds his analysis of the formation of capitalist advertising techniques in Debord's spectacle theory to present the Great Exhibition as the dead centre of a world of dominant exchange relations; of the development of a new system of representation — the semiotics of capitalist production. The system

of objects, their variegated representation in the commodity image and centrality in Victorian social life would come to form the basis for Debord's concept of capitalist representation as a 'permanent opium war'. Richards' emphasis is less the power-laden displays of 'civilisation' than the early ordering of the politically important 'cultural work' of 'representing things' with increasing sophistication, of the commodity having a simultaneously 'English' and universal utility (Richards 1990: 4-5). On the origins of the spectacle in the Great Exhibition, he argues that,

> during and after the exhibition the commodity became the still centre of the turning earth, the focal point of all gazing and the end point of all pilgrimages. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the first outburst of the phantasmagoria of commodity culture. It inaugurated a way of seeing things that marked indelibly the cultural and commercial life of Victorian England (18).

Richards identifies the imagery of the isolated commodity as the fulcrum of a new totality of capitalist culture, going on to describe the developed spectacle that,

> entailed the autonomous iconography of the manufactured object, the replacement of history by commemoration, the invention of a democratic ethos for consumerism, the constitution of a manageable consuming subject, a reshaping of language, a mythology of abundance. These elements of spectacle wrought a cultural revolution that altered the very fabric of life in Britain ... The commodity culture pioneered by the Great Exhibition and later translated successfully into the discourse of advertisers provides a semiotic base from which to manage the difficult process of a controlled broadening of the capitalist system within England. Great advertised exhibitions of things celebrated unrestrained capitalist development and lowered the pressure of mass discontent (251).

By the time of the Great Exhibition in Glasgow of 1888, the 'commodity culture' would have been well-established in the city's middle classes. A key driving impetus behind the exhibition was civic pride, the metropolitan status which came with the administration of a large scale collection and display of goods. Exhibitions both collected and displayed culture, in terms of both art works and the *laissez-faire* mythology of plenitude, while establishing exhibition cities as places of high cultural significance. In Glasgow's case, as second city of the Empire, a world centre of engineering, the most impressive illustration and spatialisation of the city's status as a metropolis was its monumental commercial architecture and the wider context of

civic pride in its ordering and management. I now move on to some key influences upon the origins of this architecture and its intended range of social consequences.

Glasgow's Monumental Architecture

Glendinning et al (1996: 185) depict two competing poles of 'architecture culture' funded by the distinctive patronage of the Scottish bourgeoisie in the early period of *laissez-faire* confidence. The long-standing dialectical development of Edinburgh and Glasgow produced a situation by the early 1800s where the Scottish 'city as a whole is increasingly exalted as a kind of collective monument'. Glasgow's elite had, by the early 1820s-30s, begun to respond to the negative effects of its uncontrolled urban expansion. Within this context of rapid urban and social change, and until the spread of disease in the city in 1848, the city was understood, in elite discourses, as 'a fundamentally civilising force' (ibid.: 244). Pressures upon the broadly evangelical business elite to sustain an ordered economic and spiritual urban environment stimulated a rational approach to managing an urban expansion and improvement. In comparison to Edinburgh's experience of expansion (with a spatially segregated and elitist culture emerging in the New Town), 'by the 1820s Glasgow had begun, far more than Edinburgh, to assume the differentiated layout of a true capitalist city' (*ibid.*: 217). The grandeur and visual order involved in this new spatial planning, such as David Hamilton's neo-classical townhouses in the newly laid-out central streets, attracted international attention to the city:

> The results of the push to monumentalise the Scottish city, west and east, were assessed by an influential outside observer in 1826. In that year, one of the great European masters of early nineteenth century classicism, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, visited Scotland. In Glasgow he noted the 'purity' and 'splendour' of the new architecture, and in both cities he hailed the rapid march of neo-classical modernity (*ibid.*: 219-220).

Importantly, an element of Glasgow's economic and cultural confidence was expressed in 'going further with contemporary design' than Edinburgh, a main example being the city's enthusiasm for the Northern Renaissance (an eclectic style influenced by the international vogue for Second Empire style) in the high architecture boom of mid-century. The city's particularly dense proliferation of such ornamented styles was related to the rational layout of the city. As Glendinning and his co-authors explain (1996: 308) 'in central Glasgow's grid-iron layout, there was

often only a single facade available to the designer, so the rampant Northern Renaissance outcrops … were more verticalised and congested [than in other Scottish cities]'. In placing the national importance (and local symbolic capital) of this eclecticism in context, they refer to the confident exportation to Edinburgh of a 'Glaswegian swagger and love of bristling complexity'. Scottish architecture from this period of early confrontation with modernity reveals a constant conflict between fashionable historicist styles and the architecture of 'eternity' (most especially in the work of Alexander Thomson and Mackintosh). Another contributing factor in the rise of eclecticism, as Alexander Thomson had noted, was the expanded production and circulation of illustrated books and journals, giving architects access to 'examples of every known style.' The city's delegation to Paris in 1866, headed by the Provost John Blackie, visited Haussmann's new boulevards. With new municipal powers of improvement, and the ambition to make Glasgow a 'second Paris', an 'uncompromisingly rationalistic' replanning of street layout would come to reinforce the already existing demands for visual drama in bourgeois neighbourhoods and directly shape the city's morphology during the late nineteenth century (*ibid.*: 256).

The built environment of Scottish modernity developed as one of reaction and counter-reaction; a series of total visions of utopian design solutions and languages (Glendinning & Page 1999). This 'endless clashing of Utopias was creative and exciting, but also a destructive and repetitive process' (*ibid.*: 14). A constant theme of city management throughout the nineteenth century regarded the city as a 'common possession' and even in the 'time of the most enthusiastic *laissez-faire* capitalism, the built environment was always regulated by ordering ideals' (*ibid.*: 20). Glasgow's New Town layout is described as a 'new pattern of segregation of public and private, a reduction of density, rejecting the old, integrated, hierarchical patterns for a more decentralised type of elitism' (*ibid.*: 21). The commentaries of Alexander Thomson and James Salmon indicate a clear relation of the form of the city and its architecture, considered as a spiritual expression of the broader involvement of the whole urban population with the wider capitalist and imperialist confidence. Thus for Glendinning & Page, 'Glasgow was a theatre of the Scottish urban sublime' relating this point to Thomson's image of the experience of the monumental city as a divine revelation.

After the commercial elite moved west to the mansions in Blythswood from the Merchant City area, an area of very poor and overcrowded residence developed within the properties they left behind, as did a spectacular series of shop fronts (Schmiechen 1996). In Buchanan Street, 'the new street facade was so spectacular that Glasgow acquired a world-wide reputation as a glowing commercial city "built in style and beautiful in all ways"' (here quoting William Cobbett in 1833). In the following extract (1996: 489) he illustrates the expansion in high architecture which accompanied the rise of manufacturing in the city:

Figure 2.1: Contemporary lithograph of Royal Exchange Square

> Much of this new look was the face of a new capitalism. The Royal Bank of 1827 and a New Exchange of 1828, both in the imposing Exchange Square, and then a bank building boom of the 1830s and the 1840s, mark the rise of a new class of princes of finance, trade and manufacture who used architecture to announce their arrival on the economic and social scene … The nineteenth century display of wealth in Glasgow was probably unsurpassed in Britain. Indeed its lavish and ostentatious townscape for which it had become famous, was the manifestation of a highly materialistic society.

The range of styles and inventiveness in Glasgow's rich streets confirmed the city as a centre of urban revolutionary transformations where the predominant style was the classical forms traditional architectural theory associates strongly with an open culture and anti-elitism. Thus, the architectural language of this era expressed an economic dynamism while representing an enduring social order. Schmiechen's essay introduces the 'widespread notion that the true function of architecture was to

elevate the lower classes in order to bring the urban rich and urban poor together'. The flamboyant facades of Glasgow's central area were intended to have a functional role in affecting the behaviour and moral level of the 'man in the street':

> Out of this evolved an increased distinction between public and private space, a preference for inside as opposed to outside space, an obsession with highly ornate and historicist architecture, and the paradoxically elitist and democratic notion that it was possible to design architecture and urban space for the benefit and edification of all members of society while at the same time creating separate spheres for rich, poor and those in between. Architecture and public and private space, be it street or park, or commercial or residential building, was viewed as a social language which could form behaviour ... Order in society was to be achieved, Adam Smith and others had argued, through the teaching of discipline and respect for authority, and the encouragement of the arts. As a result Glasgow, like other Victorian cities, developed a new, deliberate, and consciously thought-out visual iconography — a language of architecture which acted as a link between the prevailing socio-economic and political thought and the physical environment. The function of art and architecture was to build 'social bridges' (Schmiechen 1996: 491).

Thus, a 'moral functionalism' is intended, one recalling Hume's aesthetic principle of associationism; a bridge-building acting through distracted perception of the modern architecture, The social ordering intended through Glasgow's architecture in a period of radical working class militancy is clear :

> Glasgow architect James Salmon discussed the social and political benefits of good urban design within the context of what he called the 'architectural economy' as a way of addressing the 'impending danger of the city health and morals.' (ibid.: 490-491, quoting Salmon in 1851)

At a later period in the city's spatial development, in the decade before its first Great Exhibition, three railway stations opened in the city centre (Queen Street 1878, Saint Enoch's 1880, Central Station 1884). These assemblages of time-space compression (Harvey 1990) constituted one of the preconditions for the exhibitions' mass tourism (Urry 1990: 21) and were both spectacular new spatial elements in, and a dramatic reordering of, the city.

The City's Great Exhibitions

Glasgow's municipal and business elite organised four exhibitions between the years of 1888 and 1938. The first three were held in Kelvingrove Park (laid out by Joseph Paxton in 1854), the last in Bellahouston Park. The first attracted nearly six million visitors, the last had an attendance over twelve and a half million. Kinchin and Kinchin (1988, hereafter K&K) provide the main history of the exhibitions in Glasgow and make the following brief point:

> Glasgow entered the lists relatively late, when exhibition activity was reaching its peak in the 1880s, and embarked with the energy of industrial maturity on what was to prove a highly successful career in the field. Many characteristics of the city have found an outlet in its Great Exhibitions: its manufacturing and trading economy, its entrepreneurial outlook, fierce pride, vigorous municipal government and commitment to 'culture for the people' (13).

The theoretical perspectives outlined above: the new social and cultural disciplines developing within the 'exhibitionary complex', the exhibition as a dreamworld of consumption, and of the spectacularisation of the displayed commodity, inform my consideration of Glasgow's Exhibitions, of 'culture for the people'. I develop an analysis which both contextualises certain theoretical perspectives and connects the resulting conclusions to a closer study of current exhibitionary developments.

The city's museums are especially impressive examples of municipal self-confidence and bourgeois civic ambition (Kinchin 2000: 312). Glasgow's main Art Gallery and Museum (1901) was built with the profits from the 1888 Exhibition and the anticipated surplus from 1901.[1] The city was by this time 'the sixth most populous city in Europe, exceeded only by London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg' (Maver 2000: 180). The urban middle class at this time was concerned to reform the leisure activities of the industrial working class. Traditional fairs and pastimes had become associated with 'Bacchanalian bad behaviour' and drunkenness which ran counter to the new middle class social ideal of edifying leisure in an age of progress. In this situation,

---

[1] In 1856 a Liberal Lord Provost of Glasgow, Andrew Orr, set up a publicly funded civic art collection (McLellan Galleries) 'complete with custom-designed galleries' to promote the 'instruction and gratification' of the populace (Maver 2000: 79).

> [r]eformers of all classes not only supported the movement to provide temperance hotels and coffee and tea rooms but also hoped to elevate the workers by establishing municipal parks, opening existing gardens to the public, endowing museums and building art galleries (Smout 1986: 150).

Smout notes that the art galleries and museums were of interest to only a small minority of the local populace until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Placed alongside the wider historical context of decline in church attendance, the Glasgow exhibitions would have been essential cultural events supporting the adoption of a secularised exhibitionary complex in the local context.

The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888

The largest exhibition in Britain since the London Exhibition of 1862, Glasgow's 1888 International Exhibition was to embody a renewal of the energies of 1851. The city possessed 'all the main attributes of an exhibition city':

> On a great river, at the heart of an international trading network, it was one of the world's leading manufacturing centres … Further assets were Glasgow's powerful civic pride and well-developed municipal mentality (K&K: 17-18).

1888 displayed the municipal achievements of the city and funded a suitably imposing Art Gallery and Museum for its growing art collection. The wider aims were to encourage the expanding middle class interest in international tourism and improve the city's reputation abroad. Glasgow's business leaders funded the exhibition and works substantially improving the city's appearance especially for the event. For the main exhibition hall, James Sellars designed a 'mish-mash of Byzantine, Moorish and Indian influences, soon dubbed "Baghdad by Kelvinside"' (K&K: 21). Conforming to the international standard, the displays included, Fine Art and Industrial machinery, new inventions, manufactured and hand crafted commodities from around the world (in 1888, mostly from the Empire), and an entertainment zone that would expand at subsequent exhibitions. The photographic record of the 1888 Exhibition shows a highly ordered, if crowded, display of heavy machinery and the Fine Art Display. Contemporary illustrations of the main building show the two Main Avenues of the interior with their arched entrances emblazoned with a contemporary motto of emergent consumerism: 'By Knowledge Shall Thy

Chambers Be Filled With All Pleasant Riches'. Sketches of the interior show raised viewing platforms from where the entire length of the opposite avenue could be observed. The convention at this time was to design the main buildings as fantastic, 'oriental' spectacles, an exhibition architecture representative of the international space supposedly set up at the event, and a response to the controversial design of the Crystal Palace. Throughout the era of exhibitions the new materials used, the scale and the engineering methods of construction and design were most relevant in advertising to the visitors the new reality of engineered structures as liveable spaces, as a modern and enduring *architecture* (Greenhalgh 1988: 150). While there was a decorative backlash against the engineering aesthetic, and the new order it seemed to indicate,

> it is quite clear in retrospect that the exhibitions did help to promote and naturalise new ideas in buildings, smoothing the path for progressive builders from the end of the nineteenth century (ibid.: 160).

An example of the magical experiences to be had in 1888 was the novelty of electric lighting. While the machinery itself would have been spectacular, the transformation of the exhibition to an illuminated riverside palace with the Fairy Fountain close by, and set within a gently undulating wood, would have been an enchanting setting. The press enthusiastically compared these scenes with the similarly illuminated Paris exhibitions.

The Glasgow International Exhibition 1901

In comparison with 1888, and in relation to the cosmopolitan excitements of Paris the year before, 1901 was intended to be 'properly international'. Amid a booming optimism, Glasgow displayed its industrial power and its new Art Gallery and Museum to an international press and exhibition crowd. The Fine Art display raised the profile of local artists, particularly the Glasgow Boys while at the same time sidelining the proponents of Glasgow Style. This would have been a phenomenal spectacle — comparable to the London Dome or Disney World .[2] Panoramic images

---

[2] Ritzer (1999) notes Disney theme parks developed on the basis of models established in World's Fairs and amusement parks. In a manner similar to Bennett (1996) on the disciplining mode of bourgeois museum attendance, he argues Disney spaces managed away the 'moral holiday' (an aspect, for example, of Coney Island's Steeplechase Park 'insanitarium' of the 1920s) and established an ordered space in which the middle classes of

of the exhibition record impressive 'ephemeral vistas' of the brilliant white Industrial Hall with its golden dome beside the new Art Galleries. A detailed impression is given in the following description of the main building from a section on 'Exteriors of the Principle Buildings and the Architect's Main Idea' in the *Exhibition Official Guide* (1901: 27-28):

> The exterior of the exhibition is designed after the style of an Eastern Palace. The scheme is bold and masterly, combined with delicacy of treatment. The architect, Mr James Miller, has selected for his style palace architecture of the Spanish Renaissance of the 16th century, but the general feeling is oriental in effect … The style reaches its climax in richness of ornament and grandeur in the Industrial Hall, which constitutes the main portion of the Exhibition. The grand or ceremonial entrance is towards the Park, in the centre of the north façade. Here the front of the building is deeply recessed so as to form a piazza about 200 feet long by 100 hundred feet wide having in the background a peristyle of a double range of classic columns 30 feet high which, forming a screen nearly 200 feet long, continues the line of the north part of the buildings.

Photographs and souvenir paintings of the second exhibition in Kelvingrove Park show an ostentatious array of buildings and a discrete skyline thus visually isolating the exhibition from the surrounding city.

1901 and the Glasgow Style

Studies of 1901 emphasise the absence of a focus upon Glasgow Style, 'especially in view of the rampant Art Nouveau of Paris the year before and Turin the year after' (K&K: 59). Identified as the high water mark of the city's design history, Glasgow Style's relative failure to more fully influence the city's architecture, when compared to Art Nouveau across Europe, can be bracketed to a degree with the 1901 exhibition. With Rennie Mackintosh's School of Art making major progress by 1899 and his reputation abroad already well established, his designs for 1901 exhibition buildings were rejected. Patronage of Glasgow Style artist artisans had been restricted up to this point and, confident of an enthusiastic response there, they had concentrated their planning for the following year's Turin Exhibition.[3] The special

---

the long boom consumed rationalised and re-enchanted *fun*.

[3] A commercialised Glasgow Style was shown in Mackintosh's department store and Art School bookbinding stalls in the Women's Section, and in Wylie and Lochhead's interiors

importance of this moment in the city's design history requires detailing in order to highlight the characteristics of its approach to a totalising urban aestheticisation, of the city remade as a work of art.

The quartet of Mackintosh, Margaret and Frances MacDonald and Herbert McNair ('the Four') responded to the contemporary constellation of cultural, social and aesthetic influences and established the city's historic relation to the most powerful nineteenth century forces of cultural regeneration. The Glasgow group cultivated an intense reaction to literary themes of the chaotic and eternal in Baudelaire, to the Japanese aesthetic, the Symbolist themes in Rosetti, and in general the less defined themes of mysticism, nature and spirituality (Howarth 1977). Art Nouveau is described as an attempt to 'change the character of European civilisation', and 'the most important anti-historicist movement to gain an international audience via the exhibition medium' (Greenhalgh 1988: 161). Its exponents pursued a style expressive of a new art of modernity with an emphasis on orchestrated decoration. Reunification of art and craft would create a modern world, transforming the audience in a process of aesthetic enlightenment (Greenhalgh 2000b: 20). It was 'a style born of international communication, commerce and entrpreneurialism, a style concerned with mass as well as high art, with industrial patronage, urban life, the domestic interior, the ensemble and with the politics of production' (26). Its 'commercialised radicalism' enabled consumers to experience 'the thrill of contemporary life'. Juliet Kinchin argues Glasgow Style was the unique expression of Art Nouveau in the UK, especially in its particular relationship to the city, as informed by Geddes's influential assertion that design in a predominately urban nation should evoke an urban community's 'social personality'.[4] The Glasgow Style 'appealed to and was generated by, the middle classes, whose identity and character were fundamentally bound up with the concept of the City State' (Kinchin 2000: 311). In Glasgow, as in other industrial cities, the elite had 'literally built their ideology into the city's infrastructure through a vigorous programme of improvements which tackled the water supply, sanitation, housing, health, education

---

display: 'so while the exhibition did not make any major new artistic statement, it was nevertheless important in transmitting the Glasgow Style to a wider public' (K&K: 68).

[4] Between 1801 and 1901 the percentage of population living in towns grew from 20% to 80% (Urry 1990: 18).

and arts provision' (312).[5] Moreover, in relation to landed and professional Edinburgh, Glasgow's *fin-de-siecle* bourgeoisie was a volatile group. Its fluid identity was managed through '*visual* indicators of status and difference'. In relation to the city as a source of bourgeois identity Kinchin argues,

> [t]he emphasis on individualism, and on material culture as a physical expression of economic achievement had been firmly rooted in Glasgow's culture since the Enlightenment … [as have] qualities of overstatement and theatricality (315).

For example, Miss Cranston's tea rooms provided access to scenes of 'urban chic, fantasy and modernity'. And in the new Glasgow School of Art, a hub of modernism in the city, Newbery's 'educational philosophy downplayed the distinction between art and design' providing an impetus for a more generalised conception and application of design across the urban fabric. For this author, Glasgow Style provided sources to reimpose 'meaning and coherence on the fluid conditions of city life [and] sent out strong messages of individuality and control' (320).

A plaster model of Rodin's *John the Baptist* was exhibited in 1901, directly sourced from the previous year's Paris exhibition where it had been part of a central display of the artist's work. Silverman's (1989) study of the development of French Art Nouveau introduces a series of themes that inform the wider importance of the Rodin work. Here, the 'new art' is firmly identified with a government-sponsored and nostalgic conception of France as the fountainhead of all refinement. The 1889 Paris exhibition had been dominated by the Eiffel Tower and the massive Gallery of Machines, both expressions of technical modernisation described as 'art nouveau'. By the time of the 1900 exhibition, 'art nouveau' meant the,

> reinvocation of conventional overwrought masonry structures in the public domain and the retreat to an ornamental fantasy in the organicised private interior … Replacing the public iron monument with the private iron ornament, art nouveau celebrated modernity in domestic ensembles of nature and interiority (5).

---

[5] Glasgow's 'municipal socialism', developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in response to the city's atrocious living conditions had, by 1902, significantly improved the real conditions for all sectors of its population (MacCrone 2001: 10). During this period, the city was promoted as 'the first municipality in the world' (McDowall, cited in K&K 1988: 56). Reflecting the dominant religious and national ethos of the city's professional classes at this time, the 'high' architecture of commercial Glasgow represented a socially integrated space resting on the collective efforts to improve the city as a common resource and place.

This 'retreat to the interior' is related to a 'fundamental change in the conception of modern urban life and its promises' (8). Bing's pavilion in 1900 displayed interiors intended to be both a retreat from the hostile psychological environment of modernity, 'the feverish haste of modern existence', and a space of aesthetic stimulation. The interiors were responses to bourgeois social currents demanding a 'domain of tranquility for overwrought nerves and an arena for nervous stimulation' (288). The themes of conflict and psychic overload in Rodin's sculptures, *La Pensée* and The Gates of Hell, emerged from within intellectual concerns with the main 'historically significant theme of the European *fin-de-siecle*: the reaction against positivism and the emergence of a new way of knowing the world, based on the primacy of the self and its irrational components' (306). Thus for Silverman, themes of mobility, indeterminacy and simultaneity in Simmel's analysis of 'intellectualised' metropolitan life, and of the unconscious, of instability and a multiplicity of instinctual impulses, of nets of meaning rather than accretive stages of reasoning in Freud resonate with those in Rodin. The 1900 exhibition thus crystallised the main themes of French Art Nouveau based in a twentieth century 'metamorphic consciousness' (314). This study underscores how exhibitions could be pre-eminent spaces for the establishment and display of the representative symbolic forms in opposition to a dynamic cultural modernity. In contrast, the Glasgow group's engagement with these themes favoured a reunified art and life in one of the major industrial metropolises of the nineteenth century. Its closer connection to the crafts in the local fitting-out trades, and an abstracted use of natural form within stylised decorative arts made Glasgow Style a more positive response to urban modernity than French Art Nouveau's essentially anti-urban aristocratic nostalgia and 'compensatory aspect' (Brett 1992). Their commercial failure as heralds of vital intellectual and artistic currents illustrates the effects of varying national realities on the development and implications of modernism. Even if the aspirations within the city elite had their own degree of exaggeration and boosterism, Glasgow could never be a 'New Paris'.

An exhibition of model workers' accommodation, the 'Sunlight' cottages were near Shekhtel's highly popular Russian village which, when opened, 'elicited such comments as "bizarre", "fantastic" and "outrageous"' (K&K: 85).[6] The

[6] New ideas of house design, oriented to 'the future' and foreign vernacular forms became a

entertainments were very popular, and more elaborate than in 1888 when they were barely acknowledged by those organising the exhibition. Side-show entrepreneurs made huge profits with more thrilling extravaganzas. The main buildings were lit spectacularly at night transforming Kelvingrove Park into a place of enchantment, happily isolated and disconnected from the real conditions of wealth creation in the industrial city.

Figure 2.2: Two of Annan's 1901 photographs with Shekhtel's Russian village in lower frame

popular feature of the exhibition movement. The 'expo' feature of Glasgow's year as UK City of Architecture and Design 1999 followed this format through a more modest and pragmatic basis compared to the earlier enthusiasm especially in Secession exhibitions of crafted interiors or the American automated 'homes of the future'. In a distinct contrast, architects and those in the design circles of the city had the opportunity to freely and imaginatively design the garden sheds exhibited in the city's Botanic Gardens in May 1999.

These details of the exhibition suggest that the intention to re-stage the Crystal Palace was achieved. An attendance of nearly 11½ million (more than double the figure for 1888, and for 1851) and a properly international display established the city through its 1901 exhibition as a major player in Britain's rising capitalist culture.

The 1911 Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry

1911 sought to strengthen Scottish national imagery at a time of rising Home Rule demands. The Palace of History, Auld Toon and Highland Village organised popular examples of Scottish vernacular buildings of various status. Such exhibitions of 'the way we used to live', and of the historical treasures which were displayed within them, formed the historical context within which the achievements of technology in the industrial section could be assessed. A locally strategic example was the daily pageant on the Kelvin of the developments in naval science and power in models of the coracle to the Super-Dreadnought. The Clyde's increasing reliance on warship design and manufacture was indicated in this display as was the failure to diversify the economy generally into light industries and newer developments in naval engineering. More generally, the architecture of the principal buildings reflected the smaller scale of this event. The Palace of Industry, in 'Scottish Baronial grandeur', was far smaller than the main buildings of prior exhibitions.

It is clear, then, that both the 1901 and 1911 exhibitions excluded 'the newest ideas in Glasgow architecture'. In contrast with the mystifying associations of a historic Scotland expressed through a 'mock-Baronial stylism', the popular form at the 1911 exhibition,

> Glasgow's real wealth and power in this period ... were more realistically reflected in the neo-classical monumentalism of the soaring commercial blocks built by the assurance companies and banks in the city centre ... The Exhibition of 1911 ... was thus as underwhelming an architectural experience as 1888 and 1901 had proven to be, with again the new directions which had been indicated here and there in the city, excluded from the grand event (Eadie 1990: 234).

Eadie is clearly right though his latter point refers to the impact of the architecture on the critics of the day; it would be difficult to argue that the main buildings of the

exhibitions would have been unimpressive to the average visitor. Another key aspect of this exhibition was the provision of greatly increased entertainments that resulted in a carnival-like amusement zone at the north of the grounds with thrill rides on a grand scale including the 'Mysterious River' ride, a Mountain scenic ride and the

> Aerial Railway invented by W. L. Hamilton of Glasgow: The excitement of flying could be mildly experienced in a journey across the river 130 ft. up in a car suspended from a metal 'balloon' electrically propelled along cables … (K&K: 117).[7]

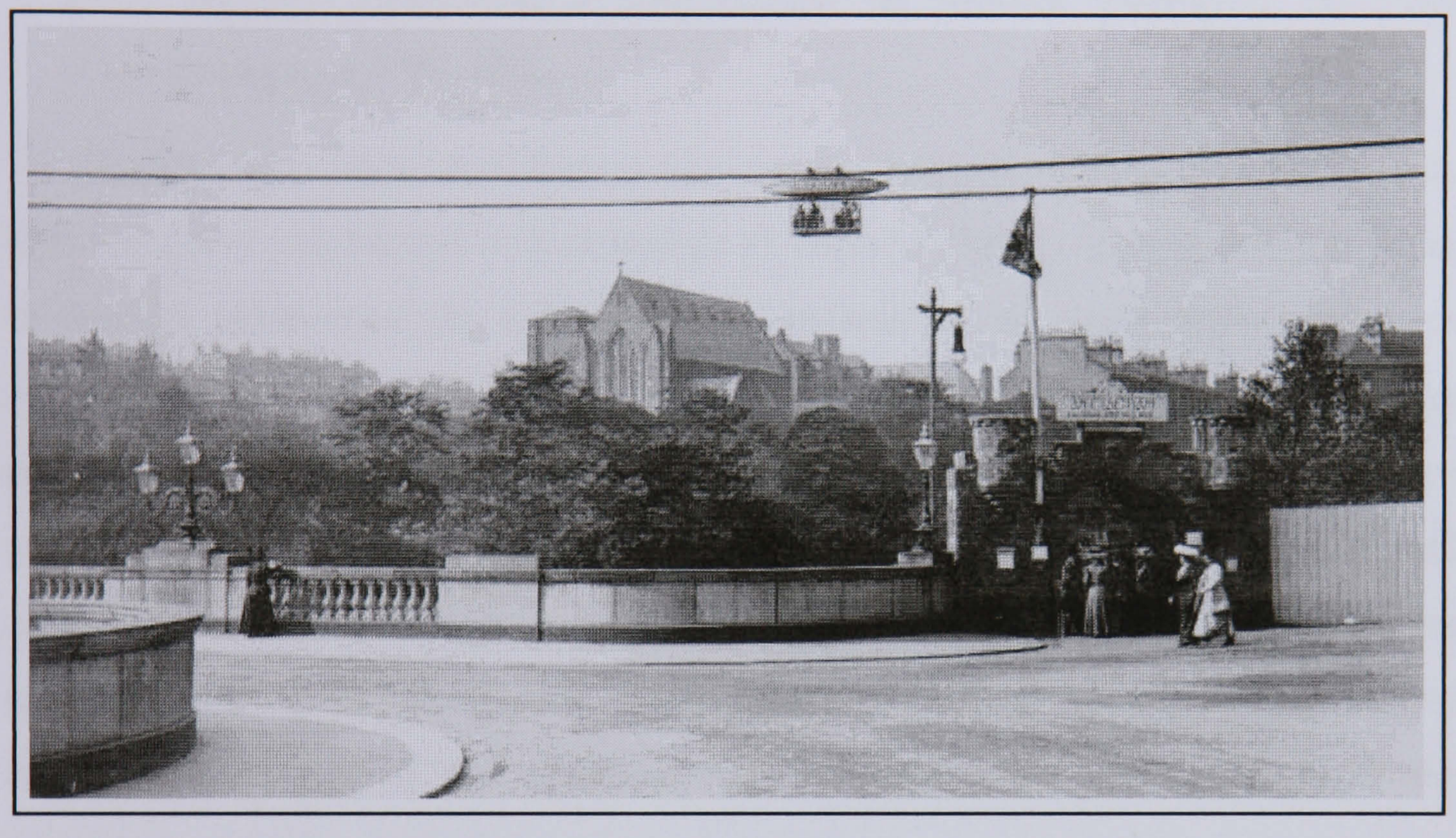


Figure 2.3: Modern urban excitement: fun and the spectacular viewpoint combined

This was a minor exhibition, noted mainly for the level of entertainments provided, the emphasis on consumer durables in exhibitors' displays and the continuation of class distinctions reflected in the Garden Club's restricted membership.

The 1938 Empire Exhibition

Described as 'the most elaborate and extravagant exhibition ever held in the United Kingdom, or anywhere in the British Empire', 1938 was held in an atmosphere of rearmament and post-depression optimism. The exhibition was the first to be organised by of the state agencies, an indication of emerging corporatist, and declining *laissez-faire*, modernisation. The more expansive scale of this event would

---

[7] De Cauter (1993) discusses the expansion of entertainments at exhibitions and notes how 'representation was replaced by attraction, meaning by fascination.' Here, exhibitions are viewed as key locations in the decline of a coherent system of representation of time and space; the main site where experience as consumption in amusement and 'shocks' replaces the relatively enduring temporality offered in a panoramic gaze.

mean a move to the more level and blank canvas of Bellahouston Park with parking places for 10,000 cars.[8] The exhibition followed closely the layout of the 1933 Chicago exhibition, and was similar in design to exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939):

> Glasgow had key features in common with all of them: a monumental, axial layout; buildings of relatively uniform design with elements of stylistic Modernism, painted in bright and co-ordinated colours; and (in contrast to the trade-bazaar atmosphere of many previous exhibitions) a concentration on national ideological projection (Glendinning et al 1996: 405).

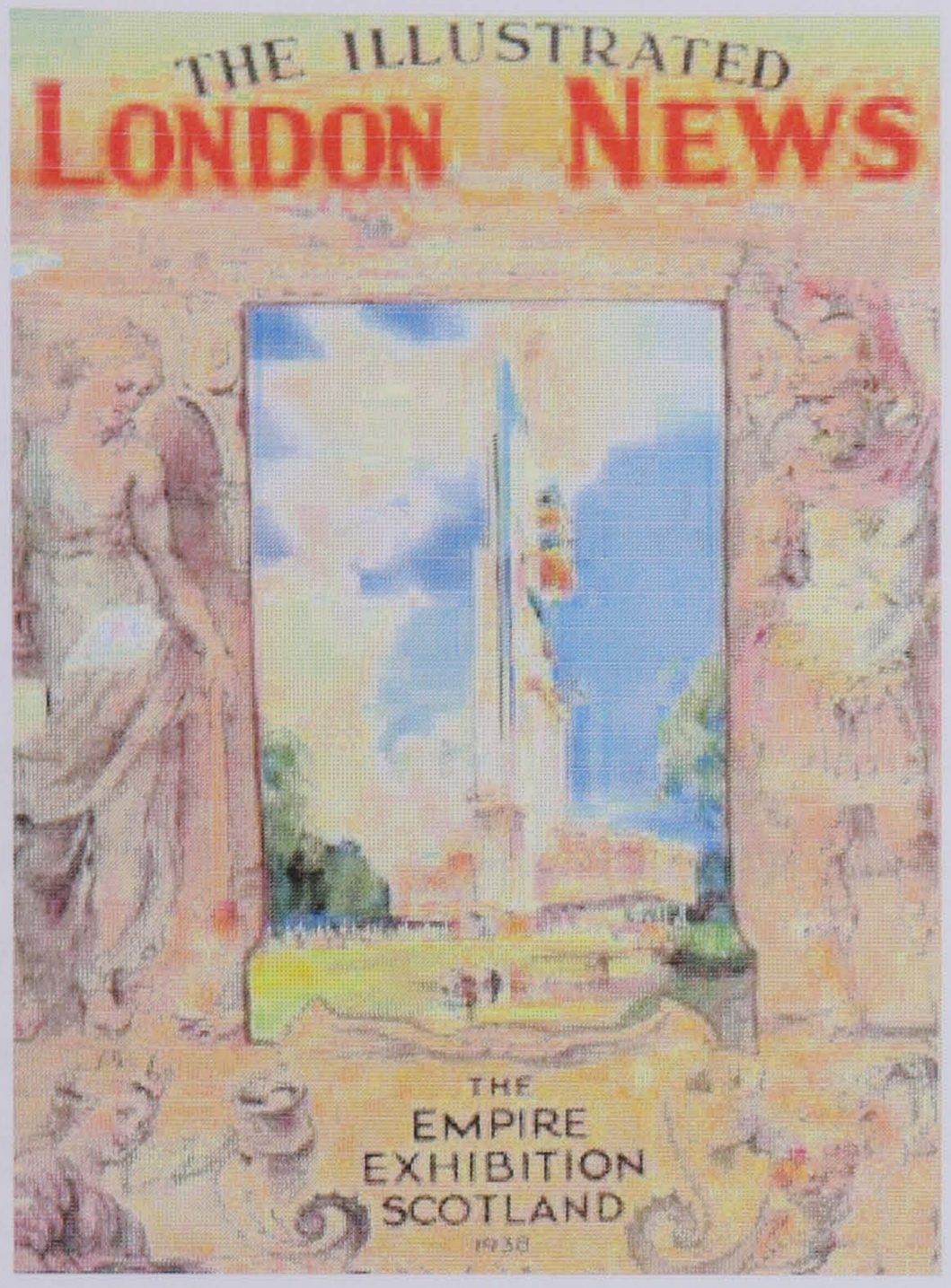
The 'International Style' architecture was more a spectacle of gigantism and novelty than the grand playfulness and exoticism of earlier building designs. From a wider ideological perspective the exhibition was represented by authoritative voices as symbolic of an Empire of limitless resources, tireless workers, and ordered leisure (K&K: 136). The immediate and enduring impression of the site would have been one of amazing modernity within a prevailing rhetoric of national modernisation and progress. National and company pavilions were uniformly designed within the exhibition's 'popular Modernism' vision as set out by Tait, the chief designer, and the monumentalism of the exhibition's ground plan was vast in terms of the Glasgow's everyday spatial experience. [9] To escape or contextualise the experience of overwhelming scale and regimentation, visitors could retreat to reassuringly vernacular (if staged and hybrid) authenticity in the form of the recreated Highland Village and experience the life of the Gaelic-speaking fisher folk at first hand. Beyond the surrounding trees rose the dominant architectural spectacle of the site — Tait's Tower of Empire, the first tower at the Glasgow exhibitions and a powerful symbol of Scotland's place within a larger imperial assembly, and of the city's late

---

[8] Exhibitions, notably in America from the thirties onwards, would be islands of fantasy within oceans of parking space: future technological utopias rather than displays of present products and production techniques. De Cauter (1993: 9) argues New York's 1939 'World of Tomorrow' exhibition where, 'every single building was designed to be entertaining ... had finally really become a funfair. It set the tone for post-war exhibition architecture. Architecture surrendered to the urge of visual excitement.'

[9] McKean (1987:186) observes Tait's enforcement of an aesthetic unity throughout the exhibition in which every element of design was his own or was approved by him. The widely-reported success of the prefabricated and system-built forms at the exhibition, and their association with Modernist ideals, can be argued to have influenced the representations of a future utopian Glasgow; provided for the masses by and under the benign control of expert designers.

1930's modernisation agenda. With an ostensibly impregnable trading position at the fin-de-siecle, the earlier exhibitions had had no need for such dominating imagery.



Relative economic decline, political militancy within the city's industrial working class and the rise of the Communist and Independent Labour Parties in the city either side of the First World War gave the 1938 'Empirex' a more directly propagandistic quality. The final realisation of a decent life through British and imperial resources was presented as imminent. Described as a 'symbolic observation tower', the design became the main symbol of the exhibition:

> It was the tower which enchanted every visitor to the exhibition. Descriptions of it abound with superlatives. Three hundred feet high, its silvered steel glittered by day and it shone out like a beacon at night. As an engineering achievement it was extraordinary (K&K: 158).

The most modern construction in Scotland at the time, its lightweight and systematic construction, vertical expression of strength, progress and confidence, helpfully illustrated the City Council's intention to symbolise the 'regeneration' agenda which had arisen in the city during the thirties (Maver 2000: 255). The 1937 leaflet *Scotland Calling* conveys the anticipated excitement and a key function of the view from the tower:

> A tower will rise from the crest of the hill in one unbroken sweep of 300 feet, an all-metal skyscraper, streamlined and pencil-thin. A specialist's job. The planning of its steelwork is beyond the range of everyday engineering for no tower of its height and design has yet been built to withstand the strain it will be called upon to carry. Yet six

> hundred people will be able to stand in safety on its observation platforms and see spread out below them the British Empire in miniature (in Crampsey 1988: 130-131).[10]

For Glasgow's municipal managers the exhibition's progressive forms and state involvement in its planning expressed a socially ideal image of the hygienic, well-ventilated and regenerated city. Such themes were deployed in the design of the prototype working class flat of the future (commissioned by the Scottish Council for Art and Industry), exhibited in 1938 in the form of the ground floor of an apartment block. This included a display of well-designed and well-made furniture providing a new standard level of interior modernity (McKean 1987: 149).

The sleek architecture of 1938 could hardly have contrasted more with the stone-built, smoke-stained city. The streetscapes of the tenemental city's poorest areas offered, as they still do, diminishing horizons down endlessly repeated building fronts. In comparison to the overwhelmingly monotonous and claustrophobic visual experience of Dumbarton Road or Duke Street, for example, the wide vistas and bright clean lines of 1938 provided a potent vision of the future, modern city form.[11] For Greenhalgh, such exhibitions and their idyllic visions must be understood from the perspective of the working people who attended:

> The exhibitions were one of the few creations of the nineteenth century aimed at the masses with something other than work in mind, in the direct sense at least. Few who attended regretted the experience ... [it is lamentable that] these dreamlike cities could not have exercised a greater influence on those responsible for creating the banal urban environment we are now forced to inhabit (1988: 226).

The drab character of the city had been relieved periodically by an architecture of entertainment. Between the wars Glasgow had become a centre of cinema-going,

---

[10]This is comparable with descriptions of the Glasgow Science Centre Tower: 'The wing tower, a 100 metre high landmark structure which will add an exciting new dimension to the city's skyline. The slender, visually unique tower ... will feature a viewing platform that will give visitors a fascinating perspective of the city below' (Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2000: 27).

[11]Lewis Grassic Gibbon's (1988: 57) 1930's essay 'Glasgow', put the modernity of the exhibition as a dazzling and dreamlike promise of the future into relief: 'In Glasgow there are over a hundred and fifty thousand human beings living in such conditions as the most bitterly pressed primitive in Tierra del Fuego never visioned. They live five or six to the single room ... It is a room that is part of some great sloven of tenement - the tenement itself in a line or grouping with hundreds of its fellows, its windows grimed with the unceasing wash and drift of coal dust, its stairs narrow and befouled and steep, its evening breath like that which might issue from the mouth of a lung-diseased beast.'

providing an escape during the depression years in enclosing and dreamlike vistas of America's cities, vast spaces and film stars.[12] Business invested heavily in such exhibitionary and architectural spectacles, in the façadism of the city's Art Deco cinemas and their neon-illuminated 'night architecture' (McKean 1987: 66).

Glasgow's response to the example set in the 1938 exhibition, supported by the rising authority of rationalised and bureaucratised city planning throughout the UK, and in the era of the socially progressive city architects office after the war, would be to abstract the issue of living conditions, as one of efficient, and standardised, social 'housing'. It followed the example of many other large cities and built a permanent exhibition building as regular, smaller scale events, mainly related to promoting design quality became more and more popular. These were eventually accommodated in the present Kelvin Hall (built as a permanent exhibition centre after 1911); the main venue for large indoor exhibition events, including circuses and military displays. The Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre was built in the 1980s (19,000 square metres of floor space and the annual location for the Scottish Ideal Home Exhibition) with a later addition of the Clyde Auditorium 'signed' by Norman Foster. And now, the Lighthouse and Science Centre both serve exhibitionary purposes and contribute to Glasgow's 'strategic' promotion as an architecturally distinctive international conference location.

Temporary Monument to Permanent Spectacle: Exhibitionary Glasgow

The city's exhibitions operated within broadly similar exhibitionary rhetorics representing Glasgow as a place regularly associated with cultural spectacle, visual excitement, and architectural distinction. Such spectacles can be understood as planned settings for the restatement of recurring, and essentially unchanging, discourse of the city's progressive future development. The dominant concern here, then, is the way urban regeneration discourses in Glasgow have again utilised strategies of spectacular representation and, as more fully discussed in the following chapter, the way a plethora of architectural themes predominate within this strategy. The more recent emphasis on architectural quality is of particular interest as, in

---

[12]In relation to the popularity of spectacles with the poor, Smout (1986: 158) notes the 1930s Carnegie Scottish studies recorded how 'about 80 per cent of their sample of young unemployed attended the cinema at least once a week, and 25 per cent more often.'

comparison with the exhibitions' emphasis on *temporary* and fantastic historicist architecture, it marks the popularisation and spectacularisation of an enduring 'high' architecture. This recommodification of architecture, a global phenomenon related to the dynamics of tourist practices, is taking place primarily in the centre of Glasgow, making the city centre a permanent space of exhibition.

The Exhibitions of 1888, 1901 and 1938, early festivals of architecture and design, linked Glasgow to the wider world and the globalising economy. Spectacularly staging the local connection to global flows is a main symbolic function of such an architecture. Thus, exotic and fantasy architectures of time-space compression, such as Templeton's mosque-like pavilion, Shekhtel's Russian village, and the inter-war modernity of Art Deco both framed and formed Exhibition content. As I will show, this is comparable with the contemporary city's flourish of neo-Modern and spectacularly eye-catching architecture intended to produce an enlivening contrast and conflict with the now historic built context. Here, Glasgow's contemporary architectural identity merges with the symbolic flows of global modernity. This acontextualism, dependent upon earlier layers of historical character, installs the city within a wider mainstream symbolic field as in the historicist and classicist periods. The city's architecture is spectacularly in step with the predominant imagery of European urban design.

The nineteenth century 'separation of the senses', especially the visual and tactile in the autonomisation of sight, enabled the quantification and homogenisation of visual experience, as radically new objects of the visual began to circulate (including commodities, mirrors, photographs) and form the material of the 'sanctification of vision'. Modernity's disenchantment is based upon 'seeing is believing' and 'believing is seeing'. Cities are now more and more remodelled in response to and to further enhance such a sanctification of vision. Architects and planners designed cities as places for the free play of the hegemonic visual sense (Urry 1999: 76).

The social and cultural developments that the first chapter introduced can now be closely related to the local urban form and aesthetics. In presenting the exhibitions as world historical moments in the genesis of new structures of self-managing social order, the commentaries I introduced stress the decline in freedom in the rise of the astheticized and ordered world gaze. Schmiechen's portrayal of the ordering

assumptions within Glasgow's ornate architectures raises similar questions in the area of the city form itself. Two separate spaces of power, the exhibition 'interior' and the city 'exterior', can be identified in the period of the early exhibitions. With the expansion of the middle classes, their post-war flight to the suburbs accompanying the rise of Modernism, social ordering would be better managed through spatial segregation.

Aspects of the city's intensive and generalised turn to trading on its design imagery have involved the city's *fin-de-siecle* avant-gardes. The most multipli-reproducible Glasgow Style motifs are now an element of the city's shared design culture, but, as with all avant-gardes, their content of aesthetic withdrawal, of an alternative world, is reversed and diminished as they are made to contribute to positioning the city within advanced forms of global and symbol-laden capitalist relations. The Spook School's medievalism, sensuality and use of vernacular materials provided a design history upon which was built a city of 'contemporary design' — from computer games and rotation-moulded plastic chairs, to Conran's 'destination restaurant' and the online marketeers' conjuring of a seamless contemporary city.

The commercial architecture of 'Classical Glasgow' constitutes a key product of the post-industrial exhibition. Residents and tourists are enlightened when they 'look up': the architecture demands be interpreted in isolation from a city of regressive social change, decline in public space and in the civic provision of a common urban identity. For Simmel, the transitoriness of exhibition architecture represented the modern metropolis and did so in the context of an atmosphere of amusement. The classic and historicist architecture of Glasgow, Thomson's architectural language of 'eternity', and Mackintosh's vernacular-organic forms, now constitute exhibitions of the 'authentic' for the tourist gaze. The enduring architecture, once distinctly the cultural fabric of the metropolis, not its emphatic exhibition, now serves as the exposition of the metropolis. An additional aspect of this development in the city is the redevelopment of the historic architecture of the city as residences with carefully preserved facades, most commonly in the central city with neo-Modern upper levels and penthouses.

The more common procurement of immediate visual distinctiveness in architectural design, the assumption and broad insistence on socially integrative outcomes in

design appreciation, the accelerated culturalisation of the urban economy, the aestheticization of the city centre as a route to urban regeneration and its significant association with socially bifurcating spatial re-orderings of the city; these complexly and multiply interlinked themes of urban transformation, set out at the beginning of the thesis, take place within this powerful array of architectural and spectacular heritage.

This chapter outlined interpretations of the social and cultural effects figured in the experience of exhibition attendance and situated these in the context of an already spectacular urban architecture. In comparing Glasgow's Exhibitions with G99 what becomes clear is their overriding focus on the commodity and the instrumental use of a spectacular architecture to promote another 'new world of consumption'. As I go on to show, a main emphasis in Glasgow's cultural promotion today is the representation of the public city centre as a private interior consumption space. The reversal of emphasis from inside to outside, from the spectacular object of the domestic interior to the city's 'high' architecture and comprehensively established design culture, makes Glasgow public space an exhibition interior. The end results of its representation and renaissance as a city of architecture and design, a 'world class urban product' and the Mackintosh 'pilgrimage', suggests its architecturally distinctive streets can be understood almost as the *Art Nouveau* hyper-interior of total design exploded 'across the wider landscape' and enveloping its 'occupants in a single, seamless multimedia garment' (Wigley 1998: 2). The next chapter presents the stages and methods of the construction of this contemporary identity in preparation for the contextualised analysis on G99 events in chapter four.

3

Politics of Representation: Glasgow as Exhibition and Work of Art

> In contemporary expositions a country no longer says, 'Look what I produce' but 'Look how smart I am in presenting what I produce.' (Umberto Eco, *How an Exposition Exposes Itself*)
>
> Painting Glasgow as the cultural capital of Europe, or New York as the cultural capital of the world, implies multiple levels of material and symbolic competition. (Zukin 1996: 229)

Introduction

The previous chapter developed some main themes of Glasgow's experience of architectural exuberance, exhibitionary self-promotion and civic ambition. I presented theoretical and historical studies illustrating the formative and ordering cultural implications of the 'autonomisation of sight' (Crary 1990: 19) in spectacular architecture and concentrated displays of manufactured objects. It was suggested that the economy of the post-industrial city had come to rely on its historical architecture as a permanent exhibition or museum of itself. I proposed a comparison of Glasgow's national and international exhibitions with G99 would reveal their mutual overriding focus on the promotion of the 'new' commodity and the instrumental use of a spectacular architecture to frame a 'new world of consumption'. As I go on to indicate, the 'extraordinary re-aestheticization' (McLeod 2002) of the city's central public spaces corresponds to both an intensification and a refinement of these historical techniques of consumer seduction and education in the exhibition and department store interior. City managers aspire to design a 'world class urban product', to establish a new economy around and through a 'living work of art', an ambition that has a resonance with architecture's dream of total design typified by Art Nouveau's *gesamtkunstwerk*. The G99 festival depended on discrete techniques and spaces of representation to organise the celebration of what it constructed as the normalisation of design culture in everyday life. As I have shown, this is a common

position, one inflected by varying understandings of the social implications of such a cultural centrality of the symbolic object encountered in the urban marketplace. The conflicting theoretical interpretations of aestheticization can now be considered in relation to the particular social settings occupied by the events of G99.

I can move on to an analysis of the development of the cultural city identity and implications in relation to themes raised in the first chapter, especially theoretical considerations in the area of aesthetic economy that have such purchase on the urban reality and cultural imaginary of Glasgow. The city's future has been firmly tied to its renaissance as a cultural space. As a result, the prevailing representations of its industrial and social changes has referred to and defined 'culture' both as the anthropological level of the 'ordinary' everyday (the way things are done in the city, the Glaswegian love of all things 'stylish') and as the consecrated production and reception associated with minority practices in high culture. The post-industrial city has had to instrumentalise its symbolic resources, at all levels, to establish its newly centralised productive base as a centre of cultural intensity and 'visitability' (Dicks 2003). Chapter two illustrated the city's long history in responding to its competitive situation with both regional competitors and an emerging global scene of commodity production. What it produces, or maintains, now, following the pattern of other similar cities, is culture at all levels: G99 was another substantive demonstration of this fact. Thus, I briefly review two moments that constitute the unfolding cultural regeneration strategy to establish the more recently emerging contemporary context of G99: the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival and the 1990 European City of Culture.[1] Moving on to G99, I illustrate the formative ideas shaping the year's events before moving on to take a closer look at some representative examples of these in the fourth chapter.

In this chapter and the next, there is an emphasis on the social reproduction resulting from the ability of language to 'fix a world' in the categories more or less established by powerful groups in specific fields (Bourdieu 1991, May 1993). For Bourdieu discourse and language are mechanisms through which power can be expressed and this inherently involves conflict over representations of the world — classification

---

[1] I discuss these two events here, rather than within the prior chapter, as they form key stages of Glasgow's 'post-industrial' urban regeneration.

struggles where symbolic systems can be understood ideologically as 'instruments of domination', and further that

> [c]lasses and other antagonistic social collectives are continually engaged in a struggle to impose the definition of the world that is most congruent with their particular interests (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 14).

Markus & Cameron (2002) address this issue of representation. They claim that 'our experience and understanding of buildings are always and inevitably mediated by language and discourse, particularly evaluative discourse', and provide analyses of examples in which this particular form of discourse gives rise to expressions of hidden power. This informs my analysis of the language of the series of discourses around G99 in relation to the changing forms of the city. Thus, a key element of this study is its emphasis on the discursive representation of design consumption as symbolic of social transformation. An example of this is given in Hall's (1997) analysis of aspects of Birmingham's urban regeneration as the result of a series of powerful manoeuvres to 're-place' the city's identity within discourses which 'legitimised certain perspectives while marginalising others'. Media presentations of the Birmingham International Conference Centre, and a 're-semanticisation' of the city's industrial past in public art fed into a centralisation of 'culture' symbolic of 'inevitable' economic realities inherent in urban regeneration.[2] The city was symbolically relocated within 'European' and 'international' cultural space; an outcome which has 'been vital to the reimagination of the city' (Hall: 1997: 202). This series of discursive constructions of urban regeneration in Birmingham was 'crucial to the framing of change in the built environment'. G99 contributed to similarly powerful discursive re-imaginations of the centrality of urban cultural form alongside the strategic construction of an international cultural relocation of Glasgow, especially in relation to the 'Barcelona model' of urban regeneration and

---

[2] Here, 'resemanticisation' refers to the representation of the city's 'highly problematic' industrial identities and images as works of art that romanticise industrial realities (notably Raymond Mason's allegory of 'progress'). Such emphasis on skilled, almost heroic, labour sidelines social movements and conflicts around poor work and conditions which have an equal call on memory. Reflecting on these questions suggests how a key impetus of the Glasgow Workers' City group can be understood as the attempt to centrally involve the common experiences and solidarities of an earlier working class life within the developing semantics of 'Glasgow'.

transformation. Such dominant 'representations of space' impose an assembled reality on the construction of this new space (Lefebvre 1991: 38).

The Discourse of Architectural Regeneration

The manifesto and events of G99 form a case study of contemporary cultural management constructing a consensual urban change through the production of discourse in 'new genres and styles, which addresses people in new ways'. As Markus & Cameron (2002: 109) argue:

> critical discourse analysts have made the general claim that since the 1980s, many kinds of public speech and writing have shifted noticeably in the direction of 'marketised' or 'promotional' discourse … It is of interest to ask, then, whether evaluative discourse on buildings shows the same 'promotional' tendency as other kinds of discourse have been claimed to do, and whether it draws on the linguistic conventions of advertising and PR.

They point to the massive expansion of evaluative discourse in the varied design magazines of the 1990s and to the special 'missionary zeal' of British architectural journalism to distribute 'access to a linguistic register in which the relevant distinctions are conventionally encapsulated' (95).

The festival's clear role was to advocate, entertain through, and market, architectural design, urban design and product design at a moment when the ubiquitous presence of design and designers is clear.[3] Such an increase in the levels and media through which the urban is represented has clear implications for understanding G99, but merely noting this anew would explain little about the particular effects of the festival. Here, McNeill cites a relevant criticism of place research which this study intends to avoid:

> In terms of a research project, the 'myths of spectacular identity-in place which characterise shopping complex management and design, are no longer particularly interesting … [Such] simple demythologisation all too often retrieves, at the end of the process, its own untransformed basic premises now masked as surprising conclusions' (Morris, cited in McNeill 1998: 248).

---

[3] Foster (2002: 17) referring to the Viennese debates over Art Nouveau, the first expression of design aestheticism, writes 'This old debate takes on a new resonance today, when the aesthetic and the utilitarian are not only conflated but all but subsumed in the commercial, and everything - not only architectural projects and art exhibitions but everything from jeans to genes - seem to be regarded as so much *design*'.

Concluding that G99 was another stage in the power-laden culturalisation of the city would not be difficult. Glasgow has had two decades of discursive and imagistic reconstruction; mythical and real transformation from one city to another with the social fallout presented as the unavoidable cost of postindustrial modernisation. Identifying this trend is important, even when the process has been repeated and copied in similar second- and third-tier cities across the world during the last three decades (Boyer 1995: 105), but it cannot be where the story ends. A more theoretically sophisticated and historically detailed approach is crucially relevant in a period where decisions about city form appear to be in fewer and fewer hands, especially when such decisions are represented as increasingly made through plural forms of user-participation and consultation, but where the future is preformed by an iron logic equating regeneration with beautification. Rather than simply discover anew a fading, non-commodified and differently-valued city, I look closely at the moments of designed re-imagination in G99's events and communications and, within the wider contextualisation of the urban design of the city, evaluate their impacts in creating conditions for a widened participation in the development of the city's social and built environment. This emphasis recognises the centrality of representational strategies in the management and the 'selling' of the new identities and forms of the city, its new 'social space' (in Lefebvre's sense of domains of understanding). For Zukin (1996: 227) the common element in this city re-imaging strategy is a reduction of 'the multiple dimensions and conflicts of culture to a coherent visual representation'.

A key dimension of the city centre's transformation is its consistently second-place UK ranking for retail sales, feeding into the evident transformation at night due to the phenomenal expansion of bars, night-clubs and lap-dancing clubs. Urban design smoothes out the edges of the centre city during the day and, in the stage lighting of the most imposing facades, constructs an ornate, and comprehensively monitored, playground for the night-time economy. Glasgow has been irrevocably changed, just as it was transformed from a merchant town to an industrial city, so it has been reformed, reconnected and re-imagined as a modern urban place, fit to compete in global services markets and in a neo-liberalised Europe. This long-term process was capped at the end of the twentieth century by G99 signifying the city as itself a work

of art, an important and traditional centre of design, with residents as proudly aware of the 'riches' of the Central Outstanding Conservation Area's Victorian architecture — a paragon of the post-industrial aesthetic economy model.

For McNeill (1998) 'putting together the final product involves a kind of DIY process of experimentation and deletions, the weaving of fragments of newspaper articles with architectural commentary, with personal observations and so on'. A wider explanatory framework is present in this thesis in both a description of the policies of the city council and the economic agencies that underlie the cultural regeneration strategy, and more broadly in the context of the local conditions and responses to the imperatives of globalised neo-liberalism.

During the last thirty years Glasgow gained exemplary status within descriptions and analyses of cultural regeneration in European cities. The main single event in the city's rise within this canon was its status as the 1990 European City of Culture. National and international media reports stressed the phoenix-like recovery from industrial decline and attracted academic attention to the city's transformations which the status of 'city of culture' seemed to strongly confirm. For Sean Damer (1990: 5) Glasgow's predominant reputation during twentieth-century was as a

> filthy, slum-ridden, poverty stricken, gang-infested city whose population consisted of undersized, incomprehensible, drunken, foul-mouthed, sectarian, lumpen proletarians who were prone to hit each other with broken bottles and razors without warning.

In contrast, Glasgow as a destination, a cultural resource, is now widely experienced as a tourist attraction, as a city exhibition. From 1982 to 1999 tourist visits to the city rose by 170% (GDA & GCC, 1999).[4] A crucial element in this transformation has been the rebranding exercise carried out in the city over the last 20 years and is thus significantly attributable to a greatly enhanced representation.[5] Taking a lead from these observations this chapter examines the Glasgow City of Architecture and Design 1999 festival and examines the resulting representations of architecture and

---

[4] Glasgow`s 'transformation was complete, from industrial wasteland to post-industrial cultural centre in less than a decade` (John Short cited in Mooney & Johnstone 1998: 7).
[5] A key theme has been the 1983 `Glasgows Miles Better' campaign developed alongside the global trend for similar upbeat slogans such as 'I Love NY` and `Barcelona Make Yourself Beautiful'.

design. I'll initially outline the main moments of urban re-presentation before continuing on to the 1999 festival.

The 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival

This UK festival was staged during a period of high unemployment and national industrial restructuring. Held on the south bank of the River Clyde, on a site previously used for shipbuilding, the festival was highly popular and was portrayed in the official slogan as 'A Day Out of This World'. The event was advertised at the time as a 'total experience' of a kind similar to Disneyland in which, once inside, the exterior reality was erased in a seamless display of events in space (Spring 1990: 132). Spring sketches an image of the scene he describes as a 'phantom village',

> Imagine a typical visit to festival, on a typical summer's day in 1988. Arriving on the festival site the first thing that the visitor encounters is the High Street — a parade of souvenir shops set within a quite extraordinary structure, a sort of continuous scaffold or wooden framework with decorative features that constitute a sort of skeleton. These are miniaturised versions of actual or supposed Glasgow buildings, from Victorian commercial edifices to dwelling houses, the ubiquitous tenement, paradoxically painted in a variety of bright colours rather than tenement grey. It is a contemporary cut-price version of the more substantial full-scale replica of medieval Glasgow erected for the 1911 exhibition (Spring 1990: 134).

This element of minor architectural spectacle was an unusual element of an event constructed using a therapeutic garden imagery of the eternal cycle of seasonal birth and death (Simpson 1988). The garden signified the end of an industrial era and a new beginning, an element of which was the 'reconstitution of the image of a city once dependent, both metaphorically and metonymically, on the real industrial modes of production' (ibid.). The image of Glasgow rather than the physical reality of the city architecture is entering an early stage of its scenographic presentation, as a construction of the city as a microcosm of architectural form reminiscent of the of the international exhibitions' 'old towns'. Alongside the phantom city's 'High Street' stood further pavilions such as the Crystal Pavilion (exhibiting 'Scotland's new technologies'), the Rotunda and Festival Pavilion, the 'houses for the future' (plain and private riverside apartments), the Clydesdale Bank Anniversary Tower and the two main entrance gateways. On a smaller scale there was the Roman fort,

'Tomorrow's Leisure Home', and the solar-powered house built by the centre for alternative technology and the Walter Segal Trust, described in the official guide as,

> One of the most unusual exhibits at the Festival. Here, you'll actually be able to see a Do-it-yourself Solar House built as the festival progresses. Built on stilts, the wooden-framed house has no traditional foundations, no bricks, no plaster. Solar panels in the roof are the main energy source (Simpson 1988: 61).

The pavilions drew on the classical themes then current in 'international' Postmodern styles (Glendinning et al 1996: 484). While the festival clearly managed only a minor version of architectural fantasy and spectacle, the dominant theme was the re-placing of Glasgow in a determinate context of rebirth, of uplifting colour and technological progress. This 'reconstitution' of cities, and of their relationship to manufacturing, was developed throughout the UK notably in Liverpool in 1984 and Stoke-on-Trent in 1986. In the run up to the year a speeded-up programme of stone cleaning was carried out to give the city a face-lift which quickly became very popular with Glaswegians. In contrast to the formal intention of the earlier exhibitions this 'festival' was advertised as primarily serving,

> [t]he 'fun factor', 'colour', 'sparkle', 'entertainment', 'excitement' and, constantly, 'unique' - these are the words which promote the festival ... On this level the Garden Festival is a carefully planned and expensively marketed leisure package (Kinchin & Kinchin 1988: 175).

This display of 'leading edge technology, sport, leisure and craft' did share many of the elements of earlier exhibitions, most obviously 1938, but was compelled to do so within a magical environment created from significantly less financial resources. IBM provided 22 hi-tech 'Infopoints' throughout the site which spatially unified the impact and presence of the festival's Science and Technology sector. In place of a temporary architecture of fantasy, or, latterly, a strong progressive symbolism of spatial order (1938), the formal setting was accentuated and differentiated from the everyday through unified levels of design. Another key aspect differentiating this event was the emphasis on performance to keep the crowds entertained and to project a 'busy' image to the main site of the festival. The 'Coca Cola Roller' thrill-ride, a dominant figure in memories of the event, was central in attracting the interest of the now crucially important 15-24 age group's disposable income, it also

became the main structural spectacle of the event alongside the Clydesdale Bank Tower. The Garden Festival was highly popular and led to an emphasis on the existing public parks as a crucial feature in strategies to promote the city during the events organised for 1990's city of culture celebrations. The provision in Glasgow of a large number of open spaces for recreation has been identified as comparatively great. The broad claims to be a cultural city were increasingly related to other such long-standing accomplishments as the commercial architecture and Victorian civil engineering schemes. The heterogeneous sources of the city's cultural capital were being synthesised in a new urban identity.

Glasgow European City of Culture 1990

Details of the year's main events are given in the disputes over the model of 'culture' deployed during the 1990 festival.[6] This literature illustrates the significance of the city's turn to a seductive cultural model of urban representation. Two examples highlight the clashing values revealed in response to this new direction of urban government. The first is from McLay's 'Introduction' to his collection *Workers City* (1988: 1),

> GLASGOW: EUROPEAN CITY of culture 1990. The announcement came from the Tory Arts Minister, Edward Luce, in October 1986. It had a sickeningly hollow ring to it. Looking at the social, cultural and economic deprivation in working-class areas of Glasgow, and thinking about the rigours of the Social Fund and Poll Tax to come, it sounded like blatant and cyncical mockery ... One thought immediately of the Babbity Bowser and town centre homes for yuppies. Of the new Sheriff Court, the largest in Europe, with cell space in its bowels for 2,000 prisoners *in emergencies.*

The second is from Robert Palmer, Glasgow's Festivals Director, extracted from his contribution to *Glasgow 1990 The Book* (1990: 7) subtitled 'The Authorised Tour of the Cultural Capital of Europe':

> The time has an invigorating ring to it — 1990. A new year. A new decade. It's a year during which, once again, Glasgow renews its one hundred year-old tradition of

---

[6] See Damer (1990), McLay (ed.) (1988), Spring (1990), Boyle & Hughes (1991), Booth & Boyle (1993) and for uncritical but informative details on the events see Glasgow District Council (1990), Jackson & Guest (eds.) (1991), Myerscough (1992). For interest, see also the text *Glasgow's Glasgow: The Words and the Stones* (Various authors 1990), an assertive account of the controversial 'Glasgow's Glasgow' exhibition; an attempt to represent the city's cultural and economic development through its objects and artefacts.

> throwing open its doors to the world with a great exhibition. It's also a year in which this city is redefining the proper standing culture deserves in contemporary society and celebrating the validity and worth of the many ways in which it finds expression. And what is particularly heartening is that 1990 is a matter of common ownership. It belongs to Glasgow. And Glasgow belongs to you.

While these published extracts represent only two of many other unrecorded responses, the conflict is clear. In the first example the event is a misrepresentation of a city which ideologically draws attention away from the unchanged, or deepened, social problems of the city's poorest; in the second example the image is of a new expression of the local 'tradition' of exhibitions in which all are involved and have 'ownership'.

Glasgow European City of Culture 1990: Architectural Themes

The International Concert Hall at the intersection of Sauchiehall and Buchanan Streets (the city's main shopping thoroughfares) was the architectural accomplishment of 1990. It was the location for many of the main musical performances during the year, including Sinatra and Pavarotti, and a full diary of European and North American symphony orchestras. The design generated significant debate in the local press and has since been regularly compared with Piacentini's Fascist-era University of Rome Senate building. Other developments included the first 'Doors Open Day' event (European Heritage Day) with buildings 'chosen because of their style and social significance' opened to the public, the refurbishment of the McLellan Galleries in Sauchiehall Street and the opening of Tramway, 'one of the most exciting performance and exhibition spaces in Europe'. Mackintosh's work was exhibited alongside other leading architects of his time in an exhibition at his School of Art. Several books were issued and television programmes produced on his life and work, both in Glasgow and Port Vendres.[7] Books on architectural photography became popular as the tourist business increased and as locals began to appreciate the improved environment of the surviving tenemental city in the years after the stone cleaning programme was completed.[8] The

[7] The later 1996 BBC production 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh: A Modern Man' referred to 'pilgrimages' to see his Art School, and used academic commentary to present the architect artist's subtleties and international reputation.

[8] The main example was the primarily aerial photographic collections of Colin Baxter which differed from Oscar Marzaroli's well-known work in being largely devoid of human

most comparable architectural event of 1990 in relation to 1999 was the Glasgow contribution to the 'World Day of Architecture':

> On Sunday 1st July 1990 — World Day of Architecture — eight major buildings built in Glasgow during the last ten years were opened to the public. In each building the people responsible for its design talked about the building and their work. In the evening architects and public joined in a public discussion — 'Architecture on trial' — held in Glasgow's Sheriff Court House, one of the buildings open during the day (Jackson & Guest 1991: 110).

David Page's (1991) essay 'The Spirit of the Future' identified a close relationship between recent architectural practice and Glasgow's successful regeneration.[9] He stressed the importance of cultural transformation to fulfil the potential of the city's future and to overcome the legacy of an overly rationalised urban development. A Geddesian conception of a city coextensive with the ambitions of those in a position to improve its overall spirit runs throughout the essay and in his later writings (Glendinning and Page 1999, Page 1999). Page found the seeds of a 're-established passion' in many of the positive developments in the city, and in the collection of books which aimed to emphasise the quality of many of the city buildings. For Page, the 'World Architecture day Debate opened up the possibility of genuine public debate about the shape of the city we live in' (1991: 53). He writes:

> The city evolved as a service to and not as an expression of society. Society found expression in numbers built, miles completed, millions spent or saved, rather than the quality and breadth of its approach to the problems faced … Whatever does take place, the vitality of the city will correspond to the variety and richness of the ideas that permeate it, to the quality of the enacting of those ideas and, finally, to how big the city and its people are in accepting them, absorbing them and using them (*ibid.*: 53-55).

---

subjects; Baxter concentrated instead on the skyline and significant views, such as Glasgow University and the Art School, and characteristic elements of local design such as ornate close tiles and glass work. As has been pointed out (Damer 1990: 10) this emphasis on the city as 'landscape' has huge appeal for tourists desiring a predictable city experience based on authentic imagery of the heritage space.

[9] Page was a key figure throughout the planning and design of the bid for the G99 award. His practice won the three local architectural competitions in the 1990s (The Scottish National Gallery proposed for George Square, the Lighthouse, and the redesign of the Centre for Contemporary Art). They were also chosen to provide the master plan for the Homes for the Future development.

As a central figure in the Glasgow architectural world (his practice designed the Italian Centre, a key contribution to the city centre's contemporary architecture and the location of Armani and Versace) Page was at this stage a key local figure in the architectural field. Taking into account a widely sustained emphasis on Glasgow as a city undergoing a renaissance based on its cultural inheritance, large investments in spaces of high culture such as the Burrell Collection and in the architecturally imposing shopping centres, the city was reported nationally and internationally as having a new quality that had been both revealed and enhanced with new additions. The transformation was often portrayed as the result of a 'confidence trick' in which local (re)development agencies had manipulated representations of the city to 'boost' the attractiveness of the city to inward investment. A key element was the emphasis on maintaining and improving the Victorian and Edwardian Central Outstanding Conservation Area and the 'Merchant City'.

In planned contrast with the continuing failure of much of the public housing in the city, especially in Drumchapel, Pollok, Castlemilk and Provanmill, an initially small area of retail and housing-led redevelopment attracted increasing numbers to live, shop, dance and drink. Gentrification gave rise to some of the heterogeneous themes of the year including the often disparaged 'yuppie merchant city' and the desire for city living symbolically linked to representations of the 'New Glasgow' as a place of urban renaissance and freer access to lifestyle choices. New middle class urbanists embraced fragmented networks maintained in isolation from the city's industrial culture of cultural conservatism and masculine, heterosexual public space. They claimed access to highly visible forms of distinction within a city determined to present itself as up-to-date primarily through the media of various symbolic industries.

The city's 1996 International Festival of Design, an initiative of the City Council and the Glasgow Development Agency (GDA) promoted the emerging commercial strength of the city's design sector and a 'wider involvement' in the run-up to G99, all supporting the ambition to be an 'international centre of design excellence' (Ogundehin 1996 n.p.). Stuart Gulliver, GDA Chief Executive, promoted the festival as 'the most substantial and exciting of its kind ever held in the UK'. 'Objects of Desire' was a display of varied objects chosen by 'Glaswegians, leading designers

and celebrities' to illustrate their ideas of good design. The modish exhibition of menswear by Paul Smith illustrated the popular imagery in his designs and could be followed by a look at the city's more successful technologically advanced products in the 'Glasgow Makes It' room. Other events included the BBC Design Awards, an Arne Jacobson exhibition, a show of interiors at the Gallery of Modern Art and a series of lectures from leading industry figures including Alessi and Conran.

The debates within Glasgow over the identity of the city have become less polarised over the years since 1990; there were no representational disputes over the city's architecture throughout 1999 akin to those stimulated by the Workers City group between 1988 and 1991 over the issue of the 'authentic' or 'real' identity of the city. Indeed, there was less overall media hype about 1999 as it was a UK award and therefore did less for the city on the European and international stage. Moreover, it was clear that the city was becoming used to the 'renaissance' presentation; the G99 award wasn't widely known in the city until late 1998 when newspaper reports and television news announced the opening events. Although the council and G99 managers presented the award as an event of comparable significance, the degree of participation was far less than that in 1990.

The Local Media and the Launch of G99

The programme of events was announced at an event at the Tramway in May 1998 and in its report of the event the *Evening Times*[10] ran the headline '£1BN CITY: Dewar [then Secretary of State for Scotland] pledges huge spend to create new Glasgow', linking the launch of the 1999 programme to an announcement of 'a billion a year to regenerate Glasgow with a massive assault on education, housing, health and training'. As he took the wraps off the plans for 1999, 'design guru Sir Terence Conran predicted that the year as UK City of Architecture and Design would be a major turning point for Glasgow'. The accompanying editorial described the year to come in the following way,

> GLASGOW'S STYLE IS A WONDER. Glasgow has a proud architectural heritage. But until now the City of Architecture and Design has been a mystery. Few have been quite sure how or why it will be celebrated. TODAY THE QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED AND TRUE TO GLASGOW'S TRADITION IT WILL BE A PEOPLE'S

[10]Glasgow's only evening paper, taken by a large proportion of the city's population.

> FESTIVAL. The city boasts some of the finest Victorian architecture in the world. The Armadillo is a testament to bold design. And we have those modern day wonders of the world: corrugated iron doo' cots. At last their contribution to the city skyline is to be recognised as part of the celebrations. The Year of 1999 will not be a snobbish affair just for artists and engineers. BUT A CELEBRATION OF PIGEON LOFTS, COMMUNITY GARDENS, EVEN AN ILLUMINATED WATER TOWER … As ever Glasgow's feet are on the ground and its heart with the people (original emphases).

This populist interpretation of the programme declaims the city's reputation for accessible events, the rejection of exclusivity and the highbrow in its large scale cultural events. Sandy Page's comments, at the time the deputy director of Glasgow School of Art, were full of optimism about the potential of Glaswegians to be transformed,

> The 1999 event will enlighten Glaswegians about architecture so that it becomes a part of their everyday lives and expectations in the way it is with Italians. The ordinary person in Rome or Milan expects good design — they don't see it as somehow remote or removed from their day to day living (*Scottish Daily Express*, May 10, 1998).

For Page, the year would be, at some level, an 'enlightenment' of Glaswegians, one that would raise people's expectations for the architectural environment of their everyday life. An interview with the Director of G99, Deyan Sudjic, reveals his conception of the relationship of the average Glaswegian to the city's architecture,

> What Glasgow has in architecture, which is why the city won hands down, is a grass-roots feeling from the people that they love their architecture; they know what a lot of it they have got. A unique city with a unique pride in the stones it erects. Every Glaswegian will tell you to look upwards (*Scotsman*, 21/5/98, 'Deyan the Life of Glasgow').

G99 and Architectural Regeneration [11]

Local television news and magazine formats reported few of the G99 events, however there were significant broadcasts which it is important I draw attention to. News programmes carried reports on the opening events of the year in 1999, and throughout the year for events such as the Royal visit to the opening of the

---

[11] Descriptions of the broadcasts and films are based on my own video recordings and notes, and on those tapes available to view in the G99 archive in the Glasgow School of Art.

Lighthouse, and the opening of the Homes for the Future expo. These involved predominately routine presentations of 'something to go to at the weekend' in which the events were briefly described and located for the viewing public. As a result, the most relevant examples of televised representations of G99 were those commissioned and broadcast nationally or shown in the city's cinemas.

The first example of a G99 promotional film was produced by the media company most directly associated with the promotion of architecture in Scotland, Wark Clements. Entitled 'Transition', this was an edit of an award-winning longer film on urban transitions in Scotland which was shown in art house cinemas. It begins primarily with images of labouring men alongside those of nature with lyrical, mournful music. Industrial buildings on the Clyde are shown torn down, cut up with blow torches and carried off. After a fade, blue skies and a musical image of dawn emerge alongside 'Norman Foster's' Clyde Auditorium. Images of the flowing river are interspersed with those of a rebuilding, regenerating, fast-moving city. This was a straightforwardly idyllic representation of Glasgow being rebuilt and moving on, as if in a seasonal rebirth; a poetic, promotional imagery of an almost abstracted and irresistible drive, of the city as a self-regenerating entity.

The script of the longer film, 'Glasgow 1999', shown at the Lighthouse, is best presented as an ordered list of the most relevant scenes to convey the flow of the upbeat narrative:

1. Begins: a babble of voices eventually resolves to Deyan Sudjic discussing architecture as, 'a part of everyday life, not something shunted off into a ghetto for professionals'. This is followed by more voices repeating 'European' and 'gutsy'; faint repetitions of 'American' can be heard between a repeated 'Glasgow's gridiron plan'.

2. Main content commences with a highly animated Terence Conran: 'It's all bubbling away beneath the surface ... I like Glasgow enormously as a city ... its gutsy'. Sudjic and G99 Education officer, Anne Wallace, stress the Lighthouse as a place that's open to children and the relevance of design to their lives, how 1999 will introduce children to the 'excitement of the built environment'.

3. Glaswegian female working class voice lists the exhibition timetable and is followed by Sudjic and Terence Conran discussing the 'international significance' of the Homes for the Future, which leads into the New Gorbals regeneration with images of new homes

presented as an example of successful co-operation between tenants and architects. Fraser Stewart (New Gorbals Housing manager) states the following to camera:

> The Gorbals is a disjointed and fragmented environment which we're trying to stitch back together again. We've involved an awful lot of local people in the process and they've spent and awful long time speaking to architects and designers over exactly what they want to achieve. The Gorbals has had so much poor housing in the past that it's absolutely crucial that everything must be designed very well and the 1999 bid for the City of architecture helped people become more ambitious in terms of the contemporary design solutions, the architects and the other professionals we work with share the local people's ambition to create a new Gorbals and to create something which is genuinely of quality, genuinely has visual drama and will be a good place to live in for generations.

4. Deyan Sudjic in front of the Lighthouse describing the G99 festival: '1999 isn't about architects talking to other architects, its for the whole city ... It's a chance ... for Glasgow to have some fun next year ... About how the city can begin to redefine itself, it's no longer an industrial city, it's now a post-industrial city, so it's about economics, it's about jobs, it's about exhibitions, and it's about regeneration'.

5. A shift to details and images of the Cranhill Water Tower; the widely reported example of regeneration effects arising from the local community's project to design landmark, atmospheric lighting. Harry Cooper (local project member) and Chris Stewart (project architect) both agree best design results come from the ideas of the local community.

6. The closing section has voice-overs and images of a rebuilding city, particularly the 'Armadillo' (Clydeside Auditorium) (this subject in time-lapse imagery) under construction, then completed, in a striking night scene — a highly dramatic and magical image.

7. Chris Stewart, architect involved with the Cranhill Water tower project asserts that speaking to people in 'these isolated areas' will be the main legacy of 1999. That the biggest legacy will be in the minds of the people.

8. Glasgow is becoming recognised as a 'fully European city' through cross fertilisation with European architects.

9. Deyan Sudjic recalls Art Nouveau Glasgow circa 1900 as the 'world leaders' in architecture and design: 'a culture being rebuilt and which speaks to the whole world.'

10. Lastly, Conran enthusiastically states to camera 'Glasgow is absolutely throbbing with energy and creativity, 1999 will be a considerable turning point which will equip it to get into the next millennium'.

These two productions portray an entire city, population and fabric, in the midst of a relentless and vibrant transformation through processes of egalitarian design. The city's cultural reputation as a world centre of internationally important design is being remade in the participation within design-oriented housing associations and the G99 opportunities to have 'fun'. New attitudes to urban environments such as those reflected in the New Gorbals and the Cranhill Water Tower project indicate what can be done to reunite and redefine the fragmented city.

A final film, 'The Hard Sell', was shown at the 'Winning: The Design of Sports' exhibition. A collection of advertisements for globally branded sports equipment and personalities such as Nike and the Brazil football team, 'Hard Sell' presented a history of sportswear as initially concerned with utility; enabling and enhancing athletic performance. Thus, the exhibition displays set off outmoded equipment with contemporary marketing techniques and products (aesthetically drenched trainers) to focus on the developing aesthetics of the sporting body and spectacle. As such, the exhibition was a display of historic and contemporary objects of desire. Competition among global sportswear companies has led to a vast increase in advertising expenditures, notably in the 1990s where seductive design of kit itself generated consumption outwith those with a sporting use for it. An example is the popularity of highly expensive mountain bikes with exclusively urban cyclists (Julier 2000). This exhibition and film confirmed sports design as a source of desirable commodities seemingly essential to the successful pursuit of a socially distinctive and active lifestyle. This exhibition on equipment for the competing, moving body emphasised the immobile object displayed in vitrines and on plinths; the only movement was in advertisements for beer and global sports brands.

Constructing The City of Design: The Proposal and its Development

The improvement of Glaswegians' appreciation of architecture and design was the dominant theme of the year's official aims, as set out in many sources; most importantly in the bid prepared for the final short list competition in which Glasgow

competed with Edinburgh and Liverpool. This document, *Glasgow: The City as a Living Artwork* (Glasgow City Council 1994) was submitted in July 1994 and Glasgow's success was announced in November 1994. The document opened with the following questions,

> How do you promote architecture and design?
>
> How do you promote the appreciation of architecture and design to the public?
>
> We will ensure that we promote architecture and design to a wider audience with a thoroughness and diversity which will excite and endure .... Architecture and design are undoubtedly the most imperative of all artforms, touching each one of us every day. We intend to examine their roles in our culture as they are changeable, complex to define, often misrepresented and misunderstood (1994: 3).

Additionally, in terms of design more generally:

> Part of our strategy will be to exhibit and create access to examples of excellence in design and architecture so that people will learn by example. 'Exemplary excellence', will be critical to Glasgow's strategy in 1999 and the preceding years. If we are to enhance understanding and personal appreciation of the world around us, then we must raise people's expectations. We must equip our designers, architects and politicians with the means to satisfy a more aware and demanding public through imagination and quality (ibid.).

The philosophy of the year was to promote the appreciation of architecture and design; to increase the frequency, and improve the level of the related discourse; to enable participation in, and demand for, design; to raise aspiration and

> with that raised aspiration we will promote a realisation that there is no dividing line between the everyday life of the City and the quality of the physical environment and artefacts of which they are part. That the art of serving the needs of the City users, resident and visitor alike, should be an everyday experience in which we are all *involved, responsible and accountable*... Implicit in our overriding theme, **The City as a Living Artwork**, is the assumption that the heightened awareness of the citizens will raise expectations and make demands of the architecture and design that serves them, through which they express themselves, as individuals and corporations (1994: 4, original emphasis).

Similarly, a 1994 publicity leaflet for the city's bid for the 1999 award describes Glasgow as a place where,

> Times have changed since Glasgow first won its reputation for architecture and engineering. In the 1990s decisions about new buildings and design are no longer in the hands of the privileged few. This privilege and responsibility can belong to everyone.

Official Development Agencies

In the annual reports of various city development agencies in the years between 1995 and 2000, the G99 year was described as an important element in the overall plan for the reshaping of the city - an achievement in the ongoing development of the city as modern and 'cosmopolitan'. *Glasgow in Profile* (GDA & GCC 1998) represents a place with a good standard of life, high skill base, research universities, its own style, excellent transport links etc. The section on the G99 informed readers that

> [t]he aim of Glasgow 1999 is to position Glasgow internationally as a major European city of ideas where an understanding of the architectural and design process, the recognition of design excellence and its substantial contribution to the local economy, is inherent in its people, business and culture (31).

A boosterish comment by Margaret McGarry, a senior figure in the Development Agency's City Industries Board, emphasised the connection: 'Design strength is part of the overall identity of Glasgow. It's what differentiates the city as a Metropolitan economy and will increasingly do so'. The ambitions of strategic business planners for the year's events form another element of the official construction of this new cultural interpretation of the city's future. A new reality and normality emerges in these new visions of the city.[12]

The G99 bid document (1994) explicitly asserts that Glasgow is redefining and reshaping itself within the constraints and opportunities of the regional and global economy, includes outlines of its key methods of promoting architecture and design to the public (education, example, innovation, participation and communication) and proposes, amongst general claims about inclusion and 'empowerment', the

[12]The new architecture and urban design of Glasgow is the predominant visual image in local economic documents: the city's future is symbolised architecturally and through urban design which stresses its 'liveability' and where, 'design interventions of architects and commercial artists are focused on the discriminating and distinctive tastes of white-collar spectators and/or consumers' (Boyer 1995).

normalisation (and hence the naturalisation and legitimisation) of 'the new', making architecture and design a more open field of cultural activity. An example of this is the intention to 'to express Glasgow's new post-industrial personality through architecture, design and art.' (1994: 13).[13] In addition to these main imperatives, the wider G99 aims of exhibiting architectural responses to a globalised free market and to the international crisis levels of urbanisation in the megalopolis appear and reappear often in the exhibition programme of the year, especially, though, in the exhibition, 'Vertigo: The Strange New World of the Contemporary City' held in the Old Fruit Market. An ostensible function of the year is clearly to enable a Glasgow public already identified and discursively constructed as actively and collectively taking pleasure from the cityscape to engage more fully with the contemporary design world now reoriented to enable the individual can have influence on the city's built environment. The economic strategy of the city is explicitly associated with this intention to modernise both the architecture of the city and the attitudes of the public as a catalyst for the design communities in the city. The clean, post-industrial city incubates a participating, discerning and already design-aware populace and on this foundation the new design industries within the city can sell to the domestic market.[14] There is a recognition within these documents of the severe social and economic disadvantage within the city.[15] The council's policies for a long term solution to these issues are given close attention in the official publications of the

---

[13] Another indicator of the emphasis underlying the developing focus on design was the setting up of Glasgow Action by the SDA to encourage and facilitate improvements in the city's visual appearance and its entrepreneurial activity, and to 'communicate this new reality to its citizens and to the world' (MacLeod 2002: 611, citing MacFarlane).

[14] For Gallacher (G99 Initiatives director) in 2000, part of the legacy of G99 was already 'a more enlightened citizenry ready for new ideas, new jobs, demanding the highest standards for Glasgow's own physical development while seizing new opportunities' (2000: 7). Her later overview claims G99 contributed to the emergence of a 'newly discriminating public' within a 'design-aware democracy' (Gallacher 2002: 25).

[15] See the outline of a 'joint economic strategy' of city-wide social improvements in Glasgow Alliance (1999) and especially Glasgow District Council & Glasgow District Council (1999). These strategies are constructed within an overwhelming concept of the city expanding its emerging 'knowledge economy' via an inclusive entrepreneurialism which attracts 'weightless' investment by marketing the city as a distinctive, therefore high status, value-adding place to locate business. This has been referred to as the new entrepreneurial model of development (NEMD) adopted by many Labour councils in response to falling central government funding in the 1980s. Quilley (1999: 189) notes how, 'the new discourse of economic development is suffused with positivity, often reduced to the voluntarist assertion that the city's economic fate is far from sealed. The future can be shaped decisively by the action or inaction of local elites'.

agencies concerned. For example, steps to improve educational attainment, reduce the city's severe health inequalities, develop industrial parks, plans for local regeneration through a multiply-improved environment, and the use of inclusive and participative approaches in the design of social housing. It is clear then that the city has its discrete strategy for community reintegration. I am concerned here to draw attention to the ways the G99 was represented, to a significant degree, as an element in the overall set of initiatives intended to counter 'social exclusion'. It was in this context, as a celebration of the developing forms of the city in which all could have involvement, that the overall concept of the festival was initially popularised.

The 'Manifesto' page of the G99 website offered this example of the intended outcomes of the year:

> Our 1999 programme aims to create a more highly trained and skilled workforce, more educated, critical consumers, and citizens better able to take control of their lives and the environment in which they live.

This aspect of the year's programme, the improvement of consumption in the context of an overall stress on design (often on the commodity with design-added value) could be viewed as only a realistic portrayal and evaluation of the ubiquity of consumption and design. It is also open to interpretation as a portrayal of social cohesion and cultural participation in cities and their relation to the *aesthetic* qualities of the city. Throughout the year the importance of design was primarily presented as a question of form; of architectural 'appreciation' as an enlightened understanding of the significance and value of the Victorian city. Indeed, this was so strong that it seems reasonable to relate these claims for the moral benefits of architectural appreciation to the prevailing theory of neo-classical architects in Glasgow around the 1850s. What seems clear here is that a similar set of assumptions to these, of the moral improvement of the individual, of a bridge-building programme through the widened appreciation of the forms of the city, is identifiable within the series of extracts from the G99 official programme above. It seems plausible, then, to assess G99's promotion of an enhanced attentiveness to the environment in those assumed to be normally uninterested, or insufficiently so, in design (according to the descriptions of the festival managers) and find a similarly determinist conception regarding architecture — that the city

promoted as 'a living art work' or as 'a work of art', and newly perceived as such by the groups concerned, constitutes an example of social inclusion. This is the dominant theme of Matarasso's *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*, a report central to the 'near-consensus in Britain among cultural policy-makers (Merli 2002: 107). Schmiechen's depiction of the 19th century Glasgow ideology of 'social functionalism' resonates with Matarasso's didactic concept of the social outcomes from participation in arts projects and activities; the distinction being the core assumption of active participation in Matarasso's study.[16] The G99 programme of activities, its representations, and their intended accessibility by socially excluded groups, appear similarly marked by a pervasive cultural pressure to 'value' design as a source of civilising pleasure. Here, a newly valorised Victorian City and an evidently improved central city built environment equates with greater social cohesion ensured in part by participation in its appreciation and understanding.

At this point the festival's didactic, 'improving' rationale might suggest its general interpretation as an ordering, spatially disciplining event. However, many and varied forms of participation disclosed an enthusiasm for active involvement in design and an independent generation of ideas which came about as a part of the year's group and community initiatives supported by a Partnership Fund of over £500,000.[17] For example, the widely reported, and award-winning Cranhill Water Tower lighting project, which was conceived and controlled by local people seeking to improve one of the few built landmarks of their own neighbourhood. Many projects like this were brought about as a result of the actions of small groups responding to the opportunities the year provided to act on their own environment, and to engage

---

[16]Matarasso's *Comedia* report emerges from the wider public policy ethos towards arts funding which changed during the 1980s from an 'art is good for you' to an 'art is good for business' approach. Latterly this has fed into an arts involvement is good for community development, is good for urban regeneration, is good for the economy paradigm (Roberts 1998, Bianchini & Parkinson 1993). Notwithstanding this wider context, his response to Merli's (2002) critical paper is a persuasive account of an ethical approach to widening participation in artistic creativity while seeking to understand real problems which prevent drawing any firm lessons for practice. He rejects easy depictions of instrumentality in the arts, seeing cultural policy as 'always a matter of contestation' (2003: 343).

[17]Two years after G99, this sum would have bought one penthouse flat in the city centre redevelopment of the Post Office building, 'G1'. As the funding to directly enable the quality of participation in a city the size of Glasgow, this was an inadequate provision of resources.

professionals to assist them in their plan. This outcome was clearly anticipated by Pauline Gallacher, G99 Initiatives Director:

> The thing that's potentially rewarding here, and the next few years will tell us whether or not what we did was right ... The idea being to look at the challenge of communicating the importance of good design to an audience which ... you know I would have to assume is less than interested at first ... we're assuming that by actually allowing people to discover that which we are proposing they wouldn't be interested in it as ... Not as ... terrifying, inaccessible, or irrelevant to them as they may have thought and to ... start to bring architects and designers to positions where they feel confident talking to non-specialists without losing any of the drive and ambition ... the passion about what they do. So it's this politicalness ... the idea that there is a quality of endeavour which is the city's business ... and that all sorts of people can be engaged in that conversation ...

Clearly, for this senior figure, the engagement she discusses can have extensive impact on individuals, has a certain political urgency, and can offer a new horizon of involvement and perception for those unused to formally encountering design professionals with the role of client, and for the professionals in social encounters outwith a traditionally restricted social group of clients, and patrons, in the city[18]. The fuller context of this figure's excitement about the wider social implications of the G99 is interesting to note too.[19] In her role, she was keen to emphasise the impact the community initiatives could have for all in the city, but she also stressed the,

> actual physical reality of the city and how it can be changed for the better ... Always for the better of course but for the communality. It's only one dimension of the total social reality but it's a very important part ... [The city] can be a source of enrichment and joy for anyone who lives there ... that's the excitement on the good days — its a

---

[18]It must be borne in mind that working class members of Glasgow Housing Associations had significant experience of successfully managing this role as corporate client from the 1970s onwards — ASSIST architects, for example, developed advocacy relationships with many of the Glasgow committees. Focus on architectural and urban design came later with the activities of SHARE in the 1990s, offering educational resources to Committees.

[19]I was conscious during this interview that the respondent was keen to express her ideas in a sociologically nuanced language, to come over as intellectually interested in my study, and as supportive of its progress and aims. This may have affected her articulation of responses to my questions, as might the situation of the interview in an open-plan office with the possibility of her being overheard by her colleagues; her responses were often barely audible on the tape.

> brilliant feeling … to be part of this thing. This city is renewing itself … the residents of Pollok, Priesthill need to be part of this change …

Increasing the frequency and quality of meetings between design professionals and those having little or no prior experience of such interfaces was one of the main ways through which G99 aimed to achieve its larger objectives. Thus, a central aim was the 'normalisation' of design; to encourage and enable access to design services through encouraging higher expectations of the everyday environment, to improve the level and quality of demand for design services, which would in turn lead to a more enjoyable series of places in the city and anticipated economic implications. A design industries multiplier effect resulting from this expansion in appreciation was anticipated as a universally beneficial outcome. Significant, and successfully designed places would appear as a result of improved (qualitative and quantitative) demand for social and private housing and public space, and in terms too of the demand for 'designer' goods increasingly available in the city's central retail streets, which form the central locus of attention in terms of the emphasis on the late Georgian and Victorian gridded and aestheticised urban experience. Laurier (1993) notes that the *everyday* nature of the turn-of-the-century Glasgow Style Arts and Crafts-type products embodied the ethos of good design in all things. He writes, 'this form of art, *not* paintings and therefore gallery-based, allowed the movement of its motifs into everyday life … and it was certainly a vital shift for the style to become identified (and for it to be able to become so associated) with a city (an everyday city in motion) rather than with a particular section of the artworld'. A 1906 article in *The Studio* argued:

> Nowhere else has the Modern Movement of art been entered upon more seriously than at Glasgow; the church, the school, the house, the restaurant, the shop, the poster, the book with its printing, illustrating and binding, have all come under the spell of the new influence (in Laurier 1993: 188).

The everyday quality and presence of the early twentieth century Glasgow Style exterior, and its richer interior expression in the private bourgeois home and tea room, is a key reference and historical support in the promotion of a local design economy and in the wider theme of the city as a 'work of art'. Nevertheless, the decision to develop the programme for G99 within an understanding of the city of

Glasgow as 'The City as a Living Artwork' requires a closer examination as clearly this represents one more dramatic shift in the professional portrayal of the experience of the city.[20]

The concept of the city as a work of art is long established within architectural and civic discourse, and, less specifically, within the commonly found love of cities as places of belonging, memories and home. There are, of course, a plethora of questions about this powerful definition of the city in relation to Glasgow. It can be understood as reflecting deep seated and influential perspectives of the city's relation to modernity, where an emphatic aesthetic representation links it with cities such as Barcelona, Berlin, Milan and New York, the contemporary paradigms of the city as a work of art. Representing the city using techniques of marketing hype is now common practice as cities must compete. The discourse of beauty, therefore, must be understood in relation to its local effects, not just its effectiveness in attracting the consuming tourist. Glasgow is not easily described as a work of art; it is perhaps only within a restricted grouping of cultural managers and mediators that this perspective of a city of 578,000 can be proposed, or developed as such an uncritical concept centred on appreciation of form. This is not to say that those who live in or visit the city do not experience aesthetic pleasure, or even overstimulation, in its spaces, or from the chance events and sights of crowds, but it is to highlight and interrogate the use of the term in such powerful discourses of regeneration. The main problematic is that the definition clashes harshly with some dominant realities within the city related to questions of form only negatively. A very large proportion of Glasgow's population live in the worst conditions in the UK, where the UK has some of the worst conditions in the EU. Shaw's (et al) 1999 study of UK health inequalities presented a series of findings consistently placing up to ten Glasgow Parliamentary Constituencies (out of 641) in the 'worst health million' of the UK population, with an average of twice as many avoidable deaths compared to the 'best health million', and with 25% more of the constituencies living in poverty (Shaw et al 1999: 237).[21] The most current data on poverty in Glasgow shows 41% of households living in poverty, 50% of the population live in deprived areas and ¾ of Scotland's deprived

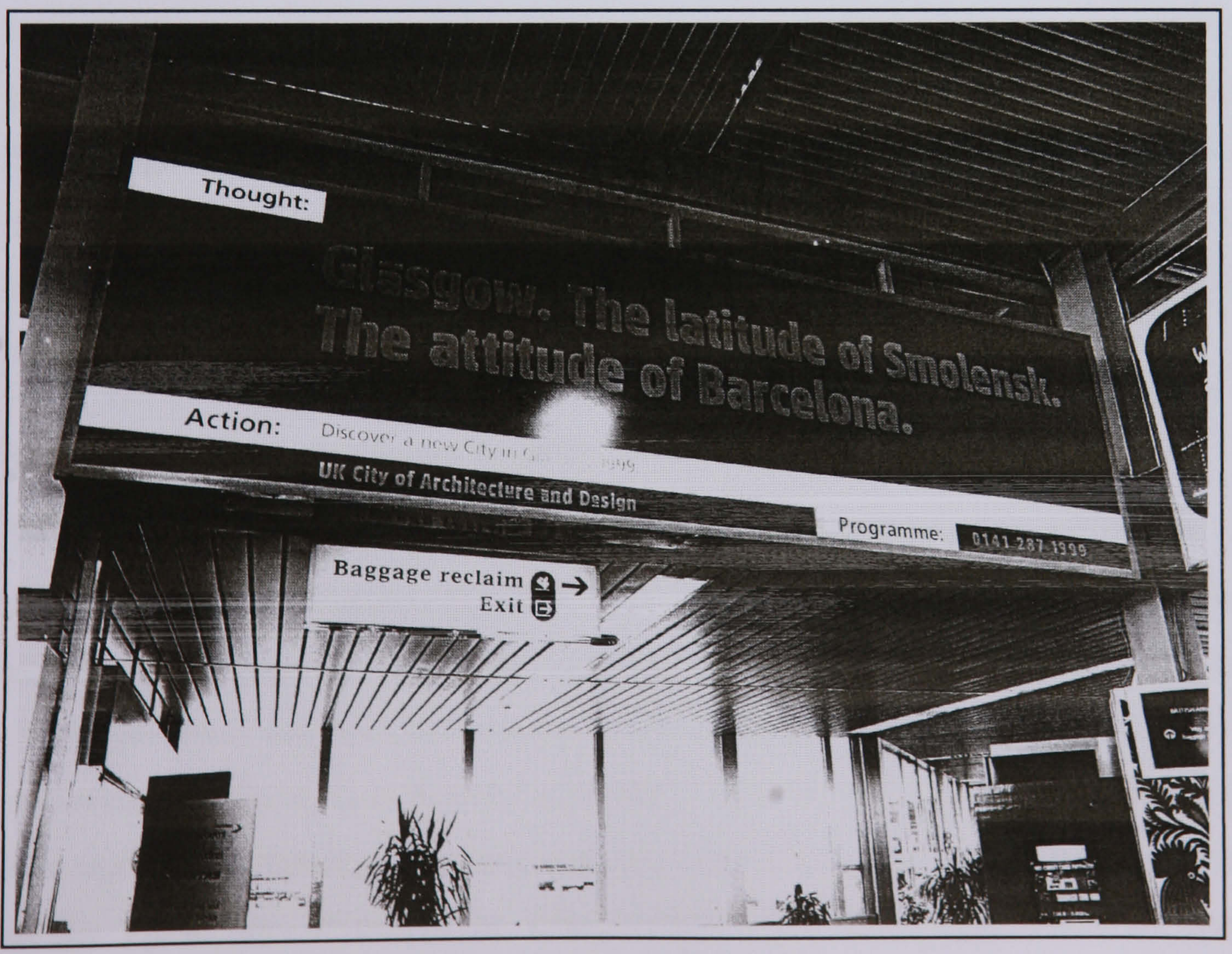
[20] 'Changing Glasgow by Design' was the city's slogan for its 1999 bid.

[21] Glasgow was in the 1970s officially recognised as 'the most deprived locality in Britain', and had this status still in 2002. Notoriously, life expectancy in the planned housing scheme of Drumchapel has been ten years less than in the adjacent suburb of Bearsden.

areas in Glasgow (Scottish Exec Stats 2004, Dorling & Thomas 2004). Dorling and Thomas describe the North and West of Britain as an 'archipelago of the provinces, city islands that appear to be slowly sinking demographically, socially and economically'. Of course, urban poverty in the UK is a constant only exacerbated over the last three decades of economic reorganisation, and as such has always found a space in the artistic representation of urban life.

Glasgow/Barcelona: Regeneration and Design

During 1999, cities such as Milan, Berlin and Barcelona were bracketed with Glasgow as cities all strongly marked by their reputations as centres of the design world. Strengthening Glasgow's identity as an equally design-oriented city and raising the city's self-confidence and value as such was, of course, a main intention of G99. Barcelona was the city most clearly referenced with the architecture of that city often presented as a key source of its economic vitality and its success as a regenerated, postindustrial tourist city. The explicit identification of opportunities to mimic this strategy of urban development and architectural tourism was based in using Barcelona as a readily understandable model of aspiration for the city. The key



examples of such aspirations to the cultural identity of Barcelona are as follows: Glasgow and Barcelona were second cities within their relative historic empires; both have staged major international exhibitions; Glasgow linked with Barcelona, and other cities, in the *Reseau Art Nouveau* Network, an EU initiative to assist urban regeneration and 'international competitiveness'; Javier Mariscall's Buchanan Street lighting and street furniture redesign, his interiors at the Lighthouse; the G99-funded tour of Barcelona for city housing association members — the 5 Spaces Project of urban parks was directly inspired by the tour; G99 advertising slogan on billboards at the airport and central streets — 'Glasgow: same latitude as Smolensk, Same attitude as Barcelona'; Glasgow pubs, *BARcelona* and *Bar Gaudí* (both gone by 2003), indicate 90s influence in the city nightlife/bar culture. This indicates some of the main aspects of the real and imagined identity of Glasgow as a city developing along similar lines to those of Barcelona. Its success in establishing itself as a city marked by substantial achievements across the whole spectrum of design production was an obvious reference point for the G99 managers. However the particular history of the development of design industries in the city is such that any simple model of mimesis and importation is questionable. This can be demonstrated by a review of some recent literature on design practice in Barcelona (during the later Franco period and until today) which reveals how it significantly embodied, and came to represent, political resistance and a Catalonian national expression, and latterly legitimated a large programme of design-oriented urban regeneration. This section highlights how design culture in Barcelona is not simply based in the concept of an educated and refined consumerism and 'civic pride', but is shaped in response to the particularities of the local development of consumer culture.

Origins of Barcelona 'Design Identity': 1960-1990

The particular histories that configured the privileged position of design in Barcelona's material culture between 1960 and 1990 are highlighted by Narotzky (2000) who outlines the way design practice and consumption experiences frame the 'social presence' and 'cultural position' of design; thus 'how and by whom it is used and what it looks like, is defined and polished, collectively acknowledged' (227). Her argument is that the city's early design culture and structure of feeling originated in the production of design by élites (rather than methods of industrial mass

production) resulting in the social importance of high status consumer goods in the 1960s and 1970s, especially for professional architects and their style-conscious professional clients. By the time furniture by European architects became available in Barcelona, a section of the consuming public identified it with the *gauche divine* (the artistic, intellectual elite) whose

> playful but often high-profile opposition to the dictatorship endowed the objects they liked with a political and cultural subtext … The early eighties would be coloured by the memory of design under Francoisme as something "invested with prestige, distinctive, an achievement of the innovative capabilities of an active sector of the Catalan society" battling against public ignorance, cultural and political repression, state opposition and industry's total indifference (Narotzky 2000: 232, quoting Norberto Chaves in 1983).[22]

The key concern in relation to design here is its association with a local politics of resistance to oppression: 'a culture of design understood almost as a culture of resistance' (Campi cited by Narotzky). By the early eighties private consumption of design was still limited, however the city council's programme of urban design and public sculpture, 'brought the popular classes into everyday contact with contemporary design' via Oriol Bohigas' 1980-1984 'monumentalisation of the urban periphery' (236). She continues:

> The agents behind this intense process of singularisation still operated within the framework of high culture and bourgeois taste that had configured the design of objects for the modern domestic interior, but the network of design provision established in previous decades was expanded to incorporate the public sphere. The city was being regenerated and the quality of the urban experience improved dramatically during the 1980s. Barcelona itself was also simultaneously transformed into an object of desire, offered to the tourist gaze — and to local citizens — as the ultimate product of Catalan design (236).

In Barcelona, as elsewhere in this period, high status consumer design was produced by upper middle class groups, reflecting their configurations of capital. this produced a 'buzz' as design consumption became both widened and 'socially distinctive'. For Narotzky

---

[22]This relationship to the era enables its iconic designs, especially table lamps and chairs, to conjure an imagery of sophisticated liberalism in Almodóvar's earliest and later films.

> [t]he structural role of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in the provision of design, through an expanding network that grew to include public capital and local government, led to the sedimentation of particular narratives and values around certain aspects of the local material culture ... The city's growing value as a global leisure commodity and the high international profile of its urban regeneration process had a definite impact on its citizen's self-image and on the evolution of collective taste. The perception of design shifted from an elitist — or just unknown — range of goods with restricted access to objects, practices and environments that were felt to be more accessible and more representative of mainstream taste (240-241).

This experience of Catalan modernity 'normalised a certain type of visual and material environment: "normal" Catalans spoke Catalan, listened to Philip Glass, dressed smartly and sat in designer chairs' (Narotzky cited in Julier 2000: 127). Julier's (1990) essay draws out a similar role for the more specifically architectural *gauche divine,* the *Escuela de Barcelona* and its influence in the national culture of design which combined to produce a Catalan *boom de diseño*. Maintaining modernist ideas for this group often meant expressing them in underground publications which imbued them with a special political charge and authority. The *gauche divine* entered into politics in the late 70s with sufficiently broad support to ensure 'issues of culture and aesthetics, and their relationship to the new democratic society' would be a key influence in how democratic regeneration would proceed (McNeill 1999). The main figures in this period were the city mayors, Narcís Serra and Pasquall Maragall, both aesthetically literate, bourgeois, 'renaissance men'. Maragall promoted and commissioned modern architecture, such as Richard Meier's Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA)[23] and was 'on good terms with the likes of Richard Rogers and Norman Foster'. His speech at the reopening of the 1929 German Pavilion outlined the intention to use architecture as the emblem of the city's resurgence as a city of democratic modernity:

> In the past six years Barcelona city planning has had as its theme the reconstruction of a deteriorated city, the recovery of the marks of its identity, and the use of monuments as the instruments for giving dignity to the urban environment ... Tours of the new public

[23]Ironically, one of the first exhibitions held in the MACBA was of the urban themes of the situationists. The MACBA is in a densely populated working class district off the Ramblas and has since been used as a backdrop to stylishly advertise, for example, cars, cosmetics and aesthetic medical technologies. Its own direction has often been to assert its artistic role as a positively peripheral one (Balibrea 2001).

> areas have already become part of the itinerary of visitors to Barcelona. And this ties in with Barcelona's renewed desire to be part of the international scene. The Pavilion brings all this together: an architectural milestone, Barcelona's history, an international presence ... It is an emblem of the cultured, cosmpolitan, open Barcelona that all of us are reconstructing. (Maragall, cited in McNeill 1999:143).[24]

McNeill's study seeks to politically contextualise the city's urban design policies, such as Oriol Bohigas' 'benign metastasis' (an uplifting effect of quality design) which McNeill categorises as 'a rhetoric ... to represent *a* public' whose peripheral local spaces were to be core elements of the city 'repairs'.[25] For McNeill, in Europe today the relationship between the state and civil society is increasingly one formed by the *greater* influence of the personal visions of 'enlightened despots' (Maragall and Mitterand). The new Barcelona is now a 'City of Marvels' (the title of a satirical text on Barcelona's cultural renaissance) as it was during the 1888 and 1929 Expositions. The hi-tech architecture of Barcelona's telecommunications towers by Calatrava and Foster 'demonstrate the council's desire to be semiotically associated with the informational economy' (160).[26] From this he develops three points from Barcelona's experience that identify a distinctively Left aesthetic and spatial policy. Firstly, the 'social composition of the state (including the personal preferences of its leaders) has a lot to do with the intelligence and proactivity with which aesthetic strategies are pursued'; secondly, he emphasises 'the council's firm promotion of public space', and thirdly, it has been prepared to *impose* its (often avant-garde) aesthetic choices:

---

[24]More recently, Maragall (1999: 238-240) has described the city's design strategy in almost revolutionary terms: 'In Barcelona, after 40 years of dictatorship, we reached a moment, and not a fleeting or short one, of an ongoing euphoria of constructive explosion ... [which has] ... turned the city into a kaleidoscopic reality'.

[25]The *Banlieue 89* project ('89' referenced the egalitarianism of 1789) upgraded French suburban working class areas using Lefebvrian spatial principles of centrality, inclusion and urban sense (Kofman & Lebas 1996: 36). While eventually criticised as 'cosmetic', for Roberts (2000: 23) the projects' had the common aim of making 'the suburbs and peripheries as beautiful as the town centres' and of infusing 'places with an identity and a significance of their own'. The French project envisaged a decentralisation of power, it is plausible, therefore, to suggest Lefebvre's influence on Barcelona's 'monumentalisation'.

[26]Between 1980 and 1995 the city commissioned architects Arata Isozaki, Norman Foster, Santiago Calatrava, Ricardo Bofills and Richard Meier. It also commissioned monumental public artworks by Richard Serra, Frank Gehry, Claes Oldenburg, Roy Lichtenstein and Beverly Pepper. Local architects designed the higher value urban design and architecture of the general residential public spaces and cityscape, and here competitions have been common (McNeill 1999: 152).

> [E]nlightened despotism: the careful choice of the right architect from the international star system, the 'difficult' public art pieces, the controversies over competition decisions. The council's strong aesthetic tastes have certainly paid little heed to populism (165).[27]

For this author, the city's redevelopment 'has successfully "re-enchanted" the city, which surely must be at the heart of restoring or defending a socialism of citizenship' (McNeill 1999:166). This begs the important question: has a similar benign re-enchantment been the result of Glasgow's urban reaestheticisation?

Balibrea's (2001) analysis of the 'Barcelona model' of urban regeneration focuses on the city as an ideological text and on the role of architecture in establishing common values. Here, the emphasis on pride in the distinctive built environment has been an 'enormously successful political strategy' which, in conjunction with the work of the 80s and 90s has meant architecture has almost become 'the only, or a least a privileged element, by which [Barcelona] is judged' (2001: 192). Invoking Benjamin she suggests 'the more aesthetics is politically used in Barcelona, the more politics is itself aestheticised'. The significant political consensus over the city's urban development, in this image, is a result of continued 'aesthetic or artistic gratification'. The 'monumentalisation of the periphery' is thus an aspect of the 'extraordinary broadening of the symbolic and material terrain occupied by culture'.[28] Such policies bridged 'glaring inequalities fostered social reconciliation by allocating cultural and symbolic capital in the form of (among other things) monuments and public spaces of socialisation and memory' (193). Where Narotzsky identified a popular participation in resistant aestheticization during and after the *transicion*, Balibrea laments a 'massive neutralisation' in 'megalomaniac aesthetics' paraded in the gentrifying site clearing for the city's Forum of World Cultures.

---

[27]Julier (2000: 140) acknowledges how the subtly coercive nature of many representations of the New Barcelona produced by the 'taste-makers, be they famous architects or TV channels, effectively regulated the nature and scale of design culture'.

[28]In terms of the specific local politics of urban regeneration, Hughes (1992) draws attention to the conflict between the city and national governments over the method of asserting Catalan culture in the new condition of autonomous self-government. For the *Ajuntament* (city council) it meant the city's built heritage and a revived reputation as a European cultural centre, whereas the *Generalitat* (national autonomous government) concentrated on reviving national folk traditions. This contrast reveals an aspect of the city government's decision to emphasise its urban and design culture as a response to conservative and bourgeois nationalist assertions of rural tradition.

This depiction of the development of popular affiliations with a symbolically vital material culture clearly mirrors the ambitions of G99. Glasgow's 'social presence of design' has not emerged from within the context of a nationally distinguished elite, nor can it claim to constitute an aspect of a 'culture of resistance'. The presence of high status design in Glasgow takes the form of normalised and distinctively modern 'visual and material environments' including urban design interventions, striking architecture and apartment blocks. As I have indicated, Javier Mariscall designed the new lighting and street furniture in Buchanan Street, the most crucial space of urban improvement in Glasgow. Barcelona's urban design projects have provided Glasgow with a model for the city's emphasis on the spectacularisation of the built environment. The concentration on the central retail areas has enhanced the identity of the city as a destination for cultural tourism but there has been no publicly funded 'monumentalisation of the periphery', no strategy of city-wide spatial transformation comparable to that in Barcelona (and see Lloyd-Jones 1998: 34). Julier describes the architectural, public art and urban design interventions in Barcelona (2000: 126) as the 'wholesale ideological, cultural, commercial and, hence, *aesthetic* repositioning of a region'.

Design Culture and Cultural Regeneration

Scottish design professionals in the 'designer eighties' did not react to Thatcherism, for example, with a formal response in design (whereas arguably there was such a response in painting and in the theatre).[29] There was a significant growth in graphic design and in product and furniture design, especially the consumption of imported 'designer' goods available through new outlets such as Nice House (opened in 1988 in Princes Square, later moving to the Italian Centre). Alongside this key source of European design (Starck, Capellini, Magistretti) came other independent businesses reliant on and distinguished by their design such as Bar Ten and the Sub Club and the fashion retailers, Cruise, Ichi-ni-san and the Warehouse in Glassford Street. It was the success of these early businesses which did most to establish the city's

---

[29]Hamilton & Scullion (2002) have called for research into the 80s and 90s, the period when the culture of Scotland seemed at its most confident when 'oppositional', a moment of cultural renaissance, arguing that 'significant questions remain unanswered and under-researched: how much of Scottish art was merely created *in opposition* to what was happening in Westminster, and how much was created in a rigorous examination of Scotland' (139).

contemporary reputation as a centre of stylish living, a key element of the new image of renaissance as a European 'destination'. Most importantly, however, Glasgow has produced no equivalent to Barcelona's *gauche divine*; the stylish, liberal and socialist intellectual opposition in the Franco years whose main figures developed a style identified as Catalan within a political state debarring national cultural expression. As Carr (2002) illustrates, there is little evidence of an identifiably twentieth century Scottish design identity, or of a formal style associated with modern national expression since the era of the Glasgow Style. The creative field has produced no celebrity designer or identifiably cultural figure in local government.[30] Indeed, the commissioning of English architects for the city's major nineteenth century public buildings (City Chambers, Glasgow University, The Kelvingrove Art Galleries and Museum) indicates a long-standing, and continuing, source of controversy and professional humiliation for the city's design professions. In the era of Modernism, 'Scotland as the 20th century's pioneer industrial economy flunked the cultural challenge of creating a cutting edge architecture' (Kerevan 2000: 54). Kerevan's historical comparison with Barcelona could be made with many other cities across Europe for the period:

> In 1885, the entire Glasgow industrial bourgeoisie severed its traditional allegiance to the Liberal Party and joined the Tories in opposition to Irish Home Rule. During the same period Barcelona's industrial capitalist class embraced an Art Nouveau Modernism and the exotic architecture of Domenech and Gaudí as an expression of its opposition to rule from Castilian Madrid. But in Glasgow the 1880s facade of the magnificent City Chambers, depicts Queen Victoria receiving the homage of the Empire. It dominates the centre of the second city of that Empire and Union — a cultural rampart against social revolution. A proclamation of continuity not change (ibid.).

---

[30]Harvie (1993: 135-136) and many other historical commentators identify an 'intellectual ambivalence towards cultural nationalism' (even the failure to agree a consistent conception of nationalism) influencing twentieth century high cultural production, one particularly inflected in relation to modern architecture by Edwardian Scotland's economic decline. State patronage stimulated a *Beaux-Arts* architectural resurgence in 1930s civic buildings, and continental Modern *style* was popular during the depression years in cinemas, cafes and hotels (and at 1938's Empirex) but this was followed by another round of Traditionalism during the war and in the following national reconstruction years. This dispute within design culminated in the long boom's prosperity and a widespread ideology of Progress characterised by welfare-statist, rationalist planning orthodoxies of 1960s municipal urbanism and New Town utopianism (Glendinning *et al* 1996: 385-448).

Emmerson's (2000a) outline of the political history of Scottish architecture depicts a 'pathological' series of 'waves of revivalism' throughout the development of the Scottish profession which led each generation to postpone modernity while it reinterpreted and rediscovered vernacular or national forms anew. Emmerson's argument is that Finland and Czechoslovakia (and we can add Catalonia) developed an architectural modernity of *adventure* as an aspect of their political modernisation, whereas in stateless and unionist Scotland modernity was encountered as *routine* (Berman 1983), as resistance to, and avoidance of, modernity as adventure. The city has pursued a process of development through mimesis throughout its capitalist history, first Paris, then American Beaux Arts, and finally Barcelona. This dependence can be understood as another element of the 'inferiorism' in Scotland's political culture, the managerialist attitude to cultural production which has consistently supported continuity rather than the leap of faith and where even the process of political devolution has been marked by a guarantee of an unchanged relation to the supranational state and its managerialist use of design to represent a dynamic conservatism of 'Cool Britannia' (Emmerson 2000b).

The reproduction of Barcelona's design culture in Glasgow is another moment in the characteristic modernity of routine. However, there is a degree of consensus regarding the quality in its high status public spaces and it is this spatial quality, one of monumentality in the retail and business centres, which has enabled the formal association.[31] Many more clear associations with Barcelona are evident in the city and in the publicity for the year which sought to establish associations with design capitals of Italy, Scandinavia and The Netherlands. While this has an understandable intent of making the city residents 'feel good', of professionally marketing the city and raising the profile of the city's design environment, it clearly constructs new representations of the city which flatters the self-identity of the varied population. McNeill notes that behind place-marketing policies in Barcelona and cities like it, lie the pressurised context of European integration and the pressure to 'freely compete':

---

[31] Glasgow's Buchanan Street was regularly compared, in a classical boosterist manner, with Barcelona's *Rambla* during 1999, and especially since the £10M 'Great Street' urban design project has been completed the street has been described as 'one of Europe's Great Streets' in City Council publications, setting the standard in terms of regenerative urban design practice across the UK (Carmona 1998).

The pursuit of aesthetically pleasing environments is not necessarily an innocent process. The new cityscapes may directly conceal a worsening in social polarisation and a de facto reduction in democratic control over the city and its spaces as steps are taken to lure in large corporations, or as councils are mortgaged with huge spending on arts and museum budgets. As city governments have been forced to become more competitive, so they struggle with their counterparts both far and near for a limited amount of mobile capital. And when moderate socialists look elsewhere for successful examples they can copy, they look to Barcelona (McNeill 1999: 10).

It is no surprise that city leaders are drawn to Barcelona and seek to emulate its achievements in their own plans for the city as they can be reasonably sure that such policies will contribute to popular changes in the city's built environment, and will also enhance the touristic interest in the city. A city copying Barcelona's examples of design policy offers improvements in lifestyle and environmental quality, however, regarding McNeill's core argument, such new cityscapes can dazzle and conceal a social fragmentation more chronic than cultural tribalism, one intimately connected to particular European pressures to develop competitive city state economies whose success seems unaffected by the significant proportions of urban population with little or no stake in post-industrial city service economies. Again, as in the case of the relative lack of success of the Glasgow Style, the comparison with the social origins of Barcelona's design culture indicates how a simple policy of voluntarist cultural transformation rests on a cultural policy sourcing imaginary resources of Glasgow's identity and their circulation and assimilation.

4

G99 Designed: The Festival Product

> Architecture is a process — a social and material one. [It] proceeds in a world of cultural and social forms. In talking about the cultural determinants of architectural form, we must question who or what culture has the power to control the production and subsequent use of built form, and how they do so (Ahrentzen 1996: 82)

> [T]hose who are excluded from the use of power — and therefore from what is officially recognised as culture, art, architecture — are not larvae awaiting a metamorphosis which will permit them to benefit from legitimate values of the power structure. They are bearers of new values which exist potentially and are already manifested sporadically in the margins which are not controlled by institutional power. (de Carlo in Boys 1996: 243)

> Space is what these pages are about … what it costs, where you can buy it and what you can fill it with (*Sunday Herald* [Glasgow] 'Homelife' section, 14/2/99)

This chapter develops a close analysis of the main built projects and a representative sample of the year's numerous events. I construct a reading of the festival in relation to the discourses on the cultural transformations of the city outlined above. In addition to the Homes for the Future expo and the Lighthouse centre, I'll focus on the architectural exhibitions, 'Alexander Thomson: The Unknown Genius' and 'Vertigo: The Strange New World of the Contemporary City'. From the design exhibitions the study will look at 'Identity Crisis: The 90s Defined' and 'Vanity Cases By Philippe Starck', both at the Lighthouse. I'll open the chapter with aspects of the G99 Community Programme's four Festival Days which were held in the Royston, Castlemilk, Easterhouse and Partick areas of Glasgow. My analysis during 1999 involved a range of research methods including a semi-ethnographic approach to the social settings of G99 (sharing the experience and feel of the exhibitions, of the new built spaces, the atmosphere of the lectures and talks), semi-structured interviews at one of the main festival events and a content analysis of the reported social context as constructed in the local media during the year and subsequently. I also provide a case study of recent newspaper advertisements and property schedules

for high status city centre flats with the aim of monitoring the use of architectural language and imagery in the marketing of such apartments. In order to indicate the full context, I'll next outline the main elements of the festival programme.

Built Projects

- The Lighthouse, Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City
- Homes for the Future (housing expo)
- '5 spaces' (small urban parks in brown field sites)

Main Architectural and Design Exhibitions

- 'The Architecture of Democracy' & 'Winning: The Design of Sports' (both at the McLellan Galleries)
- 'Alexander Thomson: The Unknown Genius', 'The Shape of the Colour Red', 'Vanity Cases by Philippe Starck', 'Identity Crisis: The 90s Defined' & 'The Glasgow Collection' — products subsequently exhibited in South Africa, Taiwan, Hamburg, Paris and New York (all at The Lighthouse)
- 'Modern Masters': Alvar Aalto, Mies Van Der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright (Gallery of Modern Art, The Burrell Collection and Kelvingrove respectively)
- 'Vertigo: The Strange New World of the Contemporary City' (Old Fruitmarket)
- 'Food: Design and Culture' & 'Design Machine' (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum)
- 'Home' (with the Homes for the Future expo)
- 'Concentric Cities': 99 of Glasgow's 'most notable buildings' presented historically in three concentric rings of development, and in relation to likely international inspirations.
- 'Grand Central', a title invoking American railway station blues and rationalised, time tabled existences, was designed by Simon Costin for the city's NVA contemporary arts organisation. It used the top floor of the Central Station Hotel (1883) to reveal the 'beauty and decay' resulting as if from a 'bizarre experiment'. The uncanny atmosphere of the late night tours began with a camp

scene of ballroom dancing then the ascent in small groups to the darkened staff accommodation floor and a 'disturbing encounter of intense decay in the heart of the city' ('Grand Central' programme). The peeling and dripping surfaces, outmoded objects and staged 'discordant' moments combined to present an uncanny momentary place awaiting destruction in refurbishment. The project captured and dramatised the ambience of this hotel space and (through the undisturbed, briefly conserved, decay) its temporal transience in relation to urban development.. A theatre/contemporary art hybrid, this multidisciplinary project used themes of place, environment and the contingent frame to set out another approach to the aestheticisation of the city. Requiring imaginative involvement, this project illustrated a main direction in public art.

Some smaller exhibitions during the year included: a university-based display of Patrick Geddes's overseas work; 'Animal Constructions'; the *Periphérique* group's model versions of £50,000 houses; product designs for people with dementia and a Vivienne Westwood fashion show.

Additionally, during October the city hosted the Second Glasgow International Festival of Design and there were two 'Doors Open' days in the city, enabling supervised access to various city buildings.

Area Festivals and The Partnership Fund

- Four festival months, each with a day-long event 'with the emphasis on fun for everyone', and in which to 'celebrate design'.
- The area festivals were each organised over a month and, in conjunction with local initiatives supported by a Partnership Fund, offered people opportunities to, for example, meet with design professionals and students, organise and run their own design related activities and participate in library-based discussions on architecture or housing design seminars hosted by housing association groups.

Architects and designers (Zaha Hadid, Ettore Sottsass, Vivienne Westwood, Marc Newson, Dan Fern and Wayne Hemmingway for example) gave lectures and interviews throughout the year. The 'Architects in Schools' project provided significant educational input using custom-designed educational materials. Lastly,

there was a linked programme of architecturally themed films at the Glasgow Film Theatre, the city's art house cinema, and many other smaller events.

Area Festivals

The four Festival Days were organised as a series of varying events in discrete areas of the city. Intending to research these events through a practice of participant observation and unstructured interviews at the margins, I attended each festival day and visited a selection of the other events in the different areas in the week leading up to the main event. My encounters with the varying social and architectural spaces produced the significant realisation that the city's multiple and different realities could not be interpreted with sufficient sensitivity by simply appearing at the site of the festival day and performing an analysis on the strength of a mythically neutral but penetrating eye. For example, the west area festival day took place in Partick, an area I was familiar with, and there were no situations which made me feel uneasy. In contrast, I was quickly aware of appearing out of place at the Easterhouse festival day. My self-assigned role as a researcher concerned with issues of aesthetic diffusion and the 'Culture City' image seemed to have little urgent relevance in a social setting so clearly marked by poverty, environmental stigmatisation and degradation. The attempts to informally interview those attending the Easterhouse day immediately revealed the distance between my interests and theirs. I adopted a very informal approach, tried to establish trust through a chatty manner but my outsider status would have been clearly apparent. I hadn't achieved the necessary admittance through working to become a figure known in the community. In simply appearing on the day with ready-made questions 'designed' to evoke a codable response I'd attempted to impose an abstracted array of preformed issues. As a response I had to restrict my approach to one of participant observation. Thus, in this section I describe the context and the main opportunities for involvement in the educational and exhibitionary elements of the day.

The North Area Festival Day in the Royston area of the city was held in a large light industrial workspace containing illustrated students' ideas for local land re-use and improvement, details of the successful community creation of an urban garden in Salford and plans for the Royston Road Project of two urban parks (completed by 2003). The plans by Edinburgh College of Art landscape students used brief texts in

conjunction with drawings which would both have required high level technical and design vocabulary to follow; no assistance in interpretation was offered. Nearby, enthusiastic members of the groups involved in the local projects offered information on their own intentions. The displays of local urban improvement plans shared the main space with cases of attractive high design objects, such as the collection of stainless steel door handles (with slots in the perspex case to enable touching and turning), a selection of expensive sports shoes and sunglasses in hi-tech materials and the wind-up radio just on the market in 1999. The recent urban lighting developments in Glasgow were dramatically utilised locally in the projection of huge images of local children onto high rise flats, the candle lit facade at the derelict Springburn Halls and the digital lighting of the Maryhill canal locks. Such striking enchantment of the mundane urban landscape (recalling here their successful campaign for the urban parks) emerged directly from local residents' persistent demands and direct involvement in the generation of an improved built environment.

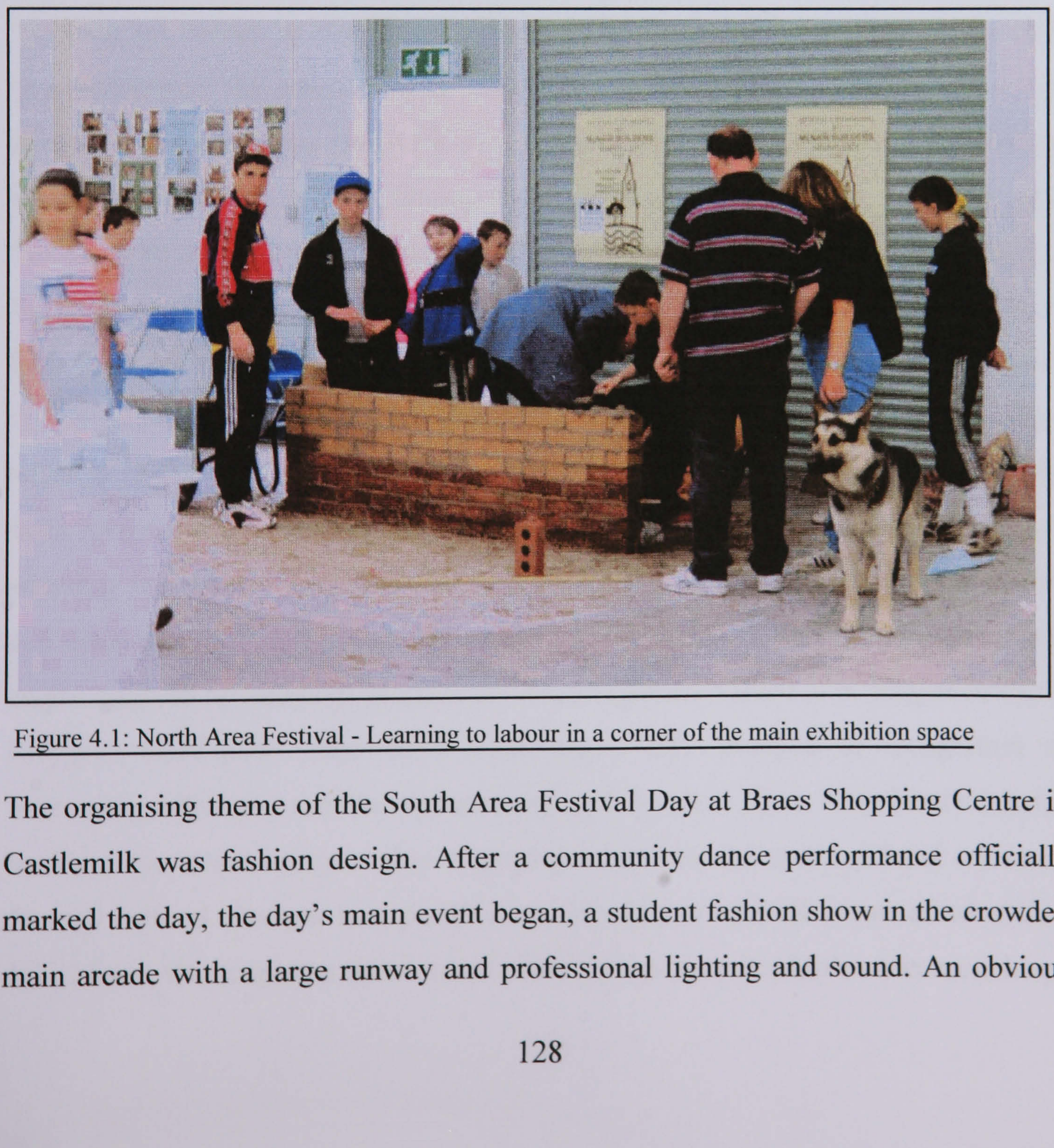


Figure 4.1: North Area Festival - Learning to labour in a corner of the main exhibition space

The organising theme of the South Area Festival Day at Braes Shopping Centre in Castlemilk was fashion design. After a community dance performance officially marked the day, the day's main event began, a student fashion show in the crowded main arcade with a large runway and professional lighting and sound. An obvious

thrill for those participating and the family members there to offer support, this event was clearly the result of a great deal of local planning and organisation. An extra fun element was provided in the shape of spoof milliners turning out humorous hats in outrageous bad taste.

The 'producing the goods' theme of West Area Festival Day was depicted through a humorously camped-up car-boot sale beside Partick Burgh Halls. This served to stage a display of brands, design classics, styles and fashions of the decades. It gave the impression of a suprisingly subdued event: the rooms within the Halls were used to stage a brief amateur play and contained a mock-up of a 1960's space-age lounge, but little else. No attempt was made to direct attention to the impressive sculpture-laden facades of the Halls hosting the event. On the same evening, an arts project organised by Glasgow's Modern Institute produced a popular simultaneous screening of four films for an outdoor audience in Partick.

The East area festival, held in Easterhouse's Wellhouse Central, had the theme of 'Homing in', which as the title suggests, would focus again on interiors and their personalisation. The celebration of interior design, an exhibition of architecture and design in grander terms, was held in an area of uniformly architecturally meritless streets. My difficulty in even finding the event alongside the jarring realisation that this could be the setting for a celebration of design viscerally revealed the distance to be overcome between my role as a researcher and the effects of an everyday life in their local built environment, facing the socio-economic conditions inherent in one of the poorest areas of Britain. Wellhouse Central proved to be the sole public building in the area. Presented as the 'battle of the styles', and 'Interior Bliss', the main event of the day saw the theatre company, Mischief La Bas, amusingly adopting the roles of stereotypical interior design 'types' (cool urbane minimalist and obsessive DIY enthusiast, for example). Alongside these performances, more laughs were to be had with implausible design classics valued at a 'tongue in cheek Antiques Roadshow'. The day's main theme had emerged in recognition of 'increasing affluence and the privatisation of lifestyles' (East Area Festival guide booklet); the ironic interpretation attempted to address the minimal local relevance of such cultural changes in a positive tone. People were well aware of what they didn't have, the unspoken theme ran, it didn't mean they wouldn't welcome a laugh

about the wider quirks of design. As with the other festival days, additional events took place in the immediate area and further afield over the month of the festival. Again, as at each festival day, a Radio Clyde programme was broadcast, taking the event to the city and inviting people along — the raffle draw at the end of the day offered one lucky winner a return flight to New York.

The details above represent only the key events on the main days. For example, there were more practical events organised in the areas such as design-related problem-solving meetings, talks and discussions led by architects (at least two were cancelled due to low demand), library exhibitions and Housing Association open days. The '5 Spaces' urban parks, the Doors Open Days and a large number of smaller, community-based initiatives were promoted and publicised during the festivals making them clear instances of widening involvement in design management at the local level and design appreciation at a wider city-wide scale. It is very clear too that the main approach to festival days was (unsurprisingly) fun, humour and popular design culture. But the significant absence of a major architectural design theme at any of the festival days underscored how this subject was considered off-limits by the organisers. Glasgow's two schools of architecture had no obvious presence at these events some of which drew large numbers.[1] The information leaflets delivered to the areas promoted the Doors Open Day and any nearby examples of new public housing, but the main G99 architectural activities were in the city centre; architecture and design as fun, amusement and entertainment was delivered to the periphery.

For Pauline Gallacher, the community initiatives director, the key concept of G99 was the 'communication' of the key themes and new realities of city regeneration and tourism. For this enthusiastic manager, exposing people to processes of regeneration through G99 events helped develop a 'critical consciousness', one discriminating, demanding and interrogative of the professionals supposedly serving them. The argument here was that individuals who engaged with meaningful issues of architecture and design became 'politicised' (here admitting this was contentious) as a response to the increased pace of change in the world taking particular local

[1] Two attendance figures are listed in the official report: 2871 for the West festival day and 1647 for the South festival day (DTZ Pieda 2000).

form (Gallacher 1999). The official evaluation of the year by the consultants DTZ Pieda concluded that '[i]n our view all the major goals and aims of the programme have been met' (DTZ Pieda 2000: 73). Before this verdict on G99's aims, the report cites monitoring returns that indicated a vague number of people were 'affected in some way' by the projects; it seems very likely that this could have any meaning at all, from directly overseeing their own Community Fund project, to seeing an event taking place, to receiving a leaflet through your door. Local surveys of the community initiatives were carried out near the '5 Spaces' parks. Many of these surveys indicated over 50% had no recollection of any events in their area: '14% stated the Area Festival in their area had had an impact by drawing their attention to design and architecture in general ... a half of respondents disagreed with the statement and another 32% did not express an opinion' (36). The report's expenditure section indicates the G99 launch party cost £233k compared to the four area festivals which together cost £217k (DTZ Pieda 2000: 11-12). This is costed alongside the £560,000 distributed through the community fund, which had no direct connection to the content of the festival days. The available financial resources were clearly concentrated in the central, tourist-friendly exhibitions, the housing expo and the Lighthouse centre.

Criticisms of the year emphasised this lack of a city-wide architectural programme which resulted in the concentration on the less expensive and less complicated alternatives of fun and visual animation of the existing fabric. Clearly, it would have cost significantly more to incorporate an original or generic architectural element into each festival month or day. The £2.8M funding for the 5 Spaces urban parks, (intended originally to be 12 'Millennium Spaces') in five derelict sites around the city led to real environmental changes but also to conflicting interpretations of their overall success within the terms of G99's inclusive aims. Influenced mainly by Barcelona's 'monumentalisation of the periphery', these spaces were conceived as both community-led parks projects and as public art. For one author in the field, the role of artists in such a situation was understood as enabling a creative outcome of practical utility through the negotiation of a 'discreet creative input' rather than a 'single-minded artistic expressiveness'. Here, the artist's role in the development process of the park/work is to be a catalyst with fluid roles as 'cultural educator, as

the facilitator of others' cultural ambitions, as the interpreter of a community's social aspirations, and as the focus of critical debate' (Dawes 1999: 10). Fruin Street in Possilpark and the Whiteinch spaces, for example, were severely damaged soon after completion. By 2001/2002 it was evident to both critics and advocates that there was little funding available for their active support through maintenance or supervision, and a common disillusionment with the quality and meaningfulness of the working relationship between local residents and artists, many of whom had wanted a stimulating play park didn't understood how their participation had led to a seemingly indestructible space with a 'harsh' design aesthetic (Calcutt 2002).

Aspects of the report appear as meaningless as the site surveys which used a quota survey method to monitor visitors from the main socio-economic classes. These quota surveys (33% A&B, 15% C1 and C2, 33% D&E) were based on questionnaire responses that indicate no significant differentiation over a range of issues such as attitudes to specific shows, the G99 programme and museum/exhibition attendance frequency (GSA DC 28/5/5 Summary table quarterly report). The data from this ongoing evaluation method cannot be used to generate information on the total numbers and proportions of visitors to the exhibitions by socio-economic class. For Charley (2002: 33) a critic of G99, attempts to portray the festival as successful in all its aims are implausible; the education programme and the community parks were laudable efforts '[b]ut beyond this G99 has had very little effect on the city. It could, of course, never have been otherwise'. The PFI (PPP) schools building programme was 'drawn up in a process without any consultation with staff, pupils or parents and stands as the antithesis of the G99 dream that people would be empowered to take over and control their environments' (ibid: 34).

Building G99: The Festival's New Spaces

The Lighthouse and Homes for the Future

The Lighthouse centre and the Homes for the Future development constituted the two main projects of the year, accounting together for the bulk of the available capital funds. In both a contemporary modernist aesthetic was emphasised. The Homes for the Future development was intended to have the dual role of housing expo and an example of how best to reintegrate isolated areas close to the city centre

with a stress on using design values to catalyse city living in conjunction with the prevailing orthodoxies on housing policy and themes of urban renaissance.[2] The Lighthouse was to become Scotland's first architecture and design centre, 'a unique cultural resource whose aim is to make architecture and design accessible to all', using exhibitions and educational opportunities, 'designed to be inclusive and to involve people of all ages and all levels of experience' (Lighthouse promotional leaflet 1999). They were to become the festival's widely touted 'physical legacy': spatial evidence of the ongoing transformation of the city and its residents - itself intended to be the wider legacy of G99 for the city. My discussion of these two major developments will be based on the claims made for them as exhibitions and exhibition spaces. I will emphasise their design and their associated representations, as in various ways, examples of the core objectives of the year outlined above, for example as projects raising levels of 'participation' in design, and as contributing to improving understanding of design in everyday life.

Architecture Centres

Architectural centres are a recent phenomenon in the UK and the Lighthouse is Scotland's first dedicated public institution for architectural exhibition and education. They are long established as a main element of the architectural policies of European countries such as The Netherlands (with its POKON network of centres), Switzerland and Austria. Mirroring this development, the English professional body's institutional headquarters, RIBA, has developed a more exhibitionary role throughout the last two decades, and the new Manchester centres such as Urbis and the Cube, and now the Lighthouse, point to an emerging component of public policy in the promotion of design and architectural quality. New agencies such as the Commission on Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) and the Architecture Policy Unit of the Scottish Executive, in conjunction with regional development agencies and the planning, architectural, and urban design professions have supported this establishment of a series of spaces devoted to issues of design as an attempt to maximise the wide range of social, entrepreneurial and educational

---

[2] For Franklyn (2001: 81) discourses on quality in large scale housing design have been developed alongside New Labour's interventionist urban policy of a minimum 60% new build in brown field sites and 'high density and innovative urban forms; and the promotion of urban living as a positive lifestyle choice' (citing Urban Task Force 1999).

benefits associated with (here intended in the widest sense) an improved *environment*.[3]

The Lighthouse curatorial policy is focused on an educational role in and for the varied communities it serves. Here, Lootsma's (2001) historical review of Dutch public architecture centres provides a backdrop to some main European traditions of architectural exhibitions in relation to which the Lighthouse can be understood to have positioned itself. He outlines two main approaches; the first being that model developed from the concept of architecture as art and hence the architectural exhibition as essentially a display of artful models and drawings representing the abstracted and autonomous form-giving of the individual genius; the second emerges from the social upheavals of the late 1960s when exhibition policies broadly followed the curatorial trend to emphasise the social impact of the architectural intervention and to provide interpretations of the drawings and models to account for visitors' varied levels of architectural knowledge. This latter approach introduced the exhibition of large scale plans as models with opportunities for response, the suggestion of alternatives, and public meetings for feedback and unrestricted debates. The period following this (more or less from the eighties on) reintroduced the architect as the individual genius in the mega-exhibitions staged in Europe's new arts centres such as the Pompidou, the Netherlands Architecture Institute (founded 1989), *arc en rêve* in Bordeaux, and in the *Documenta* and architectural *Biennale* in Venice. These high status and spectacular exhibitions, often marked by their use of new media technologies and the emphasis on disorienting urban experience and the city as a whole are marked by a emphasis on the image where

> [s]uccess was bolstered all the more by the emergence of international architecture periodicals and also specialist architecture publishers. Architecture and architectural drawings had thus become part of the media industry, and in this international arena some architects even became larger than life stars, and not just mere geniuses (Lootsma 2001: 22).

---

[3] At the recent Value of Architecture Centres Conference the CABE announced significant extra funding to support a new network of architecture centres in England. The UK Architecture Centre Network has 15 member institutions, all of which have been established over the last ten years. Interestingly, Lootsma's (2003: 56-57) paper suggested the Dutch network of centres had offered no criticism of a decline in social housing he links to the European Union's policy of market-based housing provision.

For Lootsma, these exhibitions, such as *Morphosis* at the NAi and *Mutations* at *arc en rêve* 'seem to have no direct consequence for any real future', and are primarily media experiences. He concludes that public funding of major architectural centres is based in their use as marketing the rapid transformations experienced in major urban centres and to do this with exhibitions which display vague image-laden dissertations on the global city and which represent relative discursive closure when compared with the 60s and 70s emphasis on creative response and mutual influence. Importantly, and as regards the institutional role of the Lighthouse, relying as it does on direct government funding of state a programme of architectural education and popularising involvement, such architecture centres can be seen as 'instruments for disseminating policy', especially as their state funding is likely to constrain their openness to, and publication of, the wider debate on architecture (Lootsma 2003).[4] For Catherine David, a curator sympathetic to the new opportunities for architecture and urbanism thrown up by digital culture, the spectacular and technologically formalist approach to architectural exhibitions impedes any sense of widened involvement in the 'necessary speculative and experimental dimension of architectural invention'. She argues

> much remains to be done and imagined in terms of a broader circulation, understanding and discussion of the questions and practices which have profoundly contributed to redefining (and possibly redistributing) architecture and its functions in the cultural, social and political sphere. In this respect, it is not certain whether the monographic presentations in which architecture is 'exhibited' in spectacular fashion, and with a great deal of sophisticated devices and materials ... actually contribute positively to awakening curiosity beyond the conventional exaltation of 'landmarks', which above all serve the image-based strategies of the cities and firms which commissioned them (David 2001: 59-60).

---

[4] Funding from G99 and the Lighthouse have been key sources of funding and a base for the distribution of *Glaspaper*, a campaigning and critically educational source of information and argument on local and international spatial politics. With a directly neo-Marxist and Lefebvrian editorial stance in a tabloid format, this free publication challenges such institutional entanglements with spatial governance – while simultaneously indicating the local limits of their depiction as 'instruments'.

The Lighthouse: Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City

Design museums developed in the years after the Great Exhibition's display of a multiplicity of highly ornamented commodities. The educational provision and exhibitionary strategies in Henry Cole's South Kensington Museum aimed to both elevate public taste in design and inspire the design industries of the UK. Rees (1995: 157) argues the wider imperative of such education was to impose subjective middle class categories of good taste under the banner of 'trans-historical criteria of excellence', and that 'today museums crusade by covert means beneath a veneer of impartial scholarship'. Initially conceived with an educational, if paternalistic, emphasis on form *and* function, design museums in the 1930s (especially in America) emphasised contemplation and aesthetic pleasure in the same manner as the fine arts. Here, only 'a single viewpoint was admitted; the non-functional, aesthetic appreciation of form'. The 1980s were marked by another debate over the dialectic of the 'High and Low' interface of art and commerce taking form in the London Design Museum's exhibitions and collections where 'even the most banal item of household use was vested with totemic significance, so long as it was designed by the hippest French, Italian or Catalan design superheroes' (Rees 1995: 159). Doubting the continued seductions of 'paying to look at objects in glass cases' in the aftermath of a periodic collapse in national consumption, Rees considered design museums in a position to 'present a critical commentary on the high street, rather than be a cosy cultural adjunct to it' (164).

Without a permanent collection of domestic machines and gadgets that have made the main design collections such as the Beaubourg and the MOMA, 'like duty-free shops: full of the same reassuring labels all around the world' (Rees 1995 162-163) its brief is to actively enable and support local design talent and industries successful engagement with clients and communities. It is also intended to be an educational centre where the 'importance of design in the contemporary world' can be communicated to Scotland's communities and improving the social, cultural and built environment. This wider range of intentions differentiates the Lighthouse from the contemporary design museum. It approaches design as an inherently holistic practice and environment: everyday life is conceptualised as a design question.

Exemplifying the creative refunctioning of an important and useful building, the Lighthouse was praised for its successful integration of a contemporary design onto a late nineteenth century industrial production space. The development of gallery-type spaces in buildings associated with commerce or industry from the 60s was linked with the international growth in the art market. Here, a the new paradigm was established in the development of ex-industrial exhibition spaces in Manhattan and the new conceptualisation of art as process and as work rather than object-in-the-market (Greenberg 1996).[5]

The second such development in Glasgow, the first in central Glasgow (the Arches is a multi-use performance and dance space, but the first example in the city as a whole), the fusing of a contemporary architectural design onto a main element of the historical fabric of the city was viewed as the city's architectural achievement of the year; standing out in a year when the city was presented with the critically berated Buchanan Galleries and work began on the UGC cinema tower. This transformation resonated with international practice in the established and new art hubs such as New York, Madrid, Rome, Melbourne and London to re-function spaces associated with energy production, or large industrial plant of some description, as spectacular locales of performance, contemporary art and urban tourism. However, for Glendinning (2002: 128) the expansion of the cultural sector's dramatic city architecture has followed a routine, homogenising emphasis on urban forms of spectacle and entertainment:

> [M]useums, art galleries and cultural/conference centres have been the building types most implicated in global capitalism's drive to commodify and corrupt the urban built environment … the gestural coarseness of the competing Glasgow and Edinburgh conference halls by Foster and Farrell … [even] the more subtle examples of this genre such as Page and Park's Lighthouse … are essentially affirmations of the 'system', trying to disguise the essential sameness of their underlying ethos through diverse formal images.

---

[5] Greenberg (1996: 350) notes the 'shift in exhibition venue is symbolic of the need on behalf of some artists to query a mode of exhibiting art as a potential possession'. This querying of exhibition modes is contrasted in the Lighthouse where exhibitions of design have relied on its valorising power as a space of architectural distinction to present mass produced commodities as desirable and *important* objects. The exhibitionary role of the Lighthouse, in this respect, is like that of the Great Exhibitions.

It is important to note that Page and Park Architects have been centrally involved with the introduction of a significant level of expressive design within new social housing developments in the city.

The Lighthouse entrance and its most formally complex north and east elevations are in a narrow lane, therefore promotional visual representation was through drawings and computer-generated images. These types of image project a representation of pure form; it was these new elements of the building's overall restoration that were used across the entire field of press coverage. These reports were restricted to a common format: the presentation of a graphic image and the restatement of the G99 press release with an agreed statement from Deyan Sudjic (G99 director), David Page (Lighthouse architect), or Stuart MacDonald (Lighthouse director). This essentially describes the manner in which the mainstream press coverage of all G99 events was produced. The press office provided briefs with details, dates, quotes, examples and images to editors of the broadsheets, local and national tabloids and many small circulation publications who requested copy; these officially constructed summaries were often reproduced as the core details and editorial of articles. A revealing aspect of the character of the year's print coverage, this restricted origin and reproduction of the framing of the centre by some of its central figures faced very few competing interpretations. It also says much about the paucity of architectural journalism and commentary in the city's print media and in the Scottish press generally; a discourse which was only marginally encouraged in the elements of the year intended to connect the profession with 'the public'.

The photography which appeared in 1999 was primarily of the original building from its western elevation showing the uncleaned stonework. These were often used in conjunction with reports hostile to Lighthouse expenditure and which claimed to show little improvement for the £10M spent on its transformation. The *Glaswegian* complained the exterior 'still shows over a century of city grime' (6th July 1999). The two local papers which questioned the Lighthouse's relevance, the *Evening Times* and the *Glaswegian*, portrayed the centre as unpopular with their readership. Generally, The *Glaswegian* constructed the 1999 festival as devoted to middle class notions of design importance and style and criticised the organisers for refusing funding for a small-scale shipbuilding exhibition (constructed as working class

design heritage) and, for example, for misspelling 'Pollok' (one of the areas of the city with weak symbolic linkage to the 'new' image) in its promotional material for the South Area Festival. The paper presented the issue as one of refusing the identity of an area of the city and imposing one based in influences understood as external (funding for the exhibition was eventually given). The next example from the *Glaswegian* is a good illustration:

> Glasgow 1999 bosses have been slammed this week for delivering a humiliating snub to the city's proud industrial history. The industry which the city was built on has been ignored in favour of a WACKO highbrow programme including exhibitions about the colour red, coffins from Ghana and young Norwegian architects ... [An interviewee] said "The man in the street knows nothing about Mackintosh or 'Greek' Thomson (*Glaswegian*, 8th April, 'Design Bosses all at Sea').

Similarly, and in tune with the construction put on the year's programme of events noted earlier as primarily to do with normal people and the sense of pride in the city, as not 'snobbish', The *Evening Times* played up the festival and the Lighthouse as clear evidence of the city's glowing future, and the sense in such investments. Reflecting the paper's editorial angle as in touch with 'the Real Glasgow', the centre was constructed as symbolic of the types of investment needed to ensure the city's future as a postindustrial success but attacked when it seemed to be a drain on limited funds. It became critical of the extra funding the centre needed to prevent closure in 2000 and 2001. Within the media construction of the Lighthouse, these two small examples formed practically the only instances of dissent in the overall representation of the space as a positive new resource. As has been noted however, a great deal of the mainstream reports were put together in-house by the G99 press office and rewritten as neutral comment. There was no venue or forum for public debate on the role of such a centre, portrayed as crucial to the ongoing development of the city during 1999. The discursive construction of the Lighthouse was marked by what it excluded.

Museum culture

The contemporary importance of museums in drawing tourists into cities would have been a key consideration in explaining the multiple successful funding applications for the Lighthouse. Museums are key places in the city for tourists as they offer

unique places for new leisure practices and experiences (architecturally and in terms of permanent exhibitions) where tourists find 'something distinctive to gaze upon' (Urry 1990: 128). Indeed, the design of museums is increasingly a major element in attracting visitors to a collection/exhibition. The Lighthouse's visually striking 'battery pack' addition to the original building represents the city's emerging aesthetic identity: visually striking neo-modern buildings interrupting the preserved, and now officially valorised historic fabric. The converted building's new Geddesian 'outlook tower' has been described by its architects as enabling a vision of the future beyond the city's 'boundaries, limits and restrictions' while confirming its 'existing values and essences' (in Barley 1999a: 34).

Figure 4.2: Panorama of central Glasgow as seen from Lighthouse viewing room

Stuart MacDonald (1999a: 9-10) promotes the idea of the architecture centre in his description of the 'induction' of visitors into 'the world of architecture' as they enter the Lighthouse:

> Architecture cannot necessarily be experienced in the same way as fine art in a gallery. But the Lighthouse in itself offers an architectural experience. The way the Centre is sensed by visitors is a formative one. You enter through contemporary glass and steel, then ascend the building by escalator moving past traditional materials — sandstone, tiles and brick. The effect of the tactile surfaces making up the back of the Mackintosh building is strong and offers a brilliant contrast to the lightness of the new materials of the 'battery pack' … You become aware of the creative tension between the old and

new, the sensuousness of the materials, stylistic differences, changes in building technology and the sheer physicality of the architecture.

It is clear that for MacDonald the centre is its own exhibition and its own seduction into the architectural 'experience', both an educational exhibition itself and a series of exhibitions.

Social transformations in the conditions of access to cultural knowledge (though unequally distributed) through media and ICT expansion, and professional disputes in relation to the real purposes and effects of places of authorised display, has reduced the authority of the museum space in the contemporary world. Museums compete with faster and more easily accessible resources of both sacralised and mundane cultural knowledge. In cyberspace, the core educational 'location' for many the reproduction is more desired than the auratic original, being manipulable and personalisable. New museum technologies of display, interaction and the concept of the museum as a multi-experience space where visitors of all ages can eat, shop, gaze and learn are examples of dedifferentiated postmodern leisure.[6] Museums allow cities to market themselves as centres of culture which both pleases residents and tourists and appeal to professionals and investors (Kearns & Philo 1993). In this context it is important to note the new functions of museums.

Previously, museums as primarily symbolic institutions, 'collected, interpreted and exhibited society's material culture', and were places in which to identify with a singular past and cultural identity (Tufts & Milne 1999: 213). Museum institutions increasingly have to manage a broader range of economic functions, while retaining a sense of high purpose, often as part of complex urban redevelopment strategies (Bianchini 1990, Urry 1995, Matarasso 1997).[7] This includes their wider role in

[6] Ritzer (1999: 25) understands the commercialisation of museums, and their more and more spectacular architecture, as one element in a contemporary process of re-enchanting the 'means of consumption'.

[7] Cultural 'inclusion' in Glasgow was traditionally, and literally, understood in terms of free admission to the city's collections and less minutely-regulated control of visitors' behaviour compared with, say, Edinburgh's National Museum of Scotland (Prior 2000). The city's Museum's Directors, Julian Spalding, and latterly and more forcibly Mark O'Neill, set out to popularise museum attendance by showing, notably in Royal Exchange Square's Gallery of Modern Art, representational and humorous works supposedly popular with a significant, if previously ignored, proportion of city residents. For O'Neill, the negative response of local critics to a series of Glasgow exhibitions throughout the 1990s marked another period of the 'Glasgow culture wars'. A city survey indicated many were afraid of being unwelcome in the galleries, contributing to the use of contextualising

cultural policies envisaging museums, and the wider arts, as agents of social inclusion, education and urban regeneration (Sandell 1998: 403). The mission statement and exhibitions policy of the Lighthouse is shaped by these new imperatives. Thus the director describes the Lighthouse ethos in the following way:

> With its mission to educate, to engage, to reach out and to innovate, The Lighthouse is particularly well-placed to address the contemporary need to involve the public in issues to do with the built environment and mass-produced objects. The Lighthouse sees architecture and design as social, educational and economic concerns which are important to everyone (MacDonald 1999a: 9).

As Sandell notes, the idea of a more egalitarian access to culture as a strategy for reducing cleavages and social inequalities in society is long-established. Bennett's (1995) study indicates how despite intentions to enable access to the spaces of authorised culture, and to enable personal 'improvement', these institutions maintained a clear role as agencies of institutionalised 'exclusion' (in the current usage of the term) and of social reproduction. In relation to the intentions of the Lighthouse, and the broad social role of G99 I have outlined, there is substantial agreement on the importance of museums in responding to the most urgent social issues:

> The last two decades have seen the emergence of a 'second nation', a substantial minority which includes a disproportionate number of young people and adults whose lives are blighted by recurrent unemployment, poor housing, poor health and drug-related crime. One in three children now lives in poverty and in consequence suffers significant educational disadvantage from birth. These divisions are reflected in museum audiences … Cultural exclusion has become an increasingly urgent issue for museums, and education one of the most powerful weapons against it (Anderson, in Sandell 1998: 411-412).

Sandell's argument (1998: 412-416) proposes institutions such as the Lighthouse act in local communities as an agent of social regeneration. Thus, the centre has various projects running which are understood in these terms and these have grown since

---

materials in exhibitions, notably the McLellan Galleries' Impressionist show accompanied by mannequins in *Belle Époque* styles. O'Neill's position (2002: 35) is that the management of the context 'in which individuals encounter aesthetically charged objects so that individuals can have positive rather than negative experiences is the ethical responsibility of art museum curators'.

2001 when it received direct funding from the Scottish Executive to support and implement its new policy on architecture throughout Scotland. Nevertheless the plural role the Lighthouse claims is clear in that it both engages with communities in the way outlined above and seeks to promote the consumption of distinctive design:

> Retail is seen as another way of growing an audience. We are of course concerned to promote the work of young designers whether it is El Ultimo Grito from London or VK&C from Glasgow. This provides the opportunity to sell work which can't be bought anywhere else and introduce contemporary cutting edge design to a new public (MacDonald 2002).[8]

MacDonald is enthusiastic about this role which reflects the contemporary marketised operating reality for museums outlined earlier,

> If a newish cultural institution like the Lighthouse, which is not publicly funded, is to survive, then it must engage with a range of audiences and promote policies about exhibitions and education (including outreach and inreach) by reflecting cultural democracy, getting architecture and design off plinths and into the hands of its clients, and taking account of the external environment — real life in other words — which is the ultimate context for architecture and design. Sustainability for us is contingent upon offering a *differentiated* service to visitors and recognising that the world is as much about social and economic regeneration as it is about education and entertainment, and that these things needn't be separate (ibid. my emphasis).[9]

Within this open framework he argues (2001: 5) that

> making citizens critically aware of their city and built heritage should actually be the cultural right of everyone regardless of age, background or ability.

---

[8] The idea of the design museum as an enabling institution avoiding the conflicting roles of 'education' and commerce, is mirrored in Terence Conran's Design Museum (opened 1989) which aimed to 'increase popular awareness of design and its influence on everyday life … it will help link the creative preoccupations of education with the realities of the marketplace' (cited in Usherwood 1995: 260). In the wider postmodern conception of the fixed spaces of cultural and commercial life, Shields (1992: 6) notes, 'In their totality postmodern consumption sites are characterised by a new spatial form which is a synthesis of leisure and consumption activities previously held apart by being located in different sites, performed at different times or accomplished by different people'.

[9] Urry notes this trend too, arguing (1990: 132) 'the sovereignty of the consumer and trends in popular state are colluding to transform the museum's social role. It is much less the embodiment of a single, unambiguous high culture from which the overwhelming mass of the population was excluded. Museums have become more accessible, especially to the service and middle classes.'

It is clear that the exhibitions, though being staged in a year where unique lottery-based funding sources were made available for exhibitions, were understood within categories of display strongly connected to the need to grow small scale production and consumption in the city.[10] Here, social inclusion through exhibition and 'outreach' appears somewhat subordinated to generating demand in an 'aesthetic economy'. Moreover, alongside accommodating the greater expectations placed upon cultural 'event spaces' to boost tourism by broadening the range of experiences they offer, G99 has given birth to a 'unique cultural space' in which the depiction and understanding of the city as a work of art (to which those characterised as excluded have a right of 'access') will be promoted in a new cultural situation where the benign commodification of a dedifferentiated cultural world enables inclusion and access (MacDonald 1999d). For this influential cultural intermediary, design assisted urban development involves 'embedding creativity across the city' using 'a wider notion of design as communication', a key element of the strategy to develop Richard Florida's (2002) newly discrete agency of regeneration, the 'creative class' (MacDonald 2004).

Creativity is equally central to Janice Kirkpatrick, another influential figure in the city's design industry (as significant a cultural intermediary as Stuart MacDonald) of the design firm, Graven Images. This figure appears to ascribe to designers a vitalist will to promote transformative cultural change. Her zeal is evident in her reflection on the 'effective and inclusive programme' for G99:

> [T]he creative process, and cultural change (here related to overcoming deep-seated issues of social exclusion) [lead] to new product and service industries which have massive cultural benefits as well as economic ones; through creating an accessible and

[10]In relation to this point, Hamilton & Scullion (2002: 139) note how it 'appears that today the debate on Scottish culture in the New Scotland centres on its instrumental role in delivering social change, economic diversification and prosperity'. The wider practice of business sponsorship deserves note here. The agency *Arts and Business in Scotland* was involved in generating £500,000 business sponsorship to the Lighthouse by August 1999. A newspaper article conveyed the business interest in the symbolic space of the Lighthouse: 'So what is attracting companies towards the arts? They're seen as delivering value when the cost of sports and broadcast sponsorship is going through the roof. They also offer the cachet of exclusivity and are apparently playing an increasing role in encouraging creativity in staff'. Anne Hogg, Director of *Arts and Business in Scotland* is quoted stating, 'business communication is a complicated task with an increasing number of audiences needing a complex set of messages ... Arts sponsorship can play an effective role in the marketing manager's promotional mix, ensuring image enhancement, name awareness and target audience reach' (*The Herald*, 9 Aug., 1999: 'Companies Cash in on Cultural Explosion').

> attractive environment; through educating, empowering and encouraging the public to take part in designing the future; and through showing people a new perspective on their world through art. Glasgow must design its way out of its current problems through actively using creativity. (Kirkpatrick 1997: 85)

Within the paper, she compares Glasgow's history of regeneration to a firm being 'turned around' through risky creativity and brave management and expresses how her profession presents its activities as widely beneficial to influence city managers:

> If we can take the time to understand and explain the economic and social benefits of what we do to politicians and strategists, encouraging them to use design and creativity as the tool for economic regeneration, Glasgow and the rest of Britain could be quite a place — this is really important to me, it is my sole mission in life and my reason for staying here (ibid: 88).

The Lighthouse clearly has a plurality of cultural intentions. Of course, an important element of every aspect of the year was the attractiveness of the events, these had to be stimulating, exciting, they had to attract tourists and the response of the tourists had to be assessed as did the length of their stay in Glasgow. G99 had to be carried out as a celebration of architecture and design while at the same time managing to be about local social inclusion imperatives in a city whose major post-war design failure was its council housing. This could have been managed by including a major element on the design of social housing (despite the rise of private tenure in the city it is still the only option for a large proportion of the city's residents) however the expo which did take place was mainly of homes for the private sector.

Homes for the Future

This project (hereafter HFTF) was developed by Deyan Sudjic[11] who envisaged an expo of significant architectural importance. The G99 website's dedicated pages for the project described the central aims of the project as being to 'breathe new life into the city, helping to knit back the urban fabric by creating a new community and regenerating the east end'. The 'strategic brief' for the project described the expo, in the context of the year's aims, as a presentation of

---

[11]Sudjic was known as an architectural journalist, academic and author at the time of his appointment; he had been a founder of *Blueprint*, the style-conscious architecture and design magazine. After G99 was wound up he was appointed editor of the Italian architecture magazine *Domus* and was the director of the Venice *Biennale* 2002.

> the whole of the city as a living artwork where everyone can explore and enjoy the world's largest celebration of Architecture and Design. And so become a template for the world. (Homes for the future, *strategic brief* draft, 22 November, 1996, G99 archive 'scraps' box)

The project was tagged the main example of 'regeneration in the heart of the city', and as 'a rich collection of forward-looking architecture, designed by innovative architects' (expo information leaflet, 1999). A substantial interest was anticipated:

> [T]he Homes for the Future site will form a public expo, offering visitors a chance to see inside a selection of the completed homes, fitted out by a range of different designers. The development has been planned to allow a substantial number of visitors to move smoothly through it (ibid.).[12]

Illustrating this information is a photograph of the development model in pure white with a diagram of the route around the exhibition.[13] The leaflet also contains brief details on the developers and architects involved with accompanying sketched drawings, technical elevations, computer generated images and another image of the model. These short descriptions occasionally used a quite specialised language to inform the reader of the design value of the buildings. An example is illustrative:

> Situated at the northern most point of the site, McKeown Alexander's four-storey tower is intended as one of the defining visual elements in the overall composition of the development. Its distinctive form acts as a punctuation mark in the skyline. Its sculptural design grows naturally from the context, with large glazed screens overlooking the landscaped court — the centre piece of the project.

Professional design terms like 'punctuation' signified the presence of the artist architect in the design of these homes guaranteeing their distinction. Sudjic intended this project to establish a new market for design in the city and expressed his assured impression of their impact in terms of a fanciful view from the year 2020, an age

---

[12]The interior designers included One Foot Taller, lwd, Adrian Wisziewski, Ross Lovegrove and Tom Dixon.

[13]This model was displayed in Princes Square shopping centre in the year running up to 1999, a place associated with the new identity of the city. Designed as an imposing 'postmodern' department store and novel form of consumption space, it could only have had a limited success as a *public* exhibition space. Indeed, as an exhibition it was almost invisible to the casual shopper in being placed close to the upmarket restaurants and cafes on the centre's lowest level. A G99 'shop' was based in the centre until early 1998 when the company set up in offices in Queen Street.

when the city has much more of the architecture of Page and Park, and Elder and Cannon, which like Thomson and Metzstein before, it is 'slipping quietly into the category of priceless heritage, rather than cutting edge innovation'. He reflects upon HFTF and the impact on the city and city life in 2020:

> Back in 1999 it was called the Homes for the Future Project. Now it is no longer the future, but the yardstick by which the housing of the present must be measured. Then, the idea of private house builders, more used to constructing suburban closes to a formula, working in the heart of the city with design-led architects, seemed visionary. Now its the norm, as developers have discovered that imaginative urban design and architecture are powerful sales tools. If they don't adopt them then their competitors will (Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2000: 15).

Figure 4.3: Homes for the Future in the final stage of completion

The architecture and the urban design of the project was widely discussed in terms of the ongoing regeneration of the centre of the city, as an example and incentive to mass house builders illustrating the profitability of building on brown field sites especially in terms of the higher market values of centre city apartments. It is against this emphasis that we can compare the stated aims of the development to 'explore new responses to changes in urban living, tackling issues such as changing family structures, environmental and energy concerns, and designing for special needs' (Homes for the Future page, G99 website, accessed 26 April 1999).

Commentators attacked the expo's lack of achievement in these areas and the overall context of the homes' poor quality of finish and the clear emphasis on the stylishness of the development (Paterson 2000).[14] The development's lack of sympathy with the existing context of Glasgow's built form was criticised, with local architect and critic Isi Metzstein describing it as 'idiosyncratic', out of step with the historical form of the city. The project failed in its attempt to be a prototypical demonstration for new urban housing, an ominous sign for the future unity of Glasgow's built environment. For Metzstein, Glasgow's city centre 'grid iron and consistent stone construction have allowed a remarkable uniformity and have both encouraged and subsumed the typical individuality, and even eccentricity of Glasgow's past architects' (Metzstein 1999: 37). The expo's unifying design language was a contemporary modernist minimalism, internationally popular in recent years. The modernist tone of the development reflects a 1990's tendency of Glasgow architecture sketched in Rodger's (1999: 4) terms as a 'return to a limited idealism, to a respect for autonomous form' when compared with the eighties' post-modern pastiche and stylistic chaos. For David Page, the expo finally produced, 'some of the buildings [that] we didn't get in the 1930s'. Page, of Page and Park Architects, the expo's master planners, has described his regrets at the insular ways of architects who resist discussions of their projects with other architects. The philosophy behind these homes would be 'unity with individuality' achieved via 'cohesion by dialogue' in which the different architects and developers were required to discuss their plans with all involved during a two-day seminar.[15] One aspect of 'unity with individuality' was achieved by a planning requirement for a 'uniformity of render colour and species of timber for cladding', which many of the firms involved had developed independently for their unit (Bevan, *Building Design*, 10/12/99). There was some speculation that this might indicate a new Glasgow style, however, rectilinear form with bare timber cladding and details picked out in primary colours has long been popular in housing design across Europe, as reported in the image-dense architectural and design magazines. The development was widely

---

[14]Paterson (2000: 38) argued 'the stress throughout [G99] was on design, in the sense of "looks", irrespective of whether the thing was a house, a power tool or a cardboard box. The language used is a give-away: real information and ideas and even ideology is out, fantasy is in'.

[15]Author's notes, G99 Urban Design seminar, Strathclyde University, (April 22, 1999).

welcomed in architectural circles demonstrating the possibility of an imaginative involvement of design in Glasgow housing.

The Expo Tour

The September 1999 edition of *Glasgow*, a council publication delivered to all residents, suggested we 'step into the future', provided some basic information and presented the development as a huge achievement; the opportunity to see what 'home will be like in the next millennium'. The expo was significantly questioned by press commentators and had disappointing visitor numbers: it officially drew 40,000 where the anticipated figure had been 100,000.[16] Thenew Housing Association's apartment block, the development's social housing, was unfinished during the expo. One of the key failures of the festival, the inability to finish the social housing on time, went unexplained. This block, a competition-winning design by Ian Ritchie Architects[17], was financially supported by Scottish Homes, the government housing body, and had the project title 'Scotland's Home of Tomorrow: an innovative and repeatable model for housing association provision for rent' (Expo leaflet). It was a truly innovative design carried out in terms sensitive to the capacities for human dwelling in relation to the haptic and spatial senses. Its design utilised prefabrication technologies, sustainability and the use of basic, recyclable industrial products within an overall context of a modernist 'moral aesthetic' (Ritchie 1998). As a result of its late completion, this striking realisation of a future form of social housing wasn't exhibited.

The development was constructed as an architectural *design* event much more than an exhibition of future homes in Glasgow. Most notably, Elder and Cannon's 'Sky

[16] Although I have no specific details of broadcasts, television coverage of G99 events across the year seemed slight; this could explain the disappointing numbers for the expo. The main media source for G99 communications was the local Radio Clyde, utilising competitions as incentives for local participation. This station has a significantly working class listenership.

[17] A highly successful practice with an international reputation for innovative engineering in architectural design, Ritchie's design was not promoted to any great degree as a rationally progressive one, rather the whole expo was mainly represented as a seductive aesthetic disruption within the city's prevailing stone tenemented streetscapes. This is not to suggest Ritchie is unaware of issues of visual poverty; in his contribution to the G99 publication on the expo he is quoted (Barley 1999b: 46) arguing that 'much of our city environment can be described as visually poor, it is important to ask what message this aesthetic poverty communicates to the general public. I suggest it conveys a lack of morality; hurts the viewer's sensibilities and in doing so becomes a symbol of harm'.

Apartment' (the most visually striking stage of the expo, the highest point literally and figuratively) was interior designed by artist, Adrian Wisziewski, using a series of his paintings and a striking rug in the large open space, akin to a small gallery, of the offset upper room.

Figure 4.4: Interior as art gallery - the Elder & Cannon 'Sky Apartment'

The expo interiors showcased Glasgow-based design firms such as One Foot Taller, lwd and Timorous Beasties. These firms' commissions had, by 1999, come mainly from the city's newer style bars and hotels. Their textiles, laminated chairs and low tables, for example, were used to illustrate the high kitsch look of the fashionable bars in *Groucho Saint Judes* and *Arts House Hotel*. As the main elements of an interior design of small flats they appeared hard, ascetic and plain; as the sole content, the furniture and textiles were not up to the task of providing an adequate level of interest. Two established celebrity designers provided their own particular interpretation of future for the expo's interiors. Anne McKevitt provided a mix of conventionally luxurious and flexible interiors in the townhouse by Wren Rutherford ASL, and Tom Dixon utilised strong colour and form to 'explore the relationship between light and our perception of space'. This involved stacks of modular bulbous lamps in the bedroom and living room of the penthouse apartment in the RMJM 'introvert/extrovert building', 'shown in this way so that they do not prescribe how

they should be used, rather how they might be lived with' (expo information note). The tour was quite comprehensive in terms of the overall development which would probably be widely welcomed as the 'homes for the future' of many in the city. As an element of the overall display of the city it failed to establish much presence but has appeared in later media productions symbolising the New Glasgow.[18] Sudjic co-curated an accompanying exhibition 'Home' in a disused building nearby in which models and images of iconic twentieth century homes were exhibited alongside a display of ever more iconic chairs (hung upside-down in a stylised array), examples of electrical goods and Finnish steel cooking pans shaped to express a durable and pure 'engineered' aesthetic.[19]

Expo Interviews: The Primacy of Interior Attractions

Primarily as a result of varying, mostly pale and white, rectilinear elevations, and of a density significantly greater than most local housing developments until then, the expo would have made an impression upon most local visitors. Considering the significant publicity it had received in the national and local press, it seemed ideally suited as a setting for interviews designed to encourage visitors to express their attitudes and responses to the architecture.

When asked about the interiors generally, the responses show these were more commonly considered small and bare — especially the 'tiny' terraced townhouses by Elder and Cannon. Negative comments concerned the plastic, rotation moulded 'Canyon' armchairs by Glasgow designers One Foot Taller in the McKeown Alexander block. These were described by one woman as

---

[18]Amidst images of the city's iconic architecture and streetscape, the expo homes appear in the opening scenes of a television drama, and were featured on the design show, 'Buildings of the Future' as an example of the smart, new urban Britain. Boyer (1995: 91-92) argues mainstream media representations of cities benefit from the widely established logic of advertising where the product (here discretely valorised architecture) stands, 'as a necessary *part* of a totality', and that this impacts on a subjectivity shaped by media and graphic manipulations 'that recontextualise the look of a place in television commercials … in public celebrations of place, and in architectural commentaries that extol the virtues of spatial restructuring and triumphant economic recovery. The *part* — the well designed node — in other words, is intended to stand for the whole'.

[19]The accompanying book, *Home* (1999) consisted of desirable images of unique houses (primarily in America, Europe and Japan) with 50 'avant-garde' examples. The book, as catalogue, provided an introduction to a neo-Modernist aesthetic of serious-minded architecture, linking this elite use of Modern design language to the Homes for the Future.

> boring! if that's homes for the future ... it looks like a future for folk with nothing to do all day but pose. That other house [the luxuriously fitted-out townhouse by Wren Rutherford] was lovely, just lovely ... (aged 50, retired nurse).

One interviewee thought the armchair was, 'really what this whole year should be about, getting local talent into the press and showing local folk are capable of great new design thinking' (male, aged 35, 'I.T'). The interior design of the McKeown Alexander cuboid terraced house (an unusual, hard, hideaway system along a room-length mantelpiece) was described by many, in different ways, as confusing and disappointingly vague. A man loudly described the design as a joke played on all those who had turned out in the rain to visit. While in the house I noticed many confused double-takes and overheard a series of expressions of disbelief at what was a very bare and ascetic vision of the interior design of 'the future'.[20]

When asked if the expo houses would be good to live in, most responses were positive. Responses here ranged from one man considering one as a 'place to have parties', to those expressing a clear realisation that the houses would be unaffordable, that buying any house in Glasgow was an unrealistic prospect. Three replies were along the lines of a resignation to the slim chances of ever living in such unusual and distinctive homes. Speaking for a couple of middle-aged sisters, one woman answered that 'we'd love to move here ... it'd be brilliant if Glasgow's houses were all like this'. Another respondent suggested the houses were inferior to the traditional Glasgow tenement flat where 'you had to get along with your neighbours and there was at least a chance of a ... community feeling ... these places look flash on the outside, and modern, but they're tiny' (male, 45, 'manager'). Greatest enthusiasm was registered for the most elaborately fitted-out house in the development, described by visitors as a 'dream house', and a 'palace'. Of all the rooms in the house, interior designed by McKevitt, its two bathrooms received the greatest number of comments, primarily regarding the high standard of finish, the free-standing bath, the shower head and enclosure, the chrome radiators and the sanitary ware (Philippe Starck designs).

---

[20]Both male and female interviewees appeared slightly anxious when considering the value of interiors, a response already noted in some literature on consumption and the home (Madigan & Munro 1996, Chapman 1999). For many, the expo was an opportunity to look up close at an exhibition of a certain model of middle class urban lifestyle, and perhaps reflect on their own position, their taste, in relation to it.

The key finding of the interviews was, however, a limited capacity or willingness to respond verbally to questions regarding their interest, or lack of interest, in the architecture. By far the majority of those briefly interviewed[21] for their general responses to the development as a whole (29 out of 32 individuals in total) expressed a varied but positive opinion, using adjectives such as 'great', 'stunning', and, commonly, 'modern' or 'futuristic'. Many comments conveyed enthusiasm about the modern 'look' of the development and as a place to live, especially the thrilling communal 'skydeck' of the Elder and Cannon apartments.

The interview analysis showed a skewed emphasis on interior over architectural design. My interview notes record 21 instances of respondents who, when asked for their opinion, conveyed, in one way or another, an inability or disinclination to express any meaningful comment on the expo and who refused an interview, apparently on this basis alone. The completed interviews show a trend where those self-identified as skilled and semiskilled working class (C1, C2, D) responded and commented with significantly more enthusiasm on interiors than exteriors. This imbalance is reversed in the responses of the professional middle class (A, B) visitors who employed significantly more evaluative and descriptive language in commenting upon the exteriors, overall look and spatial design of the expo.[22] This disparity suggests higher levels of cultural capital are deployed in describing the expo in response to my questions. The formation and expression of considered opinions on architectural design appear more directly related to the 'high', or restricted cultural fields including architectural practices with their related discursive codes.[23] While these observations from the interview analysis indicates a

---

[21]These interviews were carried out by myself, at the site, over four days; two days at the beginning of the expo and two days at the end. Interviewees were approached when they reached the end point of the tour, an apartment at the extreme end of the 'skydeck'. Some were interviewed in the grassed area of the development, others in the expo cafe or at the accompanying exhibition, 'Home', nearby. All interviewees were selected for their residence in Glasgow and asked to give a response to the tour in their own words. I specifically asked for separate comments on interiors and exteriors.

[22]Social class here determined by self-tick boxes for income bracket, educational attainment and area and tenure of residence. 32 completed interviews; circa 80 attempted. I initially intended to get equal gender sets, however the expo seemed to me to be proportionately more visited by women than men; my interviews therefore were of 18 women and 14 men, mainly visiting alone but four of the interviews were of woman visiting in groups of two.

[23]Here, the attention given to the lower status interiors over the promoted architectural form itself is suggestive of Bourdieu & Darbel's (1997: 56) contrast of the interest of upper and middle classes in 'noble' artworks with working class preference for 'historical culture' or

differentiated social patterning in relation to the expo's architecture and interior decoration (that the specifically 'architectural' elements of the built environment are more confidently the concerns of a professional middle class grouping) such observations cannot stand as representative of the festival's impact generally in this area, during all of 1999, much less over the years since. They indicate the degree to which the expo's (the festival's) architectural content served the interests of a group already investing in the expanding symbolic importance of architectural design. Again, the interviews are suggestive of the impediments to a more general development of an immediate sense of involvement and participation in questions of architectural form (a 'richer' experience of city life) a key justification for the socially progressive nature of the festival in G99's rhetoric of inclusion. The issue is one of spatial education, of architectural 'intelligibility', the grounds upon which architecture could be critically understood, not simply visually consumed. Discussing Simmel's analysis of urban experience, Frisby (2001) suggests his notion of the defensive effect of the intellect against the onrush of stimuli in the city could well be generally applied to the built environment in terms of the average level of appreciation 'in our dynamic movement in the modern metropolis':

> If anything, the implication of his statement in the metropolis essay to the effect that the individual is overwhelmed by built structures suggests that the distance that we maintain in order to function in the modern metropolis applies to its architecture too. Metropolitan practices may thus disregard architecture features except in so far as they, the street, and the whole built environment constrain our bodily movement and sense perception (116).

The skewed emphasis by social class in relation to the HFTF interiors might point to a relationship in architectural culture suggesting a resistance to being overwhelmed by urban form. Here, the metropolitan practices of the social groups most able to deploy a language and expression of built form are unlikely to be characterised by an everyday disregard for architecture features. I would argue that it is increasingly the case that regard for urban form is part of a common strategy of those whose own direct interests more commonly operate at the level of urban culture. The interview responses illustrate the class appeal of following the city developments, of managing

---

common culture for which they came equipped with existing criteria of appreciation.

the flux of the city precisely through following its architectures in a period of their auratic centralisation in culture.

The Architecture and Design Exhibitions

Early Proposals

The programme produced some popular successes, notably the Alexander Thomson exhibition at the Lighthouse and Winning: The Design of Sports in the MacLellan Galleries. These shows were planned from the very early days of the development of the programme; other, impressive exhibition concepts, however, remained unexecuted. A study of the relevant papers in the G99 archive[24] reveals an early intention to stage a very large exhibition, 'Art Architecture and Design' (with the architectural theorist Kenneth Frampton planned for the advisory committee) at Kelvingrove Galleries. It would have toured venues in London, then Rotterdam, Barcelona, Vienna, Weil am Rheim, Copenhagen and Chicago. Another proposal was for a 'Leading edge' exhibition of 30 of the architects and designers who will 'shape the first decade of the 21st century'. It would have staged responses to the theme of 'the threshold' and held in Thomson's Egyptian Halls. The 'Provisional longlist of architects' for this exhibition included Renzo Piano, Glenn Murcutt, Rem Koolhaas, Frank Gehry, Tadeo Ando, Zaha Hadid, Jean Nouvel, Daniel Libeskind, Herzog de Meuron Architects and Foster Associates. The tone of the document throughout is a stress on the 'international'attraction of such an exhibition:

> It would have a strong appeal to non-specialists in Glasgow, but also through the highly particular selection would also engage the attention of the international architecture and design world and would also offer the potential of a tour (Exhibitions proposal document, 'draft' 13th March 1997, file number 28/5/1/1).[25]

---

[24]The archive was reportedly offered to the Art School archive on the day intended for its destruction. This archive is an essential research source into such increasingly frequent cultural events. G99 Board meetings minutes are closed for 100 years thus restricting textual research into how the city's main interest groups such as the City Council, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, and the architecture and design industries, influenced and understood the G99 programme.

[25]Catherine David (2001) discusses the elite circuit of European architectural exhibition spaces, such as the Venice *Biennale*, the Beaubourg and the National Architectural Institute in Rotterdam, where exhibitions like this are regularly staged. Envisaging Glasgow in this league was an attempt to connect the city to the 'international architecture and design world' and establish the city in the first division of international exhibition places.

It is interesting to note the relative ambition of these exhibition ideas in comparison to the scale of those eventually staged and the indication of an early intention to involve elite architecture firms in the festival. The 'long list' of architects and firms of architects represents a collection of individuals whose international reputations are based in an often spectacular stylistic signature. Their practices provide the iconic imagery circulating within the proliferating world of architectural magazines such as *Domus*, *Casabela*, *Architectural Design* or *Daidalos*. It is in these magazines that such an exhibition would have been publicised and Glasgow's design identity promoted.[26] Somewhat against the grain of the festival's main inclusive aims, an exhibition of this kind was intended to emphasise the individual expressiveness of star architects and attract tourists with the promise of a spectacular, and high status, exhibition. It is clear that the association of these figures and their work with Glasgow could have significantly raised the city's architectural reputation in the estimation of the design press, whether it would have held 'strong appeal to non-specialists' in Glasgow is less so.

1. G99 Architecture Exhibitions

I visited all of the year's exhibitions with a sense of pleasure and excitement. My intention was primarily to perform the privileged and symbolically powerful activity of research; to get beyond the surface of the displays to the settings, the social relations revealed in the museum spaces, the relationships between the high status architectural models and images on display and the reverential subject in its presence.

'Alexander Thomson: The Unknown Genius'

An exhibition on historic architecture in a new city space. In the proposal, the curators Murray Grigor and Gavin Stamp, noted the shortage of existing drawings and outlined an exhibition in the form of mostly models of buildings, full size

---

[26]An earlier version of this competition was restricted to buildings whose symbolic distinction was primarily in their purpose and content (museums, churches, palaces, department stores); architects are now commissioned where the attraction, to a centrally important section of aesthetically reflexive tourists, is the experience of the architect's designed space. The paradigmatic example is Gehry's Bilbao Guggenheim Museum; others include the Daniel Libeskind Imperial War museum in Manchester, Santiago Calatrava's nearby bridge and the Richard Meier museum of contemporary art in Barcelona.

models of the classical column orders and of fragments from demolished buildings They proposed the exhibition be held in the Egyptian Halls, in the penultimate floor, 'if restored in time'. This restoration didn't take place and the Thomson show was to become the main opening exhibition in The Lighthouse. Originally planned as an eight part exhibition covering the period from the development of 18th century Glasgow, through the Greek revival and the mid-Victorian development of the city in which,

> Thomson's genius emerged: a city of commerce and industry, of railways and shipbuilding. There were new banks and warehouses and, in particular, a new commercial architecture of cast-iron which only has parallels in the United States (File 28/5/1 'Exhibitions').

The original proposal went on to include sections on of Thomson's legacy: the evolution of the tenement; the classical architecture of *fin-de-siecle* Glasgow; and a final section on Burnet and his relations with French and American modernity, steel-framed American commercial buildings and the connection of Thomson with Frank Lloyd Wright. The 'Exhibitions Operational Plan' established the Thomson exhibition as the most central. The 'Project Outline' established the objective of raising the profile of Thomson as effectively as the 1968 Mackintosh exhibition had done. Four specific outcomes were envisaged within these discussion and planning documents. These were: 'To open eyes to Glasgow's genius and raise awareness of a major architect, largely unknown outside Glasgow; to encourage the whole city to celebrate Glasgow's architectural heritage; to educate and enthuse the public through an innovative and enlivening exhibition; to create a legacy beyond 1999'. In this document, the section on 'Exciting people about architecture and design' proposes that

> through a process of 'opening eyes', the Thomson exhibition will inform and educate visitors about the city around them. It will encourage a perception shift and suggest new ways of looking at old buildings, creating excitement about new possibilities of building use ('Venue Information', file 28/5/1/5).

The Thomson exhibition was staged in the main upper galleries of the Lighthouse and was shown off on the day of the Royal inauguration. Of all the exhibitions I attended, this was the busiest and therefore the most exciting. Many of Thomson's buildings were represented in model form, the main success of the exhibition being

the huge model of the Queen's Park Church, destroyed in the second world war. Over two levels there were models of buildings, facades, a number of drawings and fragments of demolished buildings (including railings, furniture and plaster work). Information notes encouraged a degree of contextualisation of the different exhibits.

Figure 4.5: Main room of the Alexander Thomson exhibition

The exhibition's main theme was to establish Thomson as an architect on a par with Mackintosh and therefore designer of a heritage that deserved protection and wider appreciation. This exhibition received sustained local media coverage in the run up to the Royal visit and in the wider biographical coverage of this local figure's 'rediscovery'.[27] Perhaps most importantly, compared to many others during the year, it was a very accessible exhibition in which a *local* figure's architectural work was exhibited and lauded, and in which visitors encountered a unified presentation of historical architecture setting up Glasgow as a centre of architectural achievement, a source of civic pride and an indication of Glasgow's special historic architectural identity. Erected during Glasgow's industrial expansion and patronised by key figures in the local bourgeois political establishment, Thomson's innovative

[27] 'Nineveh on the Clyde', a film about Thomson's architecture, was both broadcast and shown in the Glasgow Film Theatre. Written and directed by the curators of the exhibition, Gavin Stamp and Murray Grigor. Thomson's works were presented as exotic masterpieces and the man himself as 'Glasgow's greatest architect' amid a sustained discussion of the architect's influences and works.

classicism symbolised a formal permanence in industrialists' urban warehouses, United Presbyterian churches and the 'total design' of his suburban homes; they were architectural expressions of the timelessness of capitalism.[28] In the context of the year the exhibition's 'discovery' of the protected and endangered architecture of a genius was to suggest another level of the museumisation of the city, its role as an exhibition of the past frozen — another justification of the rebuilding of the city with aesthetic considerations uppermost in areas of the city in which tourists would gather such as the Merchant City. The New Glasgow would have to discover and venerate the value of the best of the old city; and thus be more inclined to appreciate and understand the value of new urban spaces whose dominant quality is a moral and spiritual aesthetic. Indeed, for Stamp, Thomson's example ought to shape Glasgow's contemporary urban architecture in terms of creating popular and recognisable forms capable of 'abstraction and development' throughout the city (Stamp 1999: 27).

'Vertigo: The Strange New World of the Contemporary City'

The subject of this exhibition, staged in the 'Old Fruit Market', a cultural space normally used for concerts and meetings, was 'the' contemporary city in relation to varied themes, in contrast to the first example's subject of the historic city in relation to one architect. The press release described the show as the 'main architectural exhibition in the [G99] programme', held in, 'one of Glasgow's most intriguing art venues' and as an exhibition which aimed to 'avoid the commonly-made distinction between "high" and "commercial" architecture'.[29] The information sheet attached to the exhibition press release tells us that

> Vertigo will be an exhibition of major building projects by the world's leading architects, each one representing a different aspect of the contemporary city. Architects will design the three-dimensional installation for their projects within a dramatic overall design, transforming the Fruitmarket into a microcosm of the 21st century.[30]

---

[28]This point is alluded to, but not quite made, by Gavin Stamp in the exhibition's accompanying publication (1999: 13). He goes on to argue, 'official Glasgow has woken up to the fact', of the 'international stature' of the work of the two great architects 'whose work enhances and gives purpose to the post-industrial city. Hence the exhibition organised for the UK City of Architecture and Design in 1999' (1999: 26-27).

[29]The Old Fruitmarket, an industrial 'production' space now used as a location for differentiated leisure is an example of Shields' (1992) description of the new places of postmodern consumption.

[30]Markus & Cameron (2002: 98-99) note how this was really the 21st century architecture

The details of the 'Exhibition Concept' included global speed up of urbanisation, the death of distance and the growth of leisure, especially in the newly developing regions of the world. This was reflected in the main sponsorship of the exhibition by the Mills Corporation, noted for an approach to shopping as 'really entertainment based' (cited in Ritzer 1999: 195), and by Cathay Pacific. The key theme was the different ways large architecture firms are dealing with these pressures by 'rising to this challenge, and creating radically new forms of architecture'. The subject of this exhibition was the design of the recently speeded up world, the vertigo- inducing images and spaces of the globalised economy. This was illustrated by the recent architecture of globally-acting architectural firms and architects like Liebeskind and Foster, and included the 'imagineered' shopping experiences in Asian and American super malls, of international airports in new East Asian hubs, the art world's new tourist spaces, and the architecture of national ambition (London's Millennium Dome). The main Press Release for the exhibition described the intention to represent the new reality where

> [t]he fast-changing nature of the modern city presents the biggest single challenge to contemporary architects. How do you tame and civilise the violent forces that are shaping it? How do you deal with the colossal scale of new development? How do you make sense of its contradictions and paradoxes? How do you make a leisure centre beautiful? Should you even try? The old rules of architecture are irrelevant and new ones have to be invented.

The Lighthouse exhibition was in a refunctioned historical building transformed into a contemporary space and concerned historical space; the subject of Vertigo was spectacular contemporary architecture and was staged in an outmoded location of commerce. The exhibition took place in a series of rooms designed within the interior of the Old Fruit Market by the firm Caruso St. John. The *1999 Programme* describes the exhibition in brief:

> The city of the future is already here, not a utopian fantasy, but a messy reality under construction in the form of the ultrahigh skyscrapers of Shanghai, the airports of the Pacific Rim, the sprawling suburbs of America and the politically charged rebuilding of

---

of high status 'starchitects', of the architecture of the coffee table book rather than that of the more commonly experienced everyday public spaces.

> Berlin … *Vertigo* looks at ten of the most significant building projects in the world and reveals the changing nature of the city, and of architecture.

This exhibition was designed to be 'a dramatic and compelling spectacle as well as a provocative and informative exhibition' (File number 28/5/4/9 'Vertigo Exhibition Proposal'). Additionally, and in this same tone, the press release quotes Rowan Moore, the curator, explaining that the exhibition will

> show how the world's best and most famous architects are responding to the new priorities and new experiences created by modern city-building. It will be exotic, exhilarating, strange, alarming and inspiring.

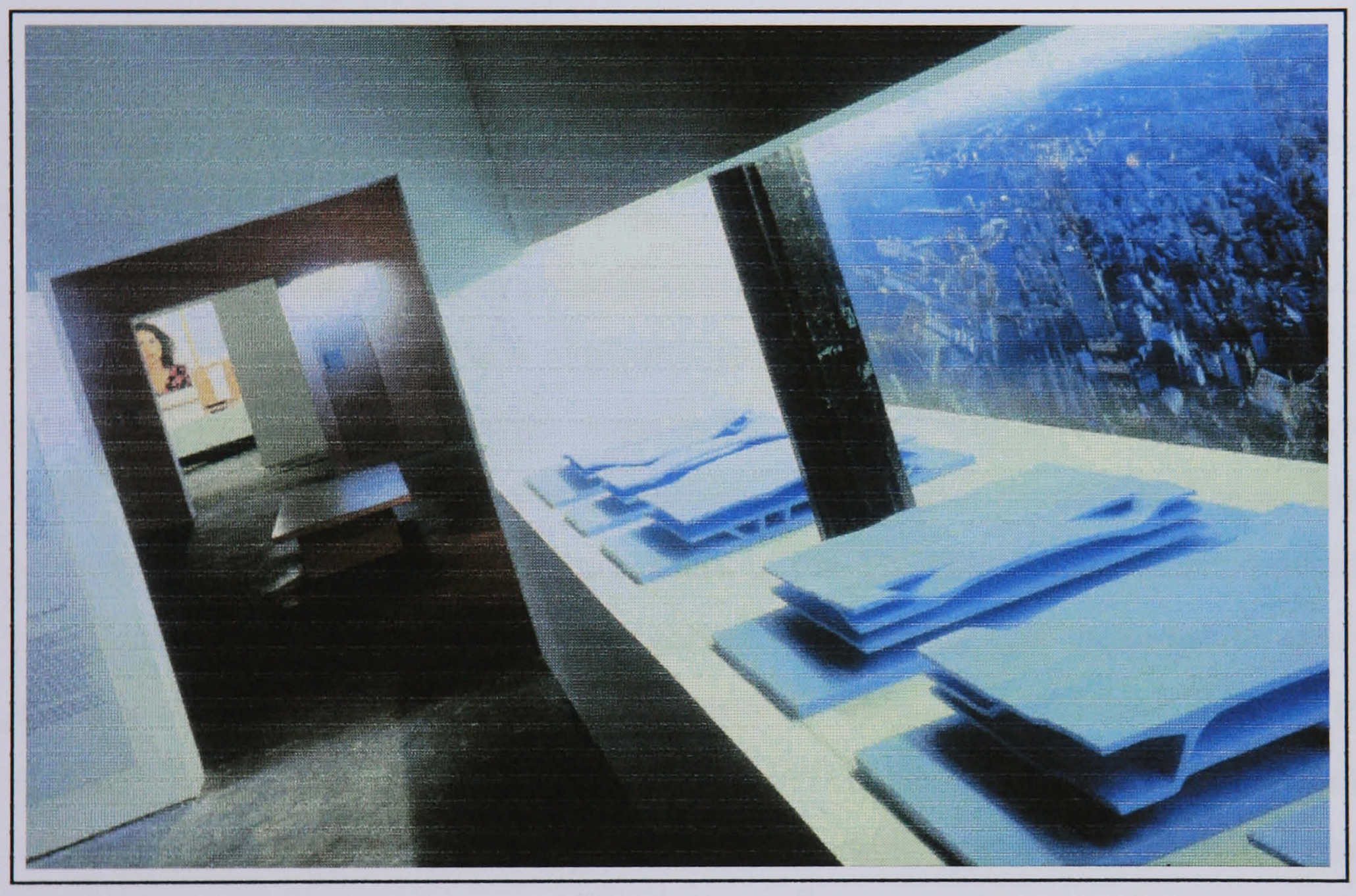


Figure 4.6: Models of Foreign Office Architects' Yokohama Ferry Terminal

The contrasts with the themes of the Thomson exhibition are clear and although I have arbitrarily compared them, they serve as good examples of the dominant conflicts reflected in the year's core themes: the city as the place of fixed heritage and as emerging space of turbulent global investment and disorientation. In this sense the exhibitions are exemplary in that they do reveal at one level the contradictory pressures on Glasgow. First, as a city in which new architectural forms reflect the corporate need for a visual impact which stresses the modernity of the city to a wider investing world; and second, architecture's function as memorialising the city's historic values, allowing the management of personal identity through shared

and enduring urban spaces. The subject of the Thomson exhibition was an exotic and historically referenced architecture designed and built for an industrial bourgeoisie. In Vertigo, the subject was 'extreme heterogeneity' (Herzog 1999) the 'architecture of bigness', and the 'wow' factor associated with huge air and sea transport projects, the spectacular Galleries of world cities, and vast, commercial-public spaces of consumption in American malls.[31] This contrast reveals the way both exhibitions had a subtext of focused attention on the systemic destructiveness of capitalist urban transformations, and to do so through informative and seductive displays which described new design as an element of contemporary life which can only be managed through design awareness, through some understanding of the formal concretisation of these changes.

The *Vertigo* exhibition had distinct similarities with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's 1976 exhibition *Signs of Life*: *Symbols in the American City* in that it adopted a realistic approach to contemporary examples of architecture. Venturi and Scott Brown's exhibition, 'was explicitly non-judgemental, and the intent was to substitute, for theories about what ought to be, description of what existed' (Fausch 1997: 97-98). Following the ethos outlined in *Learning From Las Vegas*, this exhibition of the everyday architecture, signs, ads and places of Main Street America was a microcosm of the symbolic richness of everyday life intended to place architecture within a 'common meaning world' to which all could have access. The similarity here to the organising philosophy of G99 is clear. The Glasgow exhibition is comparable in that it sought to present the shocking 'messy reality' of the new spaces of the twenty-first century, to present examples of the new scale architecture of travel, tourism and consumption without direct comment (unless you bought the book) as the new world we would embrace, one we would aspire to have as the context of our everyday life designed by firms assuredly the 'best and most famous'. Similarities aside, Venturi and Scott Brown's 'open-minded' approach in their 1976 exhibition was extended here to endorse elements of the 'strange' architecture of the new century. The worlds of elite and everyday popular architecture, placed in one

---

[31]For Rodger (1999b: 61) the projects on display could be understood historically as 'what might be termed the aggressive and terroristic face of global capitalism or simply the will to power in the real world.'

coherent space in the exhibition, heralded a new society and normality. The valorised aesthetic of the globalised scene of design represented the strange real world.

'Metacity/Datatown'

During 1999 Lighthouse exhibitions had a curatorial and educational approach that restricted the use of mediating technology. In 2000 the 'METACITY/DATATOWN' installation by Dutch firm MVRDV was shown at the centre. The show used an enclosed space of four screens raised from floor level in the centre of a large darkened room. Computer-animated digital films were cast onto these screens. The viewer within the enclosure of screens was surrounded by a pulsing and pristine series of futuristic 'urban' images. The aim of the installation was to depict the contemporary city using only data:

> a city that wants to be explored only as information. A city that knows no given topography, no prescribed ideology, no representation and no context: only huge pure data: METACITY/DATATOWN (notes from exhibition material).

Using the Japanese bullet train (and the urban densities of Tokyo) to give the average speed of urban commuter travel for the near future, MVRDV assumed a city 400km by 400km, 'the densest place on earth' with 241 million inhabitants. Dutch data from the late 1990s was extrapolated to organise the installation's visual material — a landscape of data peaks representing production, consumption and waste, and images of a future cityscape elaborated in variations of a super-dense, uniform built landscape with vast walls of wind turbines and automated farms. The installation presented dramatic urban imagery in the context of a rationalised megacity and the tradition of Utopian futuristic architectures. There was no agenda to exalt landmarks in David's (2001) sense; its main intention was to raise the subject level to the entire city, to stimulate, through dystopian exaggeration of the dimensions of city form, an awareness of the material and ecological realities of contemporary urban life. Exhibitions such as this have a more than aestheticising agenda, however METACITY/DATATOWN was limited to a series of images that visitors could passively view and images they could 'interactively' request and display using a separate computer interface and screen. In this way it was a depiction of imaginative visual material that represented the future of cities as determined by the unrelenting

economic forces of the present, a present that the firm embraces in its approach to design (Scalbert 2003). For Scalbert, the main figures of MVRDV, such as Winy Maas, view the contemporary city as a 'datascape' where universal consumer culture creates an architectural outcome of 'radical freedom' and visual chaos:

> In the city at the end of history differences are so numerous, each one competing for the consumer's attention, that they cancel each other out: all things are worthy of the same attention and nothing lasts. In this climate urban design is at best superficial, if not altogether superfluous … Likewise, public space, most visibly in airports and shopping malls, has become 'junkspace', throwaway space bound to the fluctuations of the economy, to the contract period of a licence, to the success and failure of a brand (*ibid.*).

The wider implications of this move away from architecture as a source of enduring place and permanence is the ability of architects to respond to 'individual arbitrariness and economic necessity', to the growing demands for distinctiveness in design at all levels and design the city as a work of art and 'giant experiment'.

2. Design Exhibitions

Design in its broadest sense was represented in the programme's large number of varied exhibitions. These included, for example, the show of contemporary West African decorated coffins offering anthropological comparisons on the rites and customs of death, a small exhibition on the urban design philosophy of Patrick Geddes and 'Design Machine' covering aspects of process in the professional design industry. The opening exhibition of the year, 'Winning: The Design of Sports' was very popular across all age groups; a result of the huge interest in sport, the body, and its constantly redesigned accessories. Deyan Sudjic had drawn attention to the support for design in the UK since the election of the new Labour government determined to utilise imagery of the new as widely as it could. For Sudjic, an irresistible expansion of design sensibility was taking place as people in general had

> become much more attuned to the nature of objects that we use in the everyday course of our lives, the clothes we wear, the chairs we sit on, the computer screens we work at — and of course, the cars we drive. Not only because these objects have changed in themselves, but because we have become much more aware of the whole range of qualities that such objects can possess … Consciously, or unconsciously we understand

that everything around us has a personality ... Design is still a very young form of cultural expression and one that is still rapidly evolving. Its pace of change has speeded up as it has come to take on many of the values of the fashion system, consumed by a wide general audience, which, as it becomes more knowing, and more jaded by constant innovation, learns to understand the emerging nuances of design with increasing sophistication. Design's move to centre stage is not just an act of government will. Design is attractive to the politicians because it reflects the values of Britain at large. (1999: 16)

G99's design subjects clearly fitted into these parameters: design quality is more popular and powerfully symbolic, and consumers are more and more confident in their choices which represent key aspects of their sense of identity. This is a relatively common approach to the debate around consumption today and enabled G99 to present its design exhibitions as attractive and colourful events in an area of clear and widespread interest. More than this can be said, however, about the contemporary consumption of design as a particular moment in the broader history of the expansion of discourses around object culture and design.

Design and Consumption

Consumption, the social practice forming the explicit but unacknowledged subject of the design exhibitions is now a core cultural activity. Its centrality in contemporary life clearly informed the approach to the design exhibitions. G99's account of its intentions for the design shows included both marketing new product design and simply displaying unusual, rare or luxurious objects; producing their presence for a new 'audience' or arranging them in unusual co-presence. The main impression, though, is of a series of exhibitions intent on raising the profile of design as worthy of greater valuation, emerging from an entrepreneurial field of thrilling creativity. Theories of consumption have accommodated the rising importance of design and suggest some main contexts in which to consider the G99 design exhibitions. The rise of the city as a UK shopping 'destination' suggests the consumption experience in Glasgow is now finely balanced and arranged; the G99 could have interrogated such an environment, and perhaps did through the exhibition effect of estrangement alone. It is important to first establish key themes in relation to consumption, themes

that can inform this discussion of the exhibitions and their clearest reading in relation to the festival's impact upon the city's representation.

In his essay on the theoretical disputes informing the development of a modern ontology of consumerism, Slater (1997) notes the subjective responses to cultural 'pluralization' outlined in Giddens' four descriptive themes of this complexity:

> Modernity, then, involves the vertiginous production, display and interaction of myriad possible ways of life, none of which has indisputable cultural authority or value. It is a recipe for identity-crisis on a mass scale .... Individuals must, by force of circumstances, choose, construct, maintain, interpret, negotiate, display who they are to be or be seen as, using a bewildering variety of material and symbolic resources (Giddens 1991: 84)

Here, 'ontological security' is maintained in the ordering nature of consumption behaviour as lifestyle and the 'reflexive project of the self'; a *moral* practice in relation to goods which represent the self. This suggests a festival of design can be seen at one level as supporting the 'moral' pluralism affirmed by poststructuralist theorists. For Slater, the Frankfurt School's 'culture industry' critique disregards the creativity and consciousness enacted in consumption, the contradictory and unstable meanings of goods and the 'extent to which human subjects continue to assimilate consumer goods into their everyday life *on their own terms*' (1997: 125). His outline anthropological material throws further light on the complexity of approaches to consumption in general, the degree with which the 'meanings of things are part of the making of social relations and social order' (148). Mary Douglas's analysis of ritual in symbolic exchange rooted in situated social practices stresses the solidaristic results of the totem (the inalienable spirit in the gift). Hence goods have meaning because the classification systems from which they emerge represent the social order of the society and sustains its reproduction:

> Consumption as a flow of information integrates people into an intelligible social world. Knowledge of consumption codes and attendance at consumption rituals are essential to the 'project of creating intelligibility' and having it socially confirmed ... Conversely this generates an account of inequality. Poverty is not so much a lack of possessions but rather exclusion from participation in the flow of information: in

> consuming less we are excluded from essential social events and knowledges (Slater 1997: 151).

For Bauman, social solidarity has been eroded by consumer society which has replaced the work ethic with the aesthetic of consumption. Here, 'it is aesthetics not ethics which is deployed to integrate the society of consumers, to keep it on course, and time and again salvage it from crises' (Bauman 1998: 31). A dissatisfied society emerges as the requisite overall driver for permanent consumption. Consumer conduct becomes 'the cognitive and moral focus of life, the integrative bond of the society, and the focus of systemic management.' This perspective suggests the variously 'flawed consumer' (1998: 38) was the target of the CAD's social programme.

Franklyn (2002) disputes the portrayal of an overarchingly oppressive manipulation of false needs in much writing on the consumption of design. For this author, the consumer of design is wilfully engaged in aesthetic evaluation which marks all consumption. His study identifies a specifically *resistant aestheticisation* in consumers' practices of researching and valuing objects classified as 'retro' or outmoded and therefore outwith mainstream commodity circulation. Here, such skilled evaluation in design culture indicates how it is open to the agency of the individual. Whiteley (1993) and Julier (2000) offer accounts of the recent history of design expansion which is helpful in contextualising G99 within a developing 'culture of design'. These authors recognise and affirm the 'creativity' of Sudjic's sophisticated consumer in a post-traditional society trawling for sources and tokens of identity in the expanded field of consumption (Lash 1990, Lash & Urry 1994, Chaney 1994, Selle 1989, Fiske 1990). Describing the contemporary context well, a situation where '[c]ommercial cultural commodities are all most people have', Willis (1990: 18) suggests

> [i]f it ever existed at all, the old 'mass' has been culturally emancipated into popularly differentiated cultural citizens through exposure to a widened circle of commodity relations. These things have supplied a much widened range of symbolic resources for the development and emancipation of everyday culture.

This analysis can be read to suggest practically all consumption is elemental to the construction of identity within negotiated and processual lifestyles, the revealed

culture of experimentation being understood as the previously denied tactics of playfulness within consumption.[32] Whiteley (1993: 3) describes an aspect of this centrality of consumption:

> Consumer-led design in a market economy goes far beyond the idea of meeting human needs: it seeks to create and constantly to stimulate human *desires*. The modern consumer's condition is characterised by dissatisfaction and a constant state of longing.

Thus, Campbell's (1989) concept of 'longing', the pleasurable experience of consumption framed within the motivation of desire is useful in understanding the urge to consume. Resonating with the privileging of individual qualitative experience in Romanticism, this pleasurable longing is an inexhaustible condition, endlessly disappointing the individual fantasies supplying demand, re-stimulated by the return of the 'always the same dressed up as the ever-new'.

The public intention of G99 was to 'promote architecture and design' in a programme which involved 'education, example, innovation, participation and communication'. This produced a wide-ranging approach oriented to celebrating the architecture of the city and acknowledging the design industries as a key source of future prosperity, boosting the economy through expanding the image and attractiveness of the city as an advanced design centre, a symbol of vitality and creativity in the global economy. The design exhibitions of the year were varied in subject but generally concentrated on everyday consumer products. It is in looking at this aspect of G99, the exhibition of everyday consumer products, not works of art, or capital goods, that it seems most to resemble the highly decorated commodity displays of the Great Exhibitions. The main G99 urban policy imperatives, those of social inclusion through participation and improved awareness of the importance of design have an affinity with the cultural and visual disciplining strategies associated with the great exhibitions as outlined in the second chapter. A disciplining and subtly coercive emphasis on the proper deference to aesthetic pleasure, a restricted vision,

---

[32]McGuigan's study of cultural studies literature (1992) critically affirms the 'irreducible everyday' and concepts of active consumption and grounded aesthetics. However, he persuasively highlights critical lacunae (the macro-economic and the public sphere) linked to the stress upon the 'fundamental insight' of popular creativity and micro-politics. His review pays little attention to architecture in any direct relation to specifically thematised urban lifestyles, but the aims of G99 have a clear resonance with what he terms 'cultural populism'.

and the dissociation of commodities from their relations of production can all be found in the G99 design events. But this is to over stress the case. In comparison to the crowds of 1888, 1901 and 1938, those freely viewing the G99 exhibitions would operate within a mundane and everyday spectacularity of urban advertising. The novel factor in this latter experience of urban consumerism is its staging amid spectacularised historic architecture, in comparison to the great exhibitions' temporary, exotic, or isolated futuristic forms. Does it make sense to read G99 as similarly operating with a disciplining and coercive emphasis on the proper deference for aesthetic pleasure, a restricted vision, and the dissociation of the commodity from the relations of production? The two exhibitions which had a significant focus on contemporary consumer goods presented those goods in a gallery style, as artefacts of elevated cultural importance, and thus as objects demanding sustained aesthetic contemplation. The first exhibition concerned the designs of French designer, Philippe Starck.

'Vanity Cases by Philippe Starck'

This exhibition displayed Starck's best-selling household design objects including, for example, the 'Juicy Salif' lemon-squeezer, a briefcase, toothbrushes and a kettle manufactured by the Italian company Alessi. The exhibition announced the Starck brand name in full height lettering to one side of the doorway and an image of his kitchen stool on an opposite wall; the celebrity status of the designer was made clear to those unclear on this matter before any confrontation with the exhibited objects. The interior space consisted of a darkened exhibition area and a series of around 40 plain wooden tables each with a black vanity case containing a model of a Starck design, illuminated by an anglepoise lamp.[33] The exhibition was subject to a degree of hostile reporting. Under the headline, 'Starck staring mad', a local newspaper with a generally antagonistic approach to G99 editorialised as follows:

> Nutty 1999 bosses are planning an exhibition of tables and chairs — miniaturised and placed in VANITY CASES! The show of Phillipe Starck's works will also include pasta

---

[33]There were no price tags, or suggestions of their origin in mass production. Lighthouse staff followed a practice common to design museums, but had no control over the exhibition style in any case as it is entirely set and agreed with the manufacturers, Alessi. The objects would have ranged in price from £60 for a kettle to several hundred for a briefcase and other, larger objects of furniture.

shapes and a lemon squeezer. But exhibition designers think the best way to view them is reduced in size and put in boxes. Starck, darling of the yuppie set, shot to fame in the 80s for unusual and expensive everyday objects (*Glaswegian*, 3 June 1999).

A contrasting review was that given in *Architect*, the new house magazine of the Glasgow Institute of Architects:

> Each exhibit contained a card detailing the piece and where it came from. The cards are written by Starck in the first person, offering the visitor a fleeting, if occasionally baffling, glimpse inside the man's unique head, revealing very clearly that the design process and the idea generation can be just as exciting and engaging as the end product itself … Philippe Starck's seriously playful approach has made him one of the world's most accessible and admired designers. If a single designer most perfectly encapsulates Glasgow 1999's desire to take architecture and design to a wider audience, it is Philippe Starck (*Architect*, November 1999: 20).

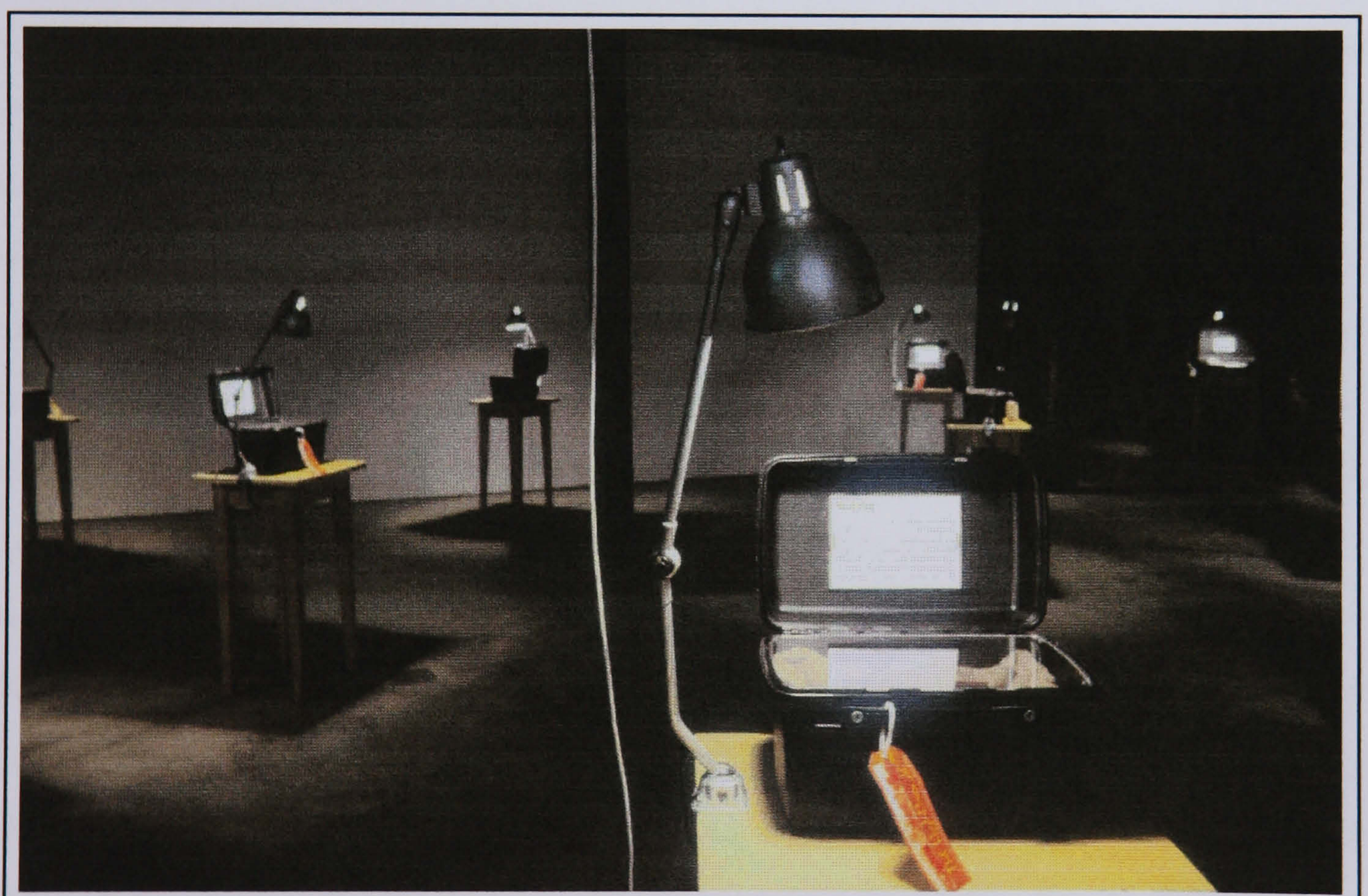


Figure 4.7: An intense focus on the commodity - the vanity cases under bright reading lamps

The exhibition is later described in the same review as 'probably the most easily accessible exhibition of the Glasgow 1999 calendar. Starck's accessibility is his principal strength. His prolific body of work appeals to us all'. In light of this claim it may seem churlish to note the limited use of the term 'accessibility' here (implying a pleasure gained from aesthetic appreciation, rather than purchase) but the overall

sense of this review was to approach these items with an unquestioning approval, whereas the approach in the free paper was one of scepticism and a sense of the dubious relevance and values (their association with the 'yuppie set') embodied in the materials on display. Only in the free sheet editorially addressing a working class readership is there any sense of an ethical response to a legitimating presentation of the auratic commodity as entertainment. Such a consecration of expensive commodities, for many of the Glaswegian's readers, would generate an unrealisable desire, and so corresponds to the dull interest mundane advertising seeks to sustain in another new world of goods. The aesthetic power of exhibitions establishes the object's superior values, raising the taste stakes to the level of the improving object, the art object in the home, while simultaneously implying the inferiority of any alternative not fit for the spotlight treatment.

The Starck objects represented more than a source of aesthetic pleasure; as an element of the G99 programme they were represented as educationally important, as a display of meaningful objects which, via their encounter in a dimly lit gallery, enables the cultural improvement and empowerment of the individual. An exhibition of miniature 'design classics' in a design centre situated off the second richest shopping street in the UK unavoidably induced a bizarre sense of the place as an unresolved hybrid of gallery and shop. In this space the objects were presented for the eye only, for contemplation, whereas nearby, shoppers would be tempted to buy, and eventually to touch them using the same limitations upon initial access. Julier's analysis of Starck 'high design' develops an argument in reference to the poor functionality of the iconic 'Juicy Salif' lemon-squeezer. For this author, high design is the result of the process where, 'conscious designer intervention and authorship, along with the price-tag, play a large role in establishing the cultural and aesthetic credentials of an artefact' (2000: 69). This process feeds into the de-differentiation between museum curatorship and commodity display:

> Museums which display modern design, such as the museum of Modern Art in New York or the design museum in London also have a nice shop attached ... Likewise, designer objects are displayed in shops as museum pieces ... Alessi retail sites invariably display a single example of each object, suggesting their uniqueness and preciousness, just as museum objects have traditionally been curated .... Thus Alessi, in co-operation with museums and retailers, are able to effect an interchange around their

objects: they achieve 'museum status' while being affordable and buyable (2000: 70-71).

Such products are conceptualised as examples of the wider process that constructs 'design classic' status. A dominant recent example is the designer identity of Starck and the superabundance of image dense books which legitimate essentially mundane commodities as of enriched use value:

> By publishing the designers' development sketches, photographs of consultants on the factory floor and finally employing a philosopher or sociologist to write on the significance of all this in the modern age, we can see where the money we spend on their products is going. The brand image of Alessi as wacky, honest, thoughtful and committed to high design and production values is reinforced while at the same time the consumer is drawn into its corporate culture (74).[34]

In developing an analysis of the popularisation of 'Culture', the decline of the 'timeless distinction' between the high and the vulgar, Collins (2002) notes discrete indications of complication in the 'desacralisation of culture'. The identification of a 'high-pop' taste in the 1990s marks the transformation of *Culture* into mass entertainment. For Collins, the resulting taste crisis is fundamentally different from that engendered with Pop as consumerism is now commonplace; the 'relationship between identity and consumer choice must be articulated by more sophisticated commodities and far more semiotically complicated transactions in order to be considered meaningful' (2002: 7). Here, both middlebrow and high brow taste

> represent massification of a certain notion of tastefulness, but the latter rests upon a designer auteurism which assumes, as *practically* common knowledge, a sophisticated design literacy formerly possessed by only the sort of people who could afford interior decorators (and the sort of one-of-a-kind furniture that they offered) (9).

Appadurai's (1986) 'regimes of value' and his theme of the distinct 'paths' of commodity circulation are employed to detail the contours of this transformation where taste values are fundamentally changed by the diversions that happen 'when

---

[34]Officially promoted, 'Phillipe Starck; "For you From Me"', at the Glasgow designer shop, *InHouse*, was an 'exhibition' of Alessi goods and Starck's sketches. Here, the emphasis on the aesthetic over the commercial, for one element of the shop space, would have infused the shop's entire stock with a heightened aesthetic value. Whereas museums have developed the museum shop, this was the shop museum, a form not too vastly dissimilar to Japanese department store art museums.

objects begin to circulate in different orbits'. In short, Appadurai's work suggests how high-pop 'texts' come to be informed by a special register of consumption signs that enable their connection to 'regimes of value' linked to more widely influential histories of elite consumption, without associated barriers of price or snobbishness. Thus,

> [t]he reconciliation between ease of access and rarity of expression serves as the foundation of the popular connoisseurship which comes after the Pop art moment; it insists on the *apartness* of genuine aesthetic expression, but at the same time promises to deliver that experience to a mass audience, an evaluative manoeuvre made possible by redefining the delivery system *vis-à-vis* content (2002: 24).

This suggests a key context for understanding the G99 and the Design exhibitions in their role as informal sources of education in refined living, enhanced aesthetic judgement and the adventurous fostering of new furnitures.

'Identity Crisis: The 90s Defined'

Three hundred mass-produced objects displayed in glass-fronted cases supported and enmeshed by a cling film web hung on original pillars gave this technological display an ordering theme reminiscent of Art Nouveau organicism.

Figure 4.8: The excitement of the mundane - Identity Crisis

Noting responses during visits, the sense of a strange familiar/unfamiliar experience in viewing the collection of mundane objects including, for example, cases of differently styled toothbrushes and running shoes, a car chassis, New Media games consoles and laptops was clear. The exhibition constituted a compressed time-space of 1990s' design culture. During my visits I noted the indeterminate expressions of those watching the controversial music video, 'Smack My Bitch Up', shown on a very large flat screen television (a more luxurious and spectacular object in the late 1990s than now). Technological anthropomorphism was another theme as expressed in the transition from tamagotchi pets to furby toys to multi-ethnic forms of infant simulator dolls. Visitors could interact with cyber culture's early iconic figure, Lara Croft, then try emulating dance moves portrayed on screen in an enormous arcade game, or simply gaze at the sleek *Motoguzzi* racing motorbike or the series of cases containing 'real' examples of antipersonnel mines. The exhibition was a focused display of the multiplicity of things in consumer society; as such it attempted to represent in microcosm the pervasiveness of design in contemporary life which had instigated an 'identity crisis'. The objects displayed represented a contemporary microcosmic version of the universal collection on display at the Great Exhibition of 1851, though in a radically dissimilar situation of the politics of design. The curator, David Redhead, regarded the 90s as a period when 'dominant cultural ideas mixed up into a kind of cultural minestrone'. Within the context of comments in a newspaper review, his guiding intention was made clear:

> "We've no orthodoxies … we're natural sceptics. Thatcherism's gone, modernism's dead, and Blairism — what's that? We've realised the sci-fi dream of the 1930s. We've done it. We've crafted it. And now we wonder 'is that it?'" But this is not really an object 'lesson' in existential angst. The excess of the consumer product, and its creative partner design is just reality. "It's a problem we all face but this is just the way the world works, Whether it's altogether admirable is a different question". There's plenty of the familiar stuff of the nineties to keep the eye flirting from the delightful to the dreadful in this show to keep up the act of fetishisation for a while. But there's also the troublingly unfamiliar; the stuff you can't get your head around. Enough, maybe, to raise a real question every now and then, and momentarily break through the hall of mirrors. This is a genuinely fitting conclusion to a year of design (all in Alexander Linklater, 'The Nineties all Wrapped Up', *The Herald*, Arts Section, 29 Nov. 1999: 16).

In contrast to the hesitant tone of confrontational intent in these interview comments the exhibition, as Redhead and Linklater suggest, avoided any assertion of a didactic 'preferred reading' while the 'identity crisis' tag provided a vague, if pre-determined, dominant image through which the objects were to be encountered. This withdrawal from the responsibility of interpretation, of the traditional museum's pursuit of a 'body of accumulating truths' (Macdonald 1998: 130), left the objects freely floating in an almost purely aestheticised context where the most common response could have been attention to the familiar and unfamiliar forms. However, I cannot impose my own preferred reading in relation to the exhibition 'experience' which could have directly informed an awareness and concern related to the social production of a runaway world, or, equally as likely, produced a sense of temporary increase in the overstimulation of objective culture, one contrasting with a major department store by degrees only. My suggestion is that, following on from my comments above, the Lighthouse's emphasis on an aestheticised presentation of design, on its unquestioned social and cultural value, was the predominant context — one unchanged for this exhibition. For Redhead, the exhibition was a millennial punctuation, a 'this is where we are now' display of our 'culture of things' in a post-ideological age. More than just this though, as I argue above, *Identity Crisis* exhibited the proliferation of objects and the invisibility of the labour process in a post-ideological period, it was a phenomenal exhibition of 'the way the world works' through constant recreation of unchanging novelty where the sources of and crisis of identity, appear only in object form. The rejection of any guiding commentary on the commodity form contrasted with the headline intent to direct Glaswegians' attention to the collective values of the city's valorised architecture. It can be suggested here that the promotion of a unified aesthetic of the city through its architecture is a socially ordering cultural strategy emerging in response to an accelerating and chaotic circulation of commodities at the street level experience of the central city.

The city's valorised, and high rent, facades contain exhibitions of the most technologically advanced commodity distribution systems and niche market servicing. An appropriate example is Buchanan Street's Borders Books which caters for every sector of interest, from pornography to art brut and cigar culture, all displayed alongside CDs, DVDs, videos and an almost innumerable number of

design magazines covering areas as diverse as catwalk fashion, street fashion and sleazy fashion or luxurious interiors, body art and American skateboarding looks and scenes. This information age department store stocks 600 magazines, mainstream and private press political and arts journals, and many foreign language newspapers. The range of consumption interests reflected in the purchase or in just browsing the magazines available in this American chain store announce a Glasgow radically more exposed to a consumer society than it was ten years ago, and which makes the city of twenty years ago a distant memory. It appears that the city fabric alone connects city dwellers to an earlier age.

This chapter highlighted many of the relevant themes touching upon the G99 exhibitions. I have sought to give a sense of the manner in which the range of displays and events were put together and to suggest an impression of a common experience (with all the faults of such subjectivism). Indeed, within his reflections on 'walking in the city', de Certeau (1984) criticised the totalising attitude of the voyeur and visionary, the 'lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more'. He identified a 'fiction that creates readers, makes the complexity of the city readable, and immobilises its opaque mobility in a transparent text' (92). The new city imaginary of Glasgow as a work of art was informed by a representational politics that make the 'panorama-city … a "theoretical" (that it, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices' (93). Totalising representations of urban life rely upon an 'implacable light that produces this urban text without obscurities', knowing only of 'spaces brutally lit by an alien reason' (103). For de Certeau, the study of spatial practices illustrated how individuals develop 'multiform, resistance, tricky and stubborn procedures that elude discipline without being outside the field in which it is exercised' (96). The descriptions of the exhibitions here acknowledge such restrictions on perspectives of urban life. The festival has been until now been insufficiently drawn as a moment in the life of the city, a brief passing news item, something vague going on in the street, for many residents of Glasgow. Those attending the exhibitions I described would have occupied a space of disciplining and aestheticising display, a panorama legislating for a common future and forms of living. This work, however, will make no claim to

present a panorama of the social impact of G99; no 'implacable light' is deployed to penetrate to the real or essential lessons of the design festival.

With such welcome limitations upon representation in mind, it can be argued that in relation to the local forms of the cultural agenda of social inclusion, the chapter identified themes that support the interpretation of consumption promotion as an empowering moment and process; one related to the integrative dynamics of modernity. In contrast to this the chapter has also laid down the arguments that find within the recent history of the turn to aesthetics in public architectural education, and in the sovereign consumer's tasteful infallibility, an enduring criticism of the manipulative environment and fake creativity of consumerism. The task of the chapter is not to subscribe to one or other of the positions with force but to convey the context of the G99 in as clear terms as possible; to represent the events and social contexts of the year in their fuller contexts, bearing in mind the considerations of the earlier chapters and their specific substantive areas of concern. Thus, the architecture exhibitions relate to both main trends in theoretical writing: to the maintenance of place sense and public memory (Alexander 'Greek' Thomson exhibition); and the accommodation to an encroaching modernity only weakly related to terrain or tradition, and that corresponds to a wired world of global digital immediacy (Vertigo, METACITY/DATATOWN).

Glasgow straddles these two connected domains in order to provided the two cultures required in the contemporary world of tourist and service flows. The design exhibitions pointed to a reliance on sustaining local spending and the reputation as a consumption centre at a time when design and redesign occupies a hybrid space of culturalised business and commercialised art. The city's future is reliant on becoming a player in design based services; as such the wider economic imperative is to drive the identification of the city with the most advanced commercial applications of what Lash (2002: 23) has termed the 'chronic repetition of difference [where] patent is the chronic invention of the real; copyright, the routine invention of the imaginary' (23). Here, intellectual property, the basis for the city's celebrations of the creative economy, is cast under a harsh light and revealed in its reliance upon intensified and accelerated relations of production; in many ways inferior to the

social relations which underpinned the commodity exhibitions driving on the imaginary relations to the city's economy in the 1880s.

The next chapter moves away from exclusive concentration on the G99 festival to provide some analysis of Glasgow's spatial and architectural developments, with emphasis on examples drawn from some key building sectors in the central city and its inner periphery.

5

The Space of Glasgow's Architectural Distinction

> We all know that Glasgow is fast becoming one of Europe's most exciting cities, as barely a day goes by without something new on the go. We can shop, eat and play like superstars. Now we can live like them too. A new development on Cowcaddens Road would be the perfect place for Keanu Reeves to buy his Scottish holiday home. (*Daily Record* 6/8/01)
>
> In the cities in which we live, all of us see hundreds of publicity images every day of our lives. No other kind of image confronts us so frequently … Publicity adds up to a kind of philosophical system. It explains everything in its own terms. It interprets the world. The entire world becomes a setting for the fulfilment of publicity's promise of the good life. (John Berger)

Representing the city

This chapters points to traces of the G99 festival in the cityscape and maps their relationships within the wider set of concerns laid out in earlier chapters. In so doing, this final chapter draws on studies of urban gentrification processes that refer to examples of conflicting representations of 'the city' and its meanings. In Glasgow, the spatial reproduction of the central city has been represented as a progressive remaking of the city for all; an improved common resource of architecture. G99 promoted and represented socially inclusive practices, especially in the area of the community programme, but as I have argued the key register of the festival was a personalised aesthetic self-improvement, an enhanced receptivity to form, rather than practices of enriched engagement in urban space. These tensions can be evaluated in relation to some main thematic arguments in the literature of urban restructuring. Therefore, the chapter looks at Glasgow's particular form of gentrification emphasising the representational strategies in property advertising that illustrate the theme of aestheticisation in the thesis. To widen the explanatory scope, I integrate key recent studies on the ongoing social and spatial transformations in and of the city and emphasise the trends driving the pronounced heterogeneity in contemporary housing design. After this, a brief analysis of Housing Association architectures is

read to suggest the possibility of socially inclusive outcomes strongly related to socially integrative design intentions. In contrast, I go on to compare those instances of architecture and urban design that point to an intensifying development and centralisation of Glasgow's spectacular urban realm. These are placed in the context of some main themes from the literature on urban representation and a conclusion ties together and comments on the urban transformations to which I argue G99 has contributed.

Henri Lefebvre and Social Inclusion

Lefebvre's (1991) work on the metaphorical and literal senses of 'social inclusion' offers an image of a process and the stages of becoming included, being gathered in the 'space of social practice'. In his formulation space is *perceived* through involvement in 'social practices', *conceived* in 'representations' of that space (G99 architecture exhibitions) and *lived* through the association of images and symbols with specific 'representational spaces' that acquire and communicate meanings and are the loci of passions. Each aspect of this triad of spatial relations is in a dialectical relation with the others. Lefebvre argues (Smith 2001: 36) that the manner in which any space, real or imagined, is represented constitutes an 'intervention in the social fabric through its attempt to set out and construct a model of that society and what it might become. This representation envisages certain kinds of social practices and calls upon certain symbols and images to invoke meanings and values'. Merrifield understands Lefebvre's spatial triad as a heuristic device enabling descriptive analyses of the process of the production of space. Rather than a mechanical framework, the triad is a 'dialectical simplification, fluid and alive and each moment messily blurs into other moments in the real life contexts' (2000: 172). The elusive quality of lived space draws the attention of thought to order and appropriates it: 'Lived space is the experiential realm that conceived and ordered space will try to intervene in, rationalise and ultimately usurp' (ibid.: 174). Here, abstract space is a definition drawn in relation to Marx's image of the reduction of qualitative difference in work to abstract labour. The violence of abstraction is clear:

> Abstract space ... gains objective expression in different buildings, places, activities, and modes of social intercourse over and through space. But its underlying dynamic is conditioned by a logic which has no *real* interest in qualitative difference. Its ultimate

arbiter is none other than money … Just as abstract labour denies true concrete labour, abstract space likewise denies true concrete qualitative space: it denies the generalisation of what Lefebvre calls *differential space*: a space which doesn't look superficially different, but is different, different to its very core. It's different because it celebrates particularity — both bodily and experiential … True differential space is a burden. It cannot, must not, be allowed to flourish by the powers that be. It places unacceptable demands on accumulation and growth. (ibid.: 176)

Thus, we can contrast the production of space for *domination* with production as an *appropriation* to serve human need. In domination space is put to the service of some abstract purpose, this can be to facilitate state power, or, more pervasively, for the reproduction of capital. Here, space is 'carved into real estate parcels for exchange in the market, cubes and volumes demarcated and positioned so as to be interchangeable as commodities'; the resultant space represents the 'triumph of homogeneity' (Lefebvre 1991: 337) and stands, both in its totality, as well as in its constituent parts as 'product'. The apparatus of official city planning represents the mobilisation of expertise on behalf of such abstract spaces, one that 'pulverises' the body, the spirit, the social urge, and like any tool of abstraction, 'is inherently violent' (ibid.: 387). While abstract space represents, more or less, space produced for exchange value, 'absolute space' stands for use value. Such an analysis depicts a contradiction in urban space between the pursuit of exchange and use values. Lefebvre therefore calls for a 'counter gaze' to 'insert itself into spatial reality' (382) and demystify not only the physical arrangements of the city, but all modes and institutions that those arrangements sanctify and support, arguing that 'authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production' (ibid.: 388).

Now, G99 constructed aesthetic appreciation of the architecture of central Glasgow as a socially valuable source of skills for contemporary citizenship and I suggest the relationship of its production to enduring realities of urban social fragmentation were occluded by such an emphasis. In this light, Glasgow's spectacular architectural form, a main element of its cultural renaissance, and the G99 additions can be argued to sustain the power-laden forms and relationships based in spectacular abstractions rather than representational or differential spaces. The G99 strategy for architectural promotion included instruction in an appreciation of interchangeable and abstract space as well as local place form. Later sections of this chapter concerned with

commercial architecture and housing will illustrate that, if many of the recently constructed buildings of Glasgow can be persuasively represented as spaces of domination, some at least approach the description of spaces of appropriation sustaining the 'counter gaze' Lefebvre identifies as a force of resistance.

Architecture and Gentrification

An evident phenomenon in central Glasgow that began in the 1980s is the process of dramatic gentrification. As I noted in the opening chapter, this process is usually associated with the displacement of lower income rental residents of a particular central city area by relocating upper income households drawn to the varied sources of cultural distinction offered by an 'authentic' location in discrete neighbourhoods. In Glasgow, reoccupation required no displacement as few households were centrally located when the promotion of the centre as a residential option was begun two decades ago (Robertson 1998). Within this particular setting, it is possible to identify gentrification effects over the long term as the residential city centre has developed, and in a comparison of the centre to the wider city experience of housing improvement from the early eighties. I will begin with a brief historical outline to establish some key contextual details.

In response to an array of national and local economic pressures, the Housing (Scotland) Act 1974 established new channels for the public funding of housing development (especially through housing associations). This aimed to promote pluralism through diversifying the tenure and management of public housing stocks. Especially in Glasgow, it led to significant improvements in living conditions and was a 'critical element in stimulating a wider economic recovery' (Robertson 1998: 57). Such changes, most especially the stone cleaning of the city's tenements, contributed significantly to the transformation of Glasgow's image. Writing in 1998, Robertson described most private house building as 'small, low cost, flatted units' with 'poor design' resulting from restrictive planning conventions that produced a 'uniform and highly monotonous product' (1998: 63). In response, he advocated developers improve the city's range and standard of accommodation and produce 'up-market' city centre housing, thus anticipating the present reality where most city centre development has taken on an exclusive and luxurious character.

Bailey & Robertson (1997) argue Glasgow's approach to housing renewal produced gentrifying outcomes for spatially discrete areas of the city. This study's data indicated the expected 'neighbourhood effects' of housing-led regeneration (employment gains, greater social cohesion, impacts upon anti-social behaviour) had, in reality, a strong positive correlation with the environmental qualities achieved in predominately owner-occupied districts rather than socially-rented districts of the city. Here, the damaging social effects of spatial segregation and stigmatisation proved resistant to any benefits anticipated in design upgrades. In response, they assert that as local and national level political decisions direct the funding and control of housing renewal, whether or not gentrification processes dictate the social make-up of the central city is a policy question. In other words, a central city of lofts and private tenure could coexist alongside housing for low-income groups if the will existed to counter spatial segregation (1997: 577). It can be noted that Seo's (1999) study of attitudes to residence in Glasgow's Merchant City is more optimistic regarding the social cohesiveness resulting from such reurbanisation, though he too noted the social costs of gentrifying residential segregation. Another dimension of gentrification is revealed in Castle's (2003) review of some implications of the Planning Policy Guideline (PPG3) that exemplifies the currently more interventionist state approach to housing design. This land use directive enforces high quality design practices, raised density levels (encouraging more use of the urban block over detached residences) and greater sustainability levels on brown field sites. As a result, market competition through product *differentiation* has become more widespread within house building. This has led to the situation where the supply of housing increasingly caters for diverse demands in domestic architecture as 'city' divisions of mass builders employ architects to provide an edge in the 'quality' based competition for the restricted sites (Castle 2003: 31-32).

We can now move on to the implications of the macroeconomic pressures that drive the speeded-up transformations within cities like Glasgow. The economic and social forces driving urban economies and settings in recent decades were outlined earlier as originating in shifts to post-Fordist economies and weightless, globalised service provision, the state withdrawal from regional economic planning and its encouragement of systemic competition in the creative and quality-oriented sector of

regional and global consumption and tourism. The restructured economic base and an associated marketisation of welfare has created a situation where only a minority have a position of security within the contemporary urban polity. These social disruptions have driven the ESRC research focus on cities and the relationship between competitiveness and social cohesion. The comparative study of Glasgow and Edinburgh by Turok et al (2003: 38), for example, noted financial services were now the biggest employment growth sector in Glasgow (up 46% in the last decade). This expansion in 'New Economy' employment was doing little to offset a chronic social formation where the city has 'some of the largest and most intense spatial concentrations of poverty and exclusion in Britain'. While they found strong indicators of social cohesion within poorer communities they concluded it was not strong 'at the level of the city, partly as a result of rising income disparities, segregation and stigmatisation' (ibid.: vi-vii). Their term, 'Twin Track' cities, is clarified when they suggest economic success supports some forms of cohesion providing it creates jobs 'suitable for local people, but cohesion does not seem to be a necessary precondition for economic success in the short term' (ibid.: vii). This large empirical study concluded that

> market-led development promotes spatial segregation rather than balanced or integrated neighbourhoods [in a situation where there have been] very few attempts by house builders or planning authorities to introduce diversity into new suburban or central city developments. This reminds us that the rich are as much a part of the problem of social exclusion and polarisation as the poor. (ibid.: vii)

Such general conclusions are reinforced in research on gentrification in London (Butler 2003) that identified a 'withdrawal' from the multiple public realities of the city to a privatised, middle class life. The almost exclusively middle class networks found among gentrifiers had commonly utilised a strong rhetoric in favour of social integration but displayed no will to invest social capital in the study's area of London. For Butler, the long term consequences are unlikely to lead to greater social cohesion. The residents' relationship to *social capital* ('the sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilised through membership in social networks of actors and organisations') was one limited to establishing necessary and elective relationships and obligations within the middle class. The study found 'almost no

reference to this taking place outwith the group' and noted that 'others' (locals who provide evidence of vitality, working class community authenticity) are valued as a kind of 'social wallpaper, but no more' (2484). He sees this approach to the urban sphere as characteristic of the metropolitan habitus which seeks the 'urban' at an aesthetic level, rather than a social one. Considered alongside the evidence of residential segregation and economic bifurcation in Glasgow, gentrified colonisation of the city's inner periphery and new 'cultural quarters' is likely to produce a common trend. The multidimensional differences of life in London and in Glasgow should not be ignored, especially in relation to issues of ethnicity and neighbourhood contrasts. However, the local research reported above suggests public life in and around the cultural and residential exclusivity of the Matrix development, for example, (prices ranged from £220,000-£650,000) and in the expanding quarter's other apartment blocks is unlikely to significantly challenge the social 'bubble' Butler identifies in London.

Housing Association Design

Explanations of design differentiation give inadequate attention to the pressures on distinctive design in the private sector resulting from the increasingly high quality provision of housing by the smaller, more symbolically consecrated firms commonly working for housing associations in cities like Glasgow. The current situation is one where firms working in a planning policy environment encouraging housing 'redifferentiation' make their reputations with high quality, and commonly Modernist, designs for the once conservative housing associations. This is the case with the 'new neighbourhoods' developments in the Gorbals district and the ongoing work to link up the east end of the city to the centre such as at the Graham Square development in the Gallowgate. The outcome is comparable design standards at both the spectacularly luxurious and socially-rented poles of Glasgow housing design, especially at the margins of the city centre (see examples in appendix 2). If examples such as the Graham Square apartments (a 1997 Scottish Homes competition design) would appeal to those in search of a distinguished level of housing quality and urban aesthetic, a local advocate of an architectural ethics can identify its architects' 'stance against the two dimensional falsity of applied elevation' in its high interior space standards, use of glazed stairways and place sensitivity (Rodger 2002: 102).

This perhaps indicates how the aestheticisation trends I've pointed to feed more generally into a resurgence of place-generating Modernist forms as an unrivalled style of housing design, especially in the context of the redundant spaces of the conserved city. Such developments correspond to distinct aspirations in the G99 social programme — though here we find a clearly more ambitious homes for the future paradigm employing what remains practicable in the Modernist tradition of urban block housing while retaining valued architectural elements that thicken the sense of place (fig 5.1).

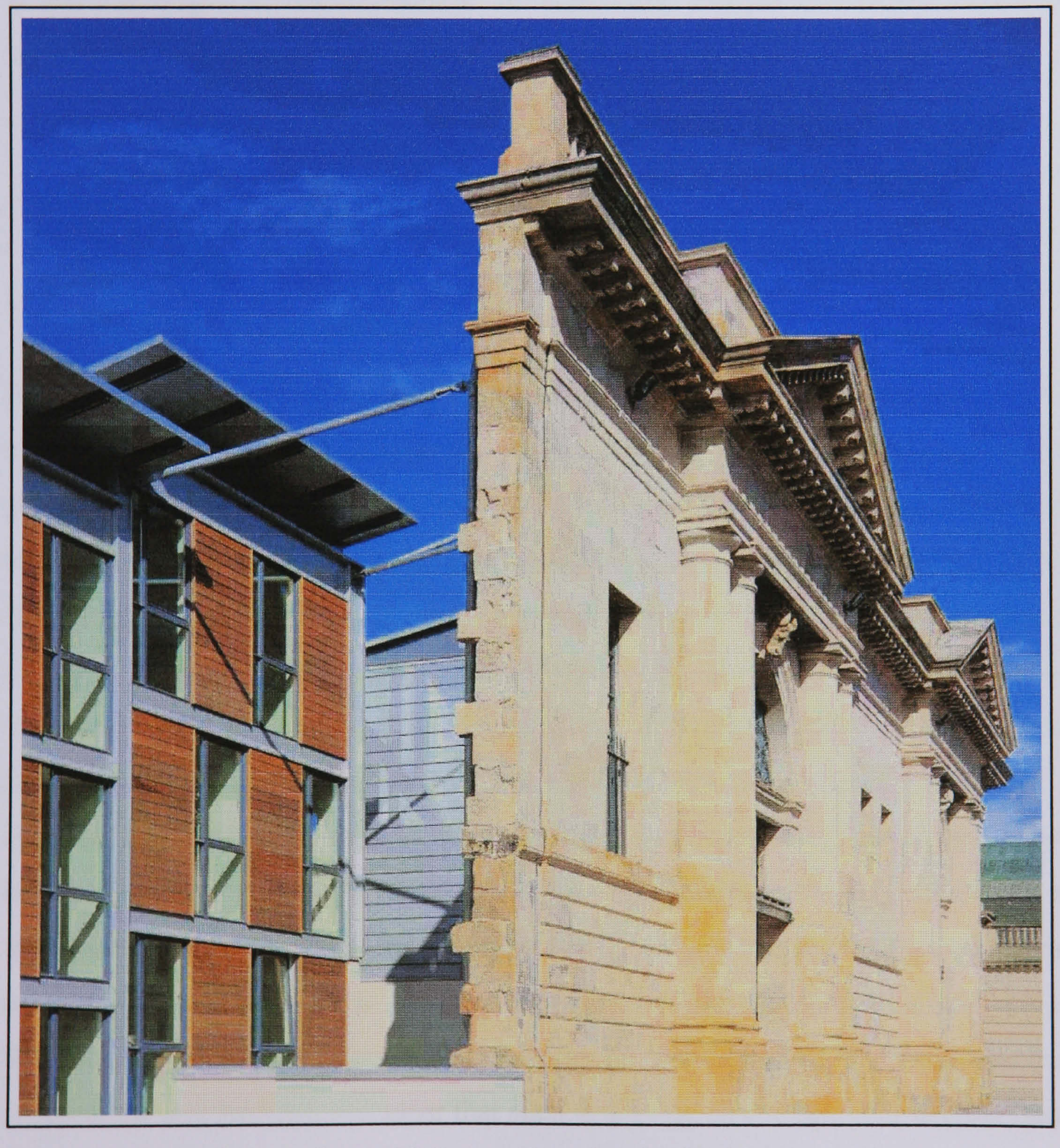


Figure 5.1: Molendinar HA flats by McKeown Alexander with listed facade - Modern place

The predominance of this approach in Glasgow casts doubt on the trend Till (1998) identified as a 'disavowal of style'; the rejection of Modernism in 'community

architecture'. Rather, it is the case that heterogeneous 'Modern' styles characterise Glasgow's recently built social housing in inner districts. Clear examples are the designs by Page and Park Architects for Molendinar Housing Association's Graham Square development, by Ian Ritchie Architects for Thenew Housing Association, and by Elder and Cannon, Hypostyle, Piers Gough and Page and Park again for Crown Street in the New Gorbals Housing Association). These developments have been characterised as 'site specific, place-making developments' emerging from the 'new forms of patronage' (Page & Park Architects website). Till makes a point in relation to the challenges to the traditional or vernacular designs commonly found in 'community' architecture:

> More fundamental and potentially redemptive aspects of the production of space are subsumed under a spurious aesthetic debate. The voice of the community is thereby emasculated, an emasculation which has been institutionalised … through community 'design' panels whose token gestures of democratic involvement disguise their superficiality and eventual impotence. (69)

He disputes the 'myth of the authoritative imposition' of the artist architect with a monopoly of skills. For Till, '[i]n the commercial field the architect has to a large extent been marginalised into a limited role of producing a surface aesthetic and technical efficiency — a fate which community architecture also suffers' (70). Resisting this limiting situation involves a rejection of simplistic binary conceptions of power in architectural practice where community architecture is automatically understood as a challenge to coercive impositions from on high. Gillian Rose's argument that community architecture disempowers both architect and 'community', and Foucault's refusal to depict power as simplistically negative, is read to suggest how architecture's semi-autonomy can critically contribute to the creation of a situation where 'both architects and users relinquish the impossible purity of their communities and open up to a critical engagement with the forces beyond' (75). Such encounters may or may not describe why neo-Modern style is emerging as the cross-sector standard, but it is clear that such is the case in the city. It is also the case that the firms designing for the Housing Associations are held to account more than they ever were while simultaneously being supported in their development of an expressive Modernism. Such sites are spaces of social plurality at the margins of the aestheticised and exclusivised city, moments of designed reintegration.

Thus, influenced by a plethora of factors in areas of supply, demand and regulation, independent Housing Associations, the mass builders and those firms that provide bespoke urban chic all now contribute to a differentiation of built space. In this light it is worth recalling how Vidler (1992) has decried an uncanny aspect of the 'repression of the political' in contemporary architecture marked by

> the incessant reference to avant-garde techniques devoid of their originating ideological impulse, the appearance of a fulfilled aesthetic revolution stripped of its promise of social redemption.... (1992: 14)

It is certainly the case that the phenomena he identifies in iconic architectures are to be found in Glasgow, and, indeed, in most cities, as are examples of an emerging Modern design ethos, the origins of which cannot be separated out from the city's enveloping aestheticisation. An issue is whether we can begin to see a productive relationship between the neo-Modern central residential architecture favoured by new middle class gentrifiers and those urban residences designed for the members of ambitious housing associations. A possible implication is that aestheticised and commodified neo-Modern styles predominant in the private sector have legitimated a return to the Modern in social housing. In the examples referred to here, then, community architecture has drawn on a design language of social form which is being reaffirmed (after a long period as taboo) in the social context of a design environment in Glasgow, of which the G99 was one element, founded on a rhetoric of universal access. While Vidler rightly notes the ways Modern forms can be reduced to style quotations emptied of their original content, the examples here suggest how the Modern can sustain a role as a style of urban social progress.

Architecture in Glasgow: from Social to Spectacular Space

In Scotland, and primarily in Glasgow, by the late 1970s the decline in the authority of the Modern Movement was articulated most clearly by Charles McKean, advocate of a reassertion of architectural expression, a key figure encouraging architects to build *within* a continuity of national tradition such as stone façades and monumental massing. The context in which the ideas of architectural posmodernity were articulated in Glasgow is important here. Emphasising the visual appeal of individual building (developments in styles such as those elements drawn from the Mackintosh

and baronial revival) as object became more acceptable, so too the emphasis on the city's established morphology, a key characteristic of the postmodern emphasis on conserving 'regeneration'. As a result, an expressive social architecture developed combining preservation with the 'Modernist aim of fostering community by tackling existing socially and visually pathological elements' (Glendinning et al 1996: 481-482) leading to improved and upgraded tenements rather than new buildings. In this approach, the existing city fabric was maintained alongside the traditional grid pattern of the streets and other spatial constituents. McKean's main criticisms of Glasgow's social housing, the by then proscribed approaches and objects of Modernist building, were that they

> were *tabula rasa* rather than cumulative, 'inhuman' in scale rather than piecemeal and 'human', segregatory rather than mixed and integrated, imposed from above rather than generated from below. They had inflicted wounds needing to be healed, an emptiness requiring 'reoccupation'. (Glendinning et al 1996: 489)

A renewed emphasis on design expressiveness would oppose the 'pathological' uniformity of both civic building and social housing. The intention was not, at this stage, to privilege visuality, rather it seems to have been mainly an attempt to *destigmatise* stylistic expression and ornament within the architectural profession. This development was initially and only gradually carried out in private practice and for private clients. The eclectic and historicised styles associated with postmodern architectures made few inroads in Scotland, perhaps because postmodern ideas were mediated in a particular way:

> [J]ust as the allegiance of Scottish society to an ideology of social cohesion survived the 1980s swing against the corporate state, so too the twentieth century Scottish architectural conception of the social nation would survive the crisis of the Modern Movement. (Glendinning et al 1996: 482)

If we now turn to contemporary Glasgow, key architectural developments proclaim an explosion of visual and formal expressiveness; the UGC cinema in Union Street (fig 5.2) is a main example. Here, the cinema's developers were encouraged by the city's planning authorities to produce a building with spectacular qualities signifying its entertainment role in the cultural industries. A truly enormous building relative to the surrounding built environment, the cinema offers both a landmark in the city, for

use by all, and an internally differentiated space of exclusive private cinemas with waiter service and two grades of seating in the main auditoria.

Figure 5.2: UGC cinema in central Glasgow - Speculative investment as spectacular form

Most importantly, the structure clearly had few imposed requirements to respect its surrounding context, which even if mainly hotels and shopping streets, is dwarfed by this new giant. It is of some significance that the building's exterior makes an imposing visual impact as a result of its towering scale and raised, coloured sections of rain cladding, while the entrance level interior, with a plain and barely 2.5 metre ceiling height, makes no concession to the traditionally spectacular front of house cinema reception areas. Throughout this building cinema-goers move up and through an extremely instrumental provision of geometric circulation space to the

'McDonaldised' entertainment provided over twelve levels. The interior offers a flat and efficient involvement in containment alone, while the exterior seeks to dominate the street and the city through mass and spectacle.

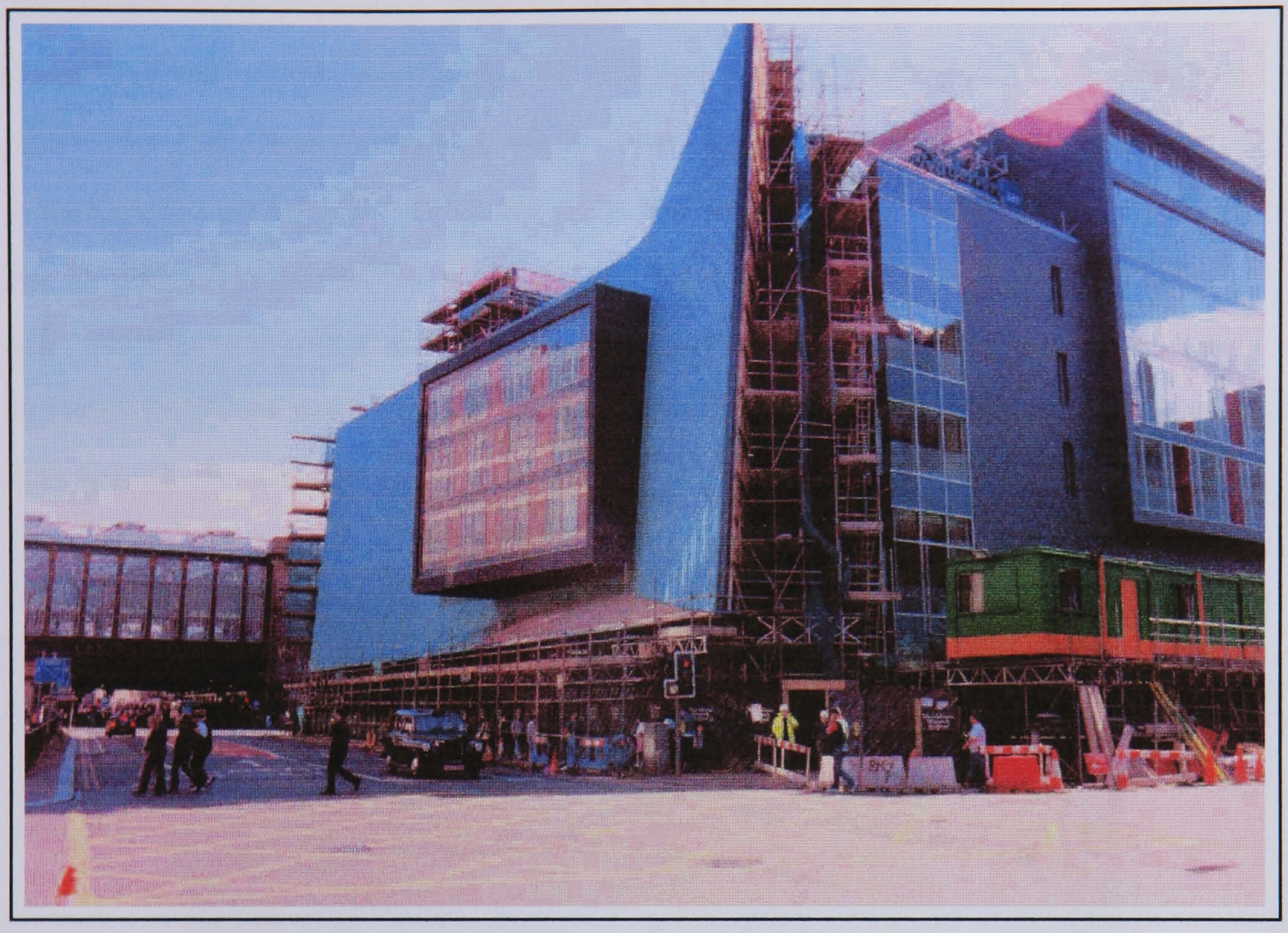


Figure 5.3: The Radisson in 2003: high impact tourist architecture for the compressed visit

The Radisson SAS Hotel in Argyle Street, designed by Gordon Murray Alan Dunlop Architects ('gm+ad') and completed in 2003, is another important recent example of the city's new architecture of consumption. The hotel's north façade is dominated by a 60 metre copper screen running along the hotel's street elevation. Murray and Dunlop promote their ability to provide commercial clients with distinct identities within the existing character of cities, and are concerned to do both this and to 'introduce some drama into our cityscapes' (Lewis 2003: 38, 11). Their decision to present a sculptural and brightly coloured panel to the street, an 'elevation, inspired by the cladding materials of today not the fenestration patterns of yesteryear' (ibid.: 16) is more soap opera than drama; one that fits well with the now mundane spectacular standard (Ockman & Adams 1999-2000). Such key examples of the city's commercial architecture show how it is driven by demands for distinction enabled by the new technical possibilities of form rather than any newly articulated common control advocated within G99. Rather, these examples clearly exemplify

the city's conception and representation as an artwork denoting corporate presence (Dovey 1999: 107-122) and the spectacularised and re-enchanted spaces of the new means of (cultural) consumption (Ritzer 1999: 126). Indeed, while the UGC cinema design has been popularly berated, the Radisson has won many of the recently introduced and widely promoted and reported architectural prizes. It is important to stress here that these examples, while forming the clearest examples of spectacular design in the period after G99, are only two among many others like them (see fig 5.4 for an example) that have had a considerable impact in the visual identity of the city.[1] As this new dimension of very high impact architecture has unfolded, the city has been simultaneously transformed at the more holistic level of urban design and it is to this dimension that I will now turn.

Figure 4: Spectrum Building: Financial services and work of art united

[1] As landmarks of the city's newly emphasised design identity, these buildings required distinctive visibility: The UGC cinema dominates the skyline from the south and north of the city; the Radisson hotel has a central location near the Central station and the International Financial District, and abuts the main road into Glasgow from the south. The Science Centre's sleek tower with its quirky 'navigation' lighting is visible from points across the entire city.

Urban Design

The main attractions of cities are their specifically urban qualities of drama, energy and visually arresting perspectives so central to contemporary tourist desire for aesthetic self-development (Urry 1990, 1999, Lash & Urry 1994). As Sassen & Roost (1999: 143) argue in their discussion of the inflation of all references and things 'urban',

> Modern tourism is no longer centred on the historic monument, concert hall or museum but on the urban scene or, more precisely, on some version of the urban scene fit for tourism … Since the 1980s there has been a rapid growth in the use of urbanity as an advertising tool and the ascendance of urban music and lifestyles as an object for consumption.

Their examples are the major world cities, the developments by Disney's global entertainment corporation in Times Square, New York and by Sony in Berlin, however all cities must now compete in this way. A main urban regeneration strategy associated with such developments is the more general practice of urban design. Urban designers work to improve everyday experiences of navigation, movement and legibility, to remove real and perceived barriers within cities thus 'reconnecting' dislocated areas and shape anticipated future experiences of cities for tourists in search of cosmopolitan pleasures (Quilley 1999). For example, an information leaflet on Buchanan Street, extracted from the *City Centre Millennium Plan* (one in a series on Main city centre streets) describes the changes to the city influenced by Urban Design ideas:

> The new look Buchanan Street removes much of the 'clutter' and replaces it with co-ordinated lighting, bollards, seating, signage and street cafe areas, using glass, stainless steel and stone. Clipped lime trees grace the length of Buchanan Street, creating shade and mirroring the great boulevards of Europe. The richness and elegance of the architecture is enhanced by contemporary lighting which floods the street at night.

This document informs the reader that '[t]he transformation of Buchanan Street is the result of an international competition won in 1997 by Glasgow architects Gillespies and their Barcelona partners MBM Arquitectes'. *Glasgow: A City for*

People — Urban Design Strategy Explained outlines the broad aims and lists 12 objectives, examples of which are:

> to enhance and reinforce the inherent permeability of Glasgow's traditional urban fabric which ensures activity, security and through circulation … to encourage a varied range of housing designs and densities across the city, reinforcing the city web … to break down the barriers created by the motorways and other elements of separation … to promote and secure a high standard of design in all aspects of the built environment from street furniture to prestigious buildings.

Documents like these have the role of informing those interested sections of the population of the reasoning behind the transformations in the aspects of the city described. The expected results, as presented to regional and international investors, were anticipated in Deyan Sudjic's brief 'Back From the Future' sketch where he described the year 2020:

> visitors to the city can leave any number of hotels based in the city centre, stroll past the City Chambers … through the Merchant City. The handsome classical façades of the old Sheriff Court, transformed into a vibrant new cultural venue, where you can snack on sushi, or fresh Scots grown produce, see a unique display of Mackintosh furniture, and pick your way through the pavement cafes and street musicians, or simply admire the space, are its new focus. Its a landmark on the way to the Glasgow Green quarter, one of the most interesting places in the city to live, in the face of the pressure of former suburbanites clamouring to buy into the new dream of urban life. (Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2000: 16)

This representation of the city accentuates the specific aesthetic qualities of the imagined and dreamed future of civic harmony as a modern European agora. These depictions of urban design may be contrasted with Crilley's (1993a) discussion of architectural acclamation as powerful advertisements for successful urban regeneration. Here, the spatial and symbolic transformation of cities in recent decades means the new smooth spaces of urban design provide a complementary effect in creating the required imagery of consensus:

> [I]n the redeveloped city, architecture's mode of reception resembles that of advertising insofar as 'the public' are interpellated as spectators at a series of triumphant architectural displays. The modernist emphasis on the spatial experience of architecture and optimistic faith that architecture could be an effective instrument of social change,

> meeting the pressing needs of a reductive, physiologically-defined model of humanity, stands renounced and replaced by a deification of the two-dimensional, visual apprehension of the city. (Crilley 1993a: 237)

And he continues:

> In the propaganda of urban boosterism, nothing signifies ascendancy more convincingly than the model public of the late-capitalist city strolling, contemplating, consuming and soaking up the ambience of these picturesque display cases. (ibid.: 242)

Another, more fine-grained, dimension of such change is outlined in Julier's (2000: 117) impression of the new street furnishing which appeared in Leeds in 1991-1992. For this author, the sleek objects of street level urban design are not there to simply ease the activities of shoppers, to make their experience of the city a more legible one, rather

> [t]hey seemed to be conspiring to redefine urban identity through their form. They are architectural detailing. But they are also part of a graphic treatment of the cityscape. They are about communication.

The urban design strategies in Leeds of the 80s and 90s shifted from an emphasis on architecture (the 'Leeds look') to that of a fully developed urban design for the city core, where

> the design of the city became design-dense. This effectively decentred its cognition … It shifted from the purely visual consumption of architectural exteriors … to the more holistic 'experience' of seating, signage, sounds and smells. (122)

The everyday experience of congregation and movement within this new urban design has become problematised, for Julier, because

> [t]he multiculturalism, flows, inequalities and disunities of urban living are strangely harmonised in this seemingly modern space. (117)

These descriptions of central Leeds uncannily describe the aestheticised and design dense central Glasgow. The full sensual effect of the street, renewed and redefined through an urban design strategy and its pedestrianisation in the 80s as a dense shopping space is an encounter with a literal concretisation of the city's efforts at reconceptualisation (to paraphrase Michael Dear's description of the similar process in Berlin). This more immediate perception of urban design, into which an everyday

architectural sense is subsumed, can be understood as the primary representation of the city.

This is exemplified in certain high profile developments in Glasgow and the dense language of aesthetic value used to emphasise their architectural distinction. The newest city centre apartments are presented through two distinct, though intimately related, architectural design categories. First, the 'contemporary', based upon Modern styles and a linked set of lifestyle 'looks', and second, apartments in restored buildings offering historically distinctive design elements. I will begin with examples of the promotion of the first group

Confidence in the positive reception of design categories, and their client group's ability to interpret architectural plans, is clear from the following advertising copy for the Matrix development in Cowcaddens, the city's officially designated 'cultural quarter':

> Abbey fosters a belief that architecture in its purest form — the art of designing buildings — is fundamental to modern living. As a result, each element is subject to the closest scrutiny … enquiry levels in the first few days of opening would indicate that this aesthetic development will sell entirely from plan. (*GSPC Property Guide*, 2/7/02)[2]

These apartments are presented as appealing to an architecturally discriminating consumer, such a practice being itself simultaneously affirmed. If the copy for the Matrix ad is, up to now, in a standard of its own, this language of design value is now the standard within Glasgow property advertisements. A case study of the descriptive and evaluative language in ads for all forms of housing in the local newspaper dominating the market for housing advertisements (*The Herald*) indicates categories of architectural quality in aesthetic terms coming into use only after 1999. Before then, descriptions of city centre and the few riverside apartments emphasise luxury, location, room volumes, ceiling heights and are described, for example, as 'executive apartments' or the 'last word in city centre living'. Little direct attention is given to an aesthetic language of formal evaluation and description, or an association with 'classic' house designs. In contrast, for example, underneath a

---

[2] It didn't sell entirely from plan. By August 2004, with the project completed, a significant number of the apartments were unsold. The city's annual September Doors Open Days were utilised to drum up interest in the apartments using two tours of the building directed by the three main designers.

funkily typefaced banner heading 'urban chic', the brochure for the 'Schröder Buildings' (2003), on Glasgow's Alexandra Parade, read:

> [t]hese inspired new buildings take their name from the world famous Schröder House in Utrecht, Holland. This classic example of 20th century modernist architecture was created by Gerrit Rietveld a disciple of the hugely influential cubist movement. Rietveld's pioneering ideas on style and use of space to reflect the needs of the individual are the inspiration behind the 23 different layouts which have been created within each apartment block.

The schedule's sales pitch grounds the desirable symbolism of the development's 'inspiration' from the 'pioneering' modernist canon (the phrase 'form equals function' is on the rear of the document) with the local practicalities of its location and its lower prices in relation to other city centre apartments:

> The Schröder Buildings are designed for people with busy lives. Located just minutes away from the centre of Glasgow they provide the ideal base for people who want to enjoy all the benefits of living in the heart of Scotland's most vibrant city — without the lofty price tag.

In another example, the stylised selling schedule for the Matrix development used pithy statements by William Morris, Mies Van Der Rohe, Philip Johnson, Frank Lloyd Wright and Havelock Ellis.[3] The project architect's statement in a newspaper advertisement exemplified the wider use of architectural discourse:

> Movement towards and through the Matrix reveal architecture which is dynamic and kinetic. The use of quality external materials on the elevations, ranging from black rain screen cladding, coloured glass, brickwork and render, reveal compositions of surface and mass, solid and void, with the creation of volume carved into space through layers of light and colour. (*The Herald*, Property section, 26/6/02: 9)

The developers expected the Matrix to take on landmark status and make a 'positive urban statement'. They had identified a desire for apartments designed and marketed through distinctive architectural and artistic qualities; desirable in addition to the

---

[3] This CD-ROM schedule came in a corrugated card box connected with stainless steel bolts. It stressed the conceptual identity of the Matrix as 'art to live in' in digital video clips of the building's exterior and interior views. The video portray form *in* the cityscape, where the interiors, as indicated by the architect, form a key aspect of the view from the street. The spatial and psychic affinities with the ordered and interiorised Vienna Secession *gesamtkunstwerk* and Mackintosh's houses are clear.

other applicable criteria, such as location, luxury (provided here through large room volumes and a high grade finish) and exclusivity. The apartments were approved and developed in line with the Council's plans for a cultural quarter in the area. An official is quoted in a newspaper item on the development indicating the central role the building has for the Cowcaddens area:

> Ian Manson, deputy director of Glasgow City Council's Development and Regeneration Services, explains that the Matrix was chosen for its strikingly modern design and use of colour, which epitomises the notion of a creative and artistic quarter. (*Sunday Herald*, 30/6/02, 'Homelife' section, 'Home is where the art is')

Here, the Council Development and Regeneration Office approach to public space is promoted in Mansen's comment on the wider urban design intention that this building supports. He associates the Matrix building with the aim 'to reclaim and invest in neglected areas placing them back into the public realm.' Within the article the architect 'explains' the intensively used 'art to live in' concept using identical key phrases used to market the development:

> The Matrix will be in a state of constant flux, ever changing and responsive in its responses to external and internal influences. Involvement in the architecture by the residents through their daily activities will create instantaneous, unique and ever changing compositions, where the residents are not mere spectators, but are active participants. (ibid.)

In relation to such claims, Dovey's (1999) discussion of 'domestic dreaming' deconstructs the archetypes employed in the marketing of the various productions of 'home'. Such universal images associate hearths, for example, with safety and comfort. In their 'reduction' to advertising text (a response to the growing quest for authenticity) the archetypes are fragmented. For Dovey (1999: 148)

> [t]he question of authenticity is an ontological one which entails a commitment to the ambiguities of experience; it joins the construction of new meanings to the excavation of old ones. While the proliferation of archetypal imagery holds the promise of a deeper dwelling experience, the imperatives of economic exchange contradict any resolution. Exchange value is served not by the satisfaction of desire but by the ongoing production of envy.

The Matrix urban block exemplifies the multiple local influences shaping Glasgow's gentrification. An element of the September 2004 'Doors Open Day', it is also a key development of the official cultural quarter which it announces so clearly, and a continuation of the G99 theme of the city as a work of art through its marketing as an art work in the landscape.

Figure 5.5: Interior as gallery, city as work of art: Interior/exterior Matrix viewpoints

This is especially important as the flats are marketed as fulfilling desires of *participation* in an aesthetically distinctive domestic architecture, one designed to appeal to the minimalist ascetic sensibility associated with the placeless global aesthetic of the urban service sector elite (Castells 2002). During the Doors Open Day tour of the Matrix the lead architect referred to the 'phenomenology' of the building in relation to the coloured light drawn in from the interior courtyard and the larger windows lighting the 'interior street' (corridor). While leading a tour of the exterior, the design team artist, Richard Wright, in explaining the coloured panels in the Cowcaddens Road exterior, conveyed his intention to achieve a 'painterly', 'landscape' effect; to apply such attributes to the building understood as a sculptural form and a frozen 'mobile'.

Figure 5.6: The painterly landscape: art object, source of social inclusion, gentrification driver?

These representational discourses resonate with key themes in Ley's (2003) essay on 'artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification'. He notes Richard Florida's (2002) thesis of the sustainable economic growth built on dynamic and regenerating 'creative clusters' relies on the pre-existing dynamics of gentrification to develop a creative element of the urban imaginary, with successful gentrification as the base for *assumptions* about the self-reproducing drivers of urban economies. For Ley, the focus on gentrification in this powerful new urban imaginary is informed by Bourdieu's (1984: 6) observations on the 'stylisation of life' where 'cultural consecration does indeed confer on the objects, persons and situations that it touches a sort of ontological promotion akin to a transubstantiation'. Bourdieu's analysis of art as the manifestation of positions within the artistic field as a whole, as a joint creation is crucial to his view of gentrification: 'it is not just the creation of the artist, other than in a crude material sense, for its value has to be received and confirmed in an intersubjective art world' (2003: 2532). Ley thus defines a key process, arguing that 'learning the field of gentrification is facilitated by a cadre of cultural intermediaries in real estate, travel, cuisine, the arts and home decorating' (2003: 2538). It can be noted here how G99, the Lighthouse centre, national policies on design quality and wider participation in architectural consultation and education

depict how an even broader range of intermediaries have come to structure the local field of gentrification. More specifically, as noted earlier, this process can be further interpreted as reliant on the awareness of a key group of clients of the promotion and publication of the *illusio* central to the architectural field's management of its internal claims for autonomy and the status of an art profession. Indeed, an assumption made early on in the establishment of the G99 programme must have been of a sufficient public interest in the outcomes of such internal field struggles. Arguing that the 'cultural producer has little or no control over an induced market' Ley points to the tragic recuperation of artists' attempts to refuse universal exchange:

> There has been movement from festivals to festival markets, from cultural production to cultural economies, to an intensified economic colonisation of the cultural realm, to the representation of the creative city, not as a means of redemption but as a means of economic accumulation. (2003: 2542)

Thus, it can be argued that the conception of buildings as art works, and the telltale trace of artists in an area, are the main drivers of a corrosive dedifferentiation of place. When an entire city is powerfully represented as a work of art, a masterpiece in the throes of a cultural renaissance, it can be suggested that its more enabled gentrification is one of the assured outcomes, alongside the decline of its marginal spaces.[4]

The representations of the second category of residential development, the restored historic building with consecrated design elements, include Glasgow's elaborate bars and restaurants set up within the architecture and ornamentation of Victorian city centre buildings. In the local design and image-oriented press (most characteristically in the *Sunday Herald*) regular articles during 1999 and since featured new businesses like *The Corinthian* in Ingram Street. One key booster article described a process of alchemical magic, the visual rupture resulting from the building's new use as a high class bar:

> Wedged unnoticed for years between the TSB and a hotel on Ingram Street, the former bank and court building now stands out like a beacon among the brickdust and

[4] A related point was perhaps revealed in artist, Adrian Wizniewski's comment in 2001 that the city's redeveloped Centre for Contemporary Art had 'too much architecture'; artists may not want to hang work there as the spatial complexity and design impact was overpowering (BBC News 25th Oct. 2001). Thus it seems gentrification pressures can overwhelm even the traditionally subdued and purified spaces of artistic display.

> scaffolding of a city in chaos. A grade-A listed building, its magnificent façade boasts an Italian doric pilastrade and free-standing classical figures. Time for Glaswegians to lift their eyes above shop window height, where the wealth of architectural detail abounds. Built by David Hamilton in 1852 ... many of the impressive sculptures were added by highly acclaimed architects and artists such as James Salmon, John Thomas and James Ballantine, to create one of Britain's finest Victorian interiors. ('The Italian Job', *Sunday Herald*, 21/3/99)

This image of transformation links the new stylish use of the building to an awakening of perception, to the urgency of such an awakening. A similar example is the advertisement for another restored development further along Ingram Street at the corner of Glassford Street. This relied upon the established theme of a new relationship between the exciting modernity of city living and an appreciation of architectural accomplishment:

> There is a real buzz about living in the city centre — stepping out of the front door and into the throng and bustle, a two-minute walk to get the Sunday papers and a 10-minute walk to work. For these and other reasons, city-centre living is popular again and young, successful urbanites are no longer looking to move out, but up. Where previously they may have aspired to a big house in the suburbs, today their ultimate goal is a penthouse apartment ... one of Glasgow's finest Victorian buildings and feature a façade of ashlar stones with carved features. Formerly the Trustees Savings Bank of Glassford Street, it was designed in 1865 by acclaimed architect John James Burnett. The sculptures at what was one the entrance to the building depict Truth and Justice, and were carved by renowned stonemason William Sheriff. ('Hot in the City', *Sunday Herald*, 10/3/02)

The terms 'façade' and 'ashlar', and the reference to 'acclaimed' architects, distinguishes these buildings for those in search of specific architectural qualities. These examples indicate a newly developed marketing language of desire and value, a lexicon for an urban lifestyle enframed within consecrated architectures. Later examples have used the imagery of an extreme exclusivity alongside a 'street' sensibility, others utilised explicit promises of designs embodying erotic attraction and urban riskiness. Such imagery feeds into recent tourist board advertisements of Glasgow as a weekend adventure hangout for 'design obsessives' in search of 'gawkitecture' and 'über cool' bars. Such spatial representations resonate with

Boyer's (1995: 100) analysis of the recent period of 'fantastic appearances in contemporary spatial politics'; the valorisation of traditional architectures in a moment of acute urban disruption and regeneration:

> Images and traditional architectural forms have come to be the standard by which many contemporary cityscapes are now judged. In this leap backward over modernism, the nostalgic arts of city building and historic preservation operate like the 19th century genre of tableaux vivants and panoramas ... by presenting highly selective cuts on or reframings of urban reality ... The notion of the city as a comprehensive whole and the necessary contact among all citizens that democracy requires are being outflanked by fragmentation into privatised visual environments of distinctive entertainment and consumption.

For Boyer, restructuring through urban design and historic preservation had, by the mid 90s, produced a common perception of 'what late 20th century urban space looks like'. And, concurrent with this newly standardised experience of dense urban design,

> [a] strange sense of urbanism now invades the city, full of inconsistencies, fractures and voids. Homogenised zones valued and protected for their architectural and scenographic effects are juxtaposed and played off against areas of superdevelopment, while monumental architecture containers have turned the urban street inward and established their own set of public spaces and services within privatised layers of shops, restaurants, offices and condominiums. In between and to the back of beyond, lie the areas of the city left to decay and to decline, until the day when they too will be recycled and redesigned for new economic and cultural uses. (ibid.:105)

The generic transformations of urban space are exemplified to the degree this depiction accurately describes Glasgow. The city is now, to a considerable degree, represented primarily in terms of its dense central area of high status, globalised brands (*Diesel*, *Hugo Boss*, *Ralph Lauren*, *Versace*, *Escada*, *Emporio Armani*) which line streets knitted back into the core fabric of the centre by the spread of apartments designed to appeal to varied urban lifestyle expectations of city life. To the west the nascent International Financial Services District spreads out along the river providing a seamlessly perfected vista of invariant difference; a visual imagery of architectural modernity (see examples in appendix 1 and the detail of their spatial relation to the city) for the 'weightless' global players of the Scottish media industry

who will project the city's image both symbolically and telematically. An architecture of flows. Outside this core, the city is only slowly improving. Although some significant developments are in the pipeline, developed through democratically established local management committees, the parts of the city in which the Area Festivals took place during 1999 have developed little architectural connection with the culturally centralised Glasgow described in this chapter.

Figure 5.7: The face of the financial district: a smooth architecture of flows

The resonance with Lefebvre's themes noted earlier is clear. The spectacular commercial architectures and both the converted office block apartments in historic frames and the neo-Modern Matrix 'statement' block emerge from the central economic and cultural framing of the urban as the desirable space of modernity. The advertisements represent the city as units of space and reveal its simultaneous conception and ordering as a space of upper level consumption and money-mediated

occupation. The advertisements emphasise design values and artistic occupation deploying an imagery of qualitative difference to move units of space with original featured rooms or loft-style gallery spaces. In close up, these cultural spaces resolve into real estate, units of exchange value structuring a landscape presented by cultural intermediaries as visually accessible use value, providing a fleeting ownership of 'their' city. The UGC cinema and the Radisson Hotel, brutal impositions upon the body's sense of urban scale and sense, clearly resonate with Lefebvre's depiction of spaces of domination. At a more general level, the city's planning policy, one committed to its appearance on the international tourist map as a site of culturalisation, as a work of urban art, affirms the appearance of such spaces of 'inherently violent' abstraction.

When considered beside the concerns in architectural theory and social theory with which the thesis opened such outcomes offer few grounds for disputing their shared concern with the decline of the sources of sustained place sense and value though some manner of stable form. At the same time, the appeal of the imagery of the multi-linked cyborg subject emerging from radical cultural analyses of the city and architecture can only offer idealised images of future nomadic engagements within the accelerating city. In terms of the G99, such themes found little expression as a result of the festival's overriding emphasis on exhibition and formal education. While, in the broader sense of such urban relationships to consumption and to new modes and networks of sociation, the re-densified Glasgow's city managers aspire to speed up and engage more with the globalised information economy (the richer, administrative end of an old material economy) and so its spaces are wired to enable the constant experience of co-presence at a distance. Here, then, the festival of architecture and design could have engaged with questions more directly concerned with the city as social space rather than as a repository of objects. The analysis offered here in relation to its focus on form and consumption, one not without aspects which can be interpreted as socially inclusive, has hopefully drawn out some of the key reasons for this refusal.

Many key themes inform this discussion, especially the linkage of aestheticised spaces of urban regeneration to the directly excluding social structuring central to the post-Fordist economic order. Proposing city form as a source of inclusion has to be

evaluated in relation to the privileged views of those who own the architectures of the valorised central city with floor-to-ceiling glass wall perspectives of a powerfully reimagined Glasgow. It is in relation to these themes that the issues raised in relation to the specifically architectural discourse on place sense and meaning can be developed in relation to G99 and latter changes in Glasgow's urban character. For the socially excluded, appreciating the central city's form during the continuing process of its spatial segregation through gentrification, is to be asked to feel 'at home' in a world reliant on their absence; their exclusion from real participation. The G99 promoted architecture, especially that of the historic city centre, as a common heritage, while simultaneously contributing to its valorisation and aestheticisation as a newly spectacular place of gentrified (and thoroughly segregated) residence and privatised consumption.

The previous chapters began with an introduction to some main concerns informing this critical analysis of the architecture and design festival in 1999. Enduring questions over social and personal relationships to built environments were discussed in relation to the implications of current policies and trends of urban transformation and improvement. Aspects of the relationship of social inclusion and urban regeneration policies to core post-industrial characteristics were outlined in arguments linking the aesthetic redesign of urban cores to the structural requirements of a socially bifurcating post-industrial order. The range of enduring and worsening inequalities in the studies discussed in this chapter serves to support Byrne's (1999) thesis of the excluding essence of postindustrial economic regeneration and the resulting division into contrasting experiences of space related directly to level of inclusion.

Considering the debates on the question of dwelling and place sense, and the issues raised in opposition to the terms of those arguments, the G99 festival, in its exclusive emphasis upon 'appreciating' heritage, would most generally have had an impact on the spread of knowledge of the city's history. It would have raised awareness of the formal and symbolic sources of Alexander Thomson's architecture, for example, and encouraged a socially broader consumption of a distinctive set of 'designed' goods.

The important G99 claim to be an element in a developing refusal of the architectural elitism that so clearly marks the design field is interesting as the Housing Association design examples suggest G99 could have contributed alongside general aestheticisation trends to the evidently higher standards of provision in this area. I would argue, however, that it is Jameson's (1997) identification and rejection of a negatively Utopian, constructive relation to modernity through architecture that describes the festival's real generation of architectural values and ethos. The regard for the rightness and affectual properties of abstracted and isolated form, constructed and affirmed within the social and professional circles from which the festival's programme would emerge, was uncritically carried over into the main G99 events and emerged as exhibits represented as 'accessible, relevant and vital'. A key point here is that concerns with the immediate human relation to architecture's materiality, raised in varied writings on contemporary experience of the built environment, cannot be addressed through inclusionary visual participation alone. The cogent interpretations of fragmented urban spheres, of the reduced centrality of bodily propinquity I discussed in the first chapter, contain disruptive and liberatory implications that go beyond any such simplistically reconstructive characterisation of an urban ontology.

In the first chapter the thesis set out aspects of social and cultural changes that have been pivotal to understanding the increased emphasis on architecture, especially in relation to the regeneration of urban economies and city cores in the so-called post-industrial period. A main driving force behind the rapidity and, to a degree, the forms, of the changes in typical urban experience was identified as globalised and neo-liberalised acceleration of capital accumulation and circulation through profitable construction, investment and consumption circuits. These are strongly related to tourism patterns, city state ambitions to regenerate central urban space according to high quality norms of a modern 'Europeanity' (Delanty & Jones 2002). I indicated that Glasgow's cultural regeneration strategy had been rooted in the protection and promotion of the city's historic architectures, that the city's high architecture was, in common with many cities, associated with its ideal character as a post-industrial city of suitable settings for a service class with specific cultural and spatial lifestyle requirements. Considered beside the transformation to a tourist

destination and the experiences of Glasgow residents in gazing upon other 'cultural' cities, I referred to the array of factors, such as increased city centre population density, the localised provision and taste for 'loft'-living and the multiple and interlinking sustainability requirements which additionally contribute to a changed social and aesthetic landscape. I argued a city centralisation trend linked to real economic imperatives to compete both touristically and in terms of mobile information firms (their mobile personnel's ease within spatial homogeneity and legibility) ran risks of generic architectural and spatial formation, of the decline of meaningful place sense. These general contextual themes were argued to inform aspects of the G99 festival's social agenda to provide rooted and substantial involvement in a rapidly changing city; a city with disastrous experiences of transformations in traffic circulation and residential relocation. With reference to Bourdieu's work on cultural domination, it was suggested G99's public policy of social inclusion 'through' the high culture of consecrated architecture was based in assumptions about built form that obscured its role in symbolic domination. A reading of Bourdieu's later field theory was used to illustrate the architectural profession's dynamics of self-presentation and accumulation of symbolic capital through assertions of autonomous artistic creativity. I argued this increasingly common representation of architecture, one utilising the *doxa* and *illusio* integral to the field, had determined and shaped the style and content of G99 exhibitions, a further factor resulting in the overwhelming aestheticisation of the festival's presentation of architecture. Further, the symbolically powerful presentation of the city as a work of art raised the question of access to such 'art works' in a situation where the conditions of access are not equally distributed. Understood here to signify a capacity to engage in a critical appreciation of an array of issues related to built form, access to Glasgow's high architecture clearly involves practices that are not as excluding as those implicated in accessing high art. One is unavoidable and everyday, though not based in contemplative attention, the other is of a special and isolated order, consecrated to various degrees in galleries and museums. The city's architecture ('revealed' through the G99) was represented as both an accessible and consecrated cultural formation open to an appreciative visual appropriation by all, the city was represented as a space of contemplation. This portrayal and the emerging narratives of distinctive spaces and practices, of residential occupation as

art works, is informed by Bourdieu's (1984) key argument that the differentiated consumption of works of art legitimates social difference. Further, the category of symbolic power applied within studies of aestheticised landscapes illustrates the class strategies of absorption and display of particular tastes in decorative industrial architectures redeveloped as lofts (Dovey 1999, 2002, Hills 2002, Ley 2003). Central city districts are increasingly fragmented and gentrified spaces, whose socially exclusive quality is expressed in a conserved fabric of authentic place. As a result of the reoccupation of the central city by service sector professionals, it was this very fabric that was held up by G99 as an aestheticised source of inclusive visual participation. In its attention to exemplary representations, sites and spaces of the new city of architecture and design after 1999, this chapter followed a similar line of argument in relation to the new leisure spaces of the city, and more particularly, the residential architecture of Glasgow's Merchant City and the emerging 'cultural quarters' orbiting the city's officially designated Central Outstanding Conservation Area.

Throughout the chapter the main focus was on representations, how these operate in urban design, for example, to create a new lexicon and unified experience of place, how their use can reveal the terms in which space gets remade and desired (in relation to the publication of the terms of the architectural field as advertising) and how such powerful discourses reduce and deny the plurality of urban space to an aesthetic object. To return to a core theme of G99 and this thesis, Glasgow understood as a place of multiple occupation and heterogeneity, includes, as I indicated, spaces of terrible social exclusion. The character of urban development at the centre illustrated here offers few indications that what is being remade can constitute either a place or a space of transformative social inclusion.

Conclusion

With a sense of the plausible limits of the thesis in relation to a conclusion, and without investing the G99 festival itself with an inflated importance and causal relationship to the city's latter changes, we must be cautious of accepting too many of the G99 assertions about material culture and thus making a critical evaluation of what may be merely enthusiastic ambitions and wishful thinking by design professionals and advocates. We also need to be wary of under-appreciating the real social effects of such spatialising promotional discourses. As I have illustrated, the recent engagements with Bourdieu's studies of culture and domination within the architecture literature has drawn attention to the manner in which social space tends to structure physical space. This thesis responded in part to this development in its attention to the social and theoretical contexts which structure and inform the representation of the paradigm city of cultural regeneration. With due acknowledgement, then, to the limits of any one interpretation, an argument can be made that suggests G99 contributed to the ongoing legitimation of the dynamic and contradictory culturalisation of the city, its presently inherent social segregation, stigmatisation and exclusion within a dominating context of an urban art work.

The presentation of Glasgow's exhibitionary and spectacular capitalist origins laid out a prehistory of the service and tourist city economy. Later chapters outlined the centralisation and spectacularisation of the city's new economy such that the present moment is revealed to be reliant upon an architectural monumentalism of the urban economy. I've shown how the wider theme of aestheticisation, especially as deployed in the discourses and practices of urban regeneration, raises serious questions about the forms of inclusion inherent in agendas of widening enthusiasm for, and appreciation of, architectural and design aesthetics. When considered through Bourdieu's categories of the management of social reproduction and the real routes to involvement in the cultural field, these agendas of cultural diffusion, social

unification and participation through design consumption fail to persuasively describe a radicalisation of the occupation of the city as a work of art, a main and sustained G99 representation of the city as edifying object within its pedagogy of taste. G99 advanced a 'preferred reading' that this thesis interpreted as promoting a limited and routinised attitude of appreciation for a cityscape socially constructed to represent a greatly divided city.

Based in a representative sample of the G99 exhibitions and events, I presented a cultural festival as an element in the developing resemanticisation of the city as a centre of design culture on a par with the paradigm of Barcelona. The promotion of some particular and some more generalised contemporary attitudes and rhetorics surrounding design consumption as simultaneously civilising and inclusive indicates an aspect of the changes to the cultural policy of the city. Ironically, in asserting an arts policy of social inclusion the city has both repudiated its traditional emphasis on consecrated visual art as an elitist activity while simultaneously inverting the policy in its attitude to public space. This contradiction is one driven by the pressures to ensure Glasgow's central city is interpreted as an art work that tourists will pay to consume; this requires the resematicisation of the city's high architecture as both consecrated and universally accessible.

While this study has attempted an informed and sustained discussion of a discrete social context using a wide range of theoretical and analytical work its main results have been to engage with these literatures and think through a critical assessment of the G99 year and its relationship to the ongoing and radical changes in the city of Glasgow. The key assessment must be that the G99 carried on the development of a new imaginary city identity for the city. Both the rhetoric and real intentions to contribute to symbolic processes of social inclusion have correspondences with the social theory identifying and affirming the everyday foundations of ethical life within strongly aestheticised relationships. Thus, while it is possible the festival's predominant effect was to drive on the colonisation of the city by gentrifiers, there is a persuasive literature that can be read to suggest the intentions and outcomes of such a festival of seeing, consumption and aestheticisation equip urban dwellers for the as yet speculative and emerging modes of social action in fluid communities.

Within a historical frame stretching back to the development of the earliest capitalist architectures, through the temporary forms of exhibitionary celebrations to the present day's maximalisation of urban visuality, G99 was approached as another example of the periodic bursts of spectacularisation the city has experienced. The representation of the city as a work of art, and the social transformation of the both the central city and the wider totality, confirms how such emphases assist the transformation of the city's social relationships as the central city becomes both a place of awe-struck tourism and symbolically-powerful residential and leisure space occupation. Within this reimagination, and its impacts on the physical reorganisation of the city, the comparison with Barcelona is revealed as a desire to be as toured, to generate an equivalent regard for the forms of the city. Here, the architecture of place is for tourists and locals, that of global culture for a knowledge industry elite. Such architectural differentiation in cities represents the deracinating global economy in a manner of spectacular variations on the restricted themes acceptable to the mobile service class. Thus, Glasgow's assertion of an international architecture of the information age establishes a symbolic cityscape of the new economy at the centre, emplaced within the conserved heritage of public memory designed in its own time to announce the city's modernity and connectedness while providing a civic frame for the communal requirements of urban public life. Whether architecture today can accomplish what was claimed for it in the nineteenth century is a question that would require a large scale qualitative study of a representative sample of the city's population. What this thesis has sought to do is to place the events within a theoretical frame drawn from the most applicable aspects of current theory and analysis within the overlapping fields of sociology, architecture, cultural studies and geographical thought. What has emerged is a representation of Glasgow as a paradigm example of the contemporary space of regenerated modernity with all its contradictory outcrops of spectacle and mundane life.

Postscript

The G99 series of exhibitions at the Lighthouse and the other venues primarily consisted of photographs, architects' sketches, drawings, computer generated images and models of buildings. The key frame of reference was the visual staging of predominately elite architectures. These images were presented quite explicitly as art

works, in spaces of consecration and aestheticisation, at a time when such spaces are understood as key locations of social inclusion. The two contrasted images of Glasgow situated at the beginning of this study, whose relevance will hopefully have been suggested already, constitute an example of a core theme of the study but this requires to be clarified. They both represent their subjects accurately though in different ways. As popular prints for tourists and locals, they are similarly based in production for a mass market. The digital architecture collage is a modern equivalent of the print and is commonly found in localised form in European tourist destinations. It replaces a popular hand-drawn montage that appeared first in 1990 laid out to stress the vertical aspect of Glasgow's architecture. The recovered horizon of the new version realigns its representational format with the print that illustrates the city's 1901 International Exhibition. This image illustrated the city's exhibition as a wooded, almost Arcadian landscape of palaces, while that produced in 2001 compresses and shrinks the city's high architecture into a gestalt unit of architectural grandeur: an equally dreamlike spectacle. While the 1901 print depicts the white and gold exhibition hall, a real, if temporary, building, the later image depicts a doubly unreal scene. This is one which both cannot *be seen* and in which there is no impression of place. An absence of signs of life and any sense of living space reduces the vibrant city to one impossible perspective, that of commodified space and tourist memory. The 1901 landscape's elision of the real (less picturesque) city's industrial character, which both surrounded it and was its driving rationale, is mirrored in the modern version which utterly depopulates Glasgow. These depictions are snapshots of the powerful representational imagination of Glasgow in its originary and renewed exhibitionary development. To return to some earlier themes, the 1901 image shows Glasgow's modern architecture; spectacular spaces of leisure and disciplining exhibition within historicised forms, the contemporary, artificially lit version, clusters together the architectures of exhibition and entertainment as glowing phenomena of the tourist gaze. In their visualisation of the cultural agendas of the city at different moments in the same mode of production, both are potent representations of the utopian architectures of capitalist unification and progress, of their 'way of embracing disorder through order' (Tafuri 1976: 48).

Appendix 1: High profile developments in Glasgow: c. 2005-2010

Figure 1: Chipperfield Architects' BBC Scotland Headquarters (foreground)

Figure 2 'Glasgow Harbour' residential development, north side of the Clyde

Figure 3: Proposed hotel and office development in central city business

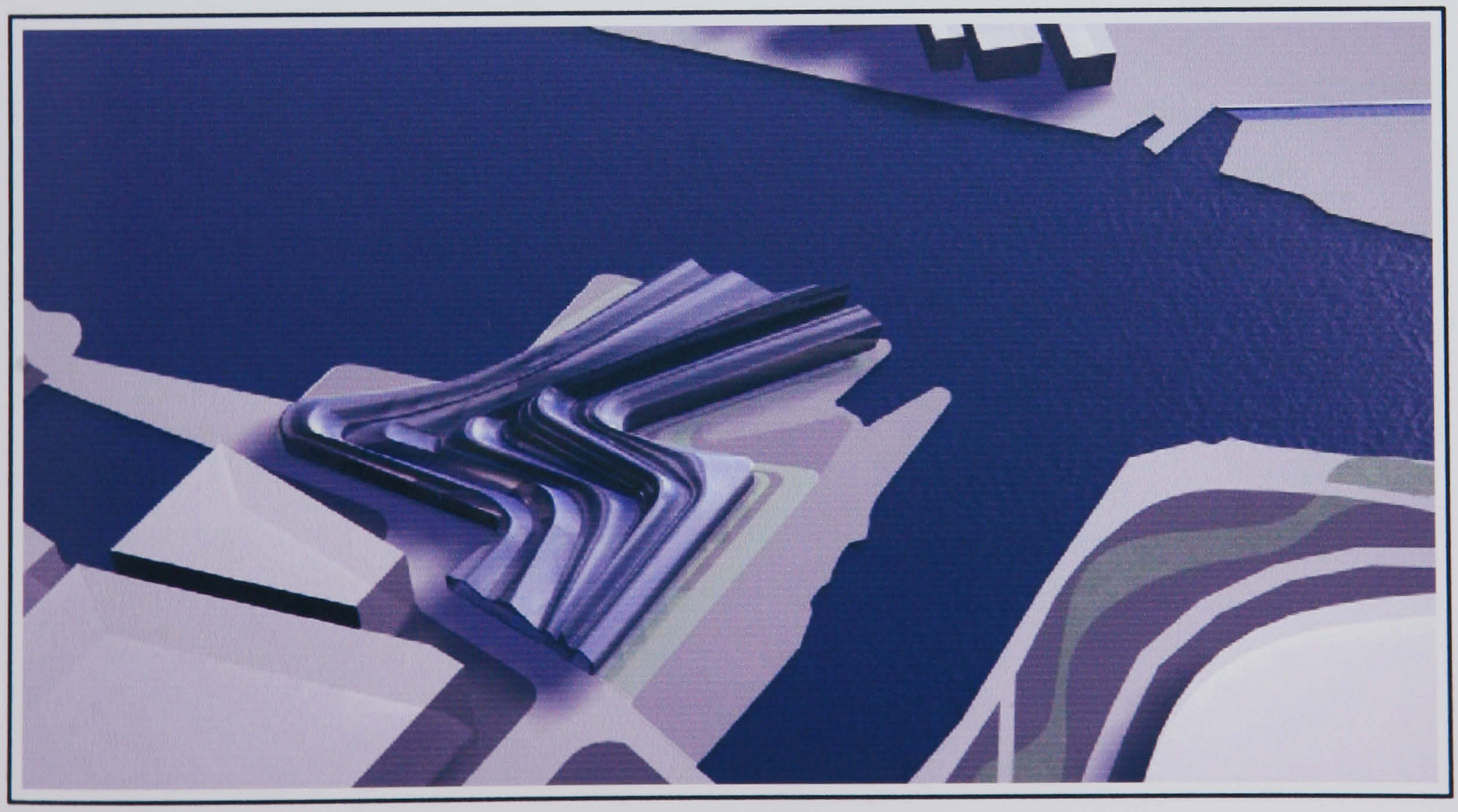


Figure 4: Clydeside Transport Museum by Zaha Hadid Architects (birds eye view)

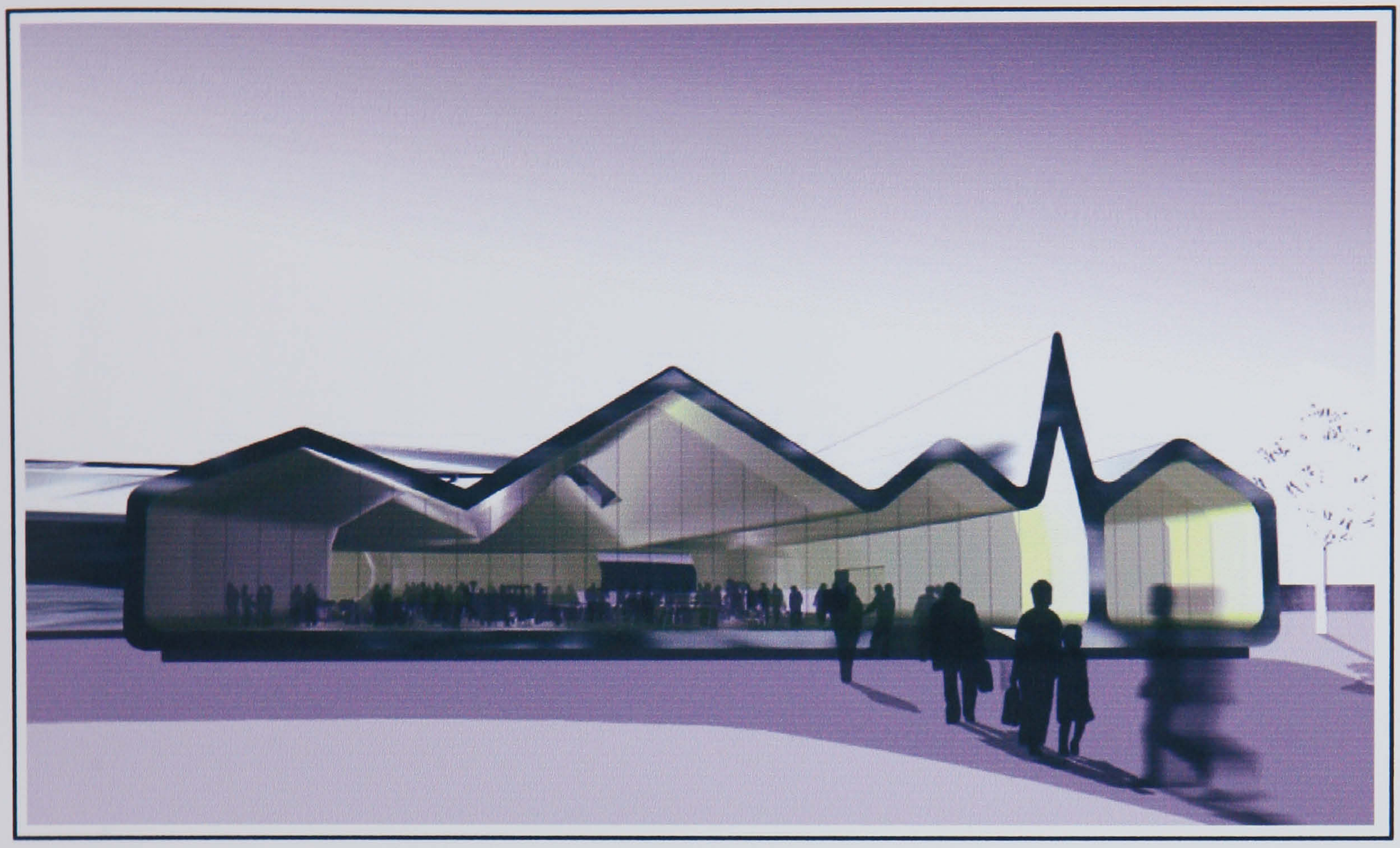


Figure 5: Entrance elevation, Transport Museum by Zaha Hadid Architects

Figure 6: North Clydeside sectoral plan for riverside projects

Figure 7: Map of the Central Outstanding Conservation Area (COCA)

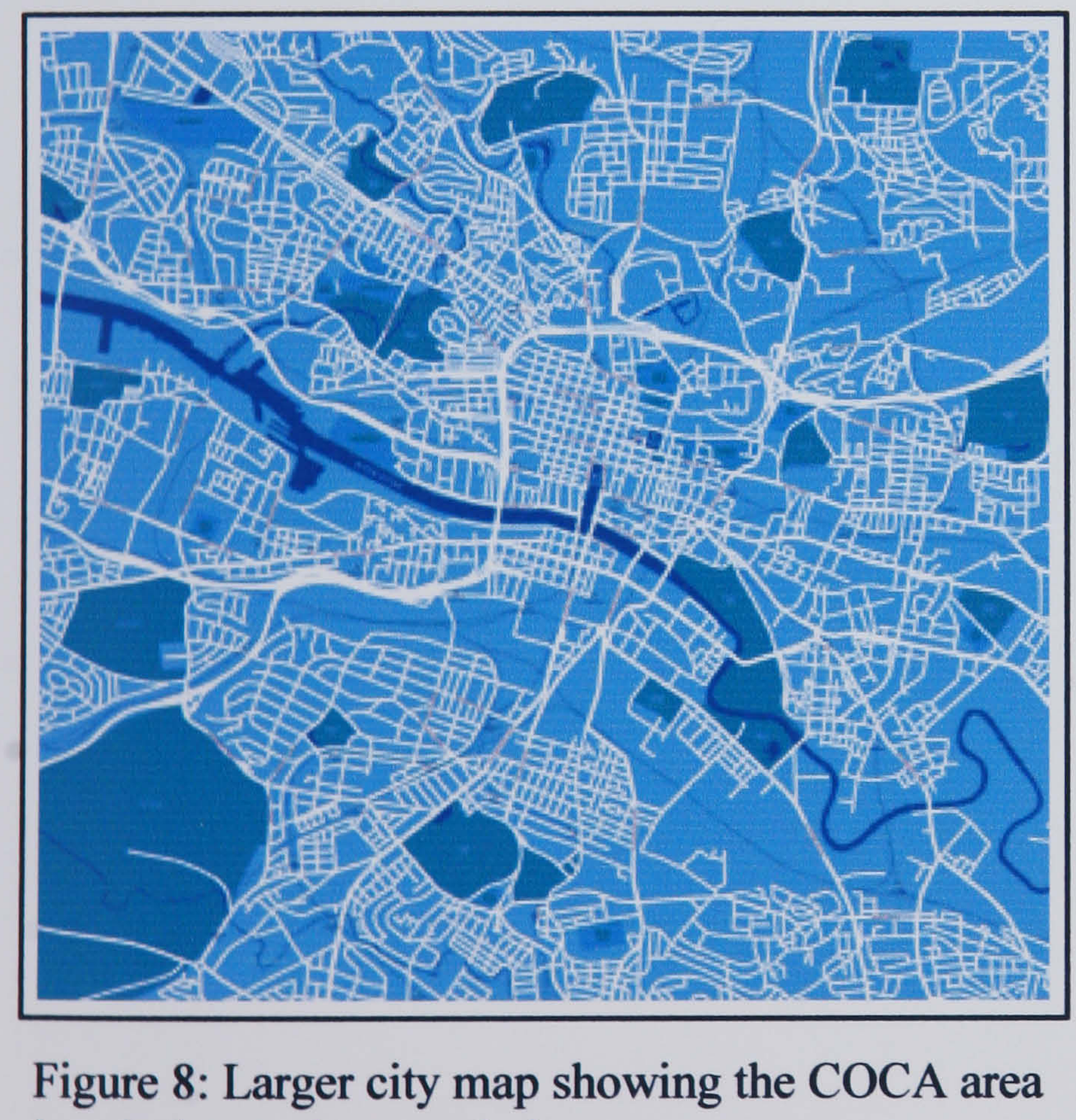


Figure 8: Larger city map showing the COCA area in relation to the actual city

Appendix 2: Socially-rented and private developments (2000-2004)

Figure 1: Threshold of New Gorbals Housing Association: mixed social/private

Figure 2: Elevation of the Matrix apartments: the gentrifying 'painterly landscape'

Figure 3: Completed 'Lancefield Quay' apartments, north Clyde

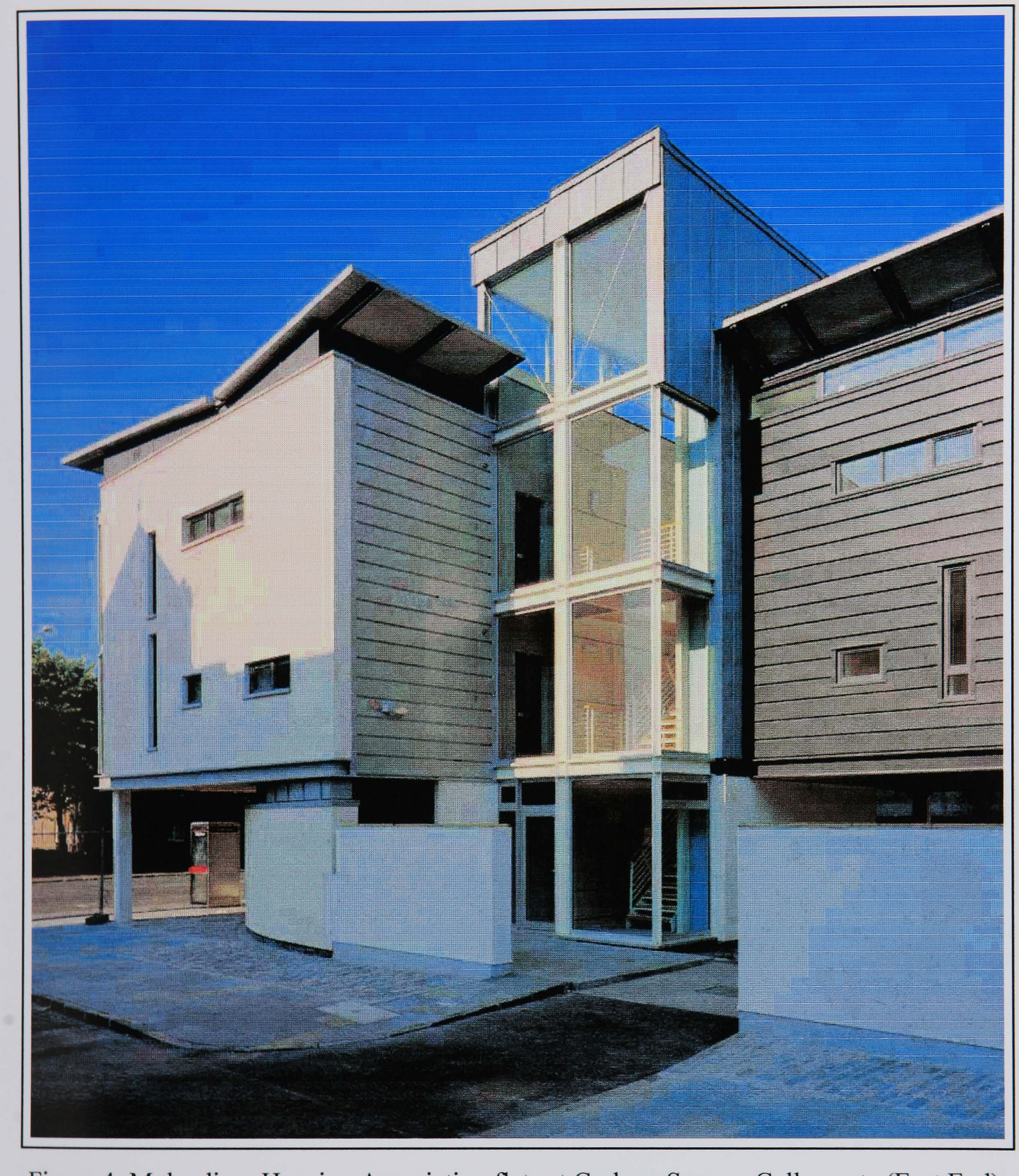


Figure 4: Molendinar Housing Association flats at Graham Square, Gallowgate (East End)

Figure 5: Private apartments on a 1902 office building in the new Financial District

Figure 6: Stylised penthouse roofline at the Pinnacle development, city centre

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, T. W. (1991) 'Culture Industry Reconsidered', in *The Culture Industry*, London, Routledge

Ahrentzen, S. (1996) 'The F Word in Architecture: Feminist Analyses in/of/for Architecture', in T Dutton & L. Mann (eds.) *op cit.*

Amin, A., Massey, D. & Thrift, N. (2001) *Cities For the Many Not the Few*, Bristol, Policy Press

Amin, A. & Thrift, N. (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, London, Polity

Andreotti, L. (1996) 'The Urban Politics of the Internationale Situationniste' (1957-1972), in Andreotti, L. & Costa, X. (eds.) *Situationists, Art, Politics, Urbanism*, Barcelona, ACTAR

Andreotti, L. & Costa, X. (eds.) (1996) *Theory of the Dérive and Other Situationist Writings on the City*, Barcelona, ACTAR

Ankerl, G. (1981) *Experimental Sociology of Architecture*, The Hague, Mouton

Appadurai, A. (1986) 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Atlee, A. (2002) 'Zoo Architects: Tramway Out of the Limelight', *Mac Journal*, 5: 138-143

Bagguley, P., Mark-Lawson, M., Shapiro, D., Urry, J., Walby, S. & Warde, A. (1990) *Restructuring: Place, Class and Gender*, London, Sage

Bailey, N. & Robertson, D. (1997) 'Housing Renewal, Urban Policy and Gentrification', *Urban Studies*, 34, 4: 561-578

Belcher, D. (2001) 'The Hole in the Ground Gang', *The Herald*, November 14th

Balibrea, M. P. (2001) 'Urbanism, Culture and the Post-industrial City: Challenging the "Barcelona Model"', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 2, 2: 187-210

Barley, N. (ed.) (1999a) *The Lighthouse: Scotland's Centre for Architecture Design and the City*, London, August Media

(1999b) (ed.) *Homes for the Future*, London, August Media

Bauman, Z. (1994) 'Desert Spectacular', in K. Tester (ed.) *The Flâneur*, London, Routledge

(1998a) *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Cambridge, Polity

(1998b) *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*, London, Open University

(2001) *Community*, Cambridge, Polity

PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL

Baxter, N. (2002) 'Building a Nation?: The State of Architecture and Planning', in G. Hassan & C. Warhurst (eds.) *Anatomy of the New Scotland. Power, Influence and Change*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing

Beauregard, R. & Body-Gendrot, S. (eds.) (1999) *The Urban Moment. Cosmopolitan Essays on the Late-Twentieth-Century City*, Thousand Oaks, Sage

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London, Sage

(1998) *Democracy Without Enemies*, Cambridge, Polity

Belcher, D. (2001) 'The hole in the ground gang' *The Herald*, 14th November issue

Benedikt, M. (2000) 'Class Notes', *Harvard Design Magazine*, 11: 1-7

Benjamin, W. (1989) *Charles Baudelaire. A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, London, Verso

Bennett, T. (1996) *The Birth of the Museum*, London, Routledge

Benson, J. & Roe, M. (eds.) (2000) *Urban Lifestyles: Spaces Places People*, Rotterdam, A. A. Balkema

Bentley, I. (1999) *Urban Transformations: Power, People and Urban Design*, London, Routledge

Berger, J. (1972) *Ways of Seeing*, London, Penguin Books/BBC

Berking, H. (1996) 'Solidary Individualism', in S. Lash, B. Szerszynski & B. Wynne (eds.) *Risk, Environment & Modernity*, London, Sage

Bianchini, F. & Parkinson, M. (eds.) (1993) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Bird, J. (1993) 'Distopia on the Thames', in J. Bird et al (eds.) *op cit.*

Bird, J. Curtis, B. Putnam, T. Robertson, G. & Tickner, L. (eds.) (1993) *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, London, Routledge

Blau, J. R. (1984) *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Bloomfield, J. & Bianchini, F. (2001) 'Cultural Citizenship and Urban Governance in Western Europe', in N. Stevenson (ed.) *op cit.*

Bognar, B. (1999) 'Design in the Land of "Creative Chaos": The Emergence of New Modernism in Japanese Architecture', in H. Castle (ed.) *op cit.*

Bohigas, O. (1999) 'Ten Points on an Urbanistic Methodology', *Journal of Architecture*, 4, Autumn: 240-244

Böhme, G. (2003) 'Contribution to the Critique of the Aesthetic Economy', *Thesis Eleven*, 73: 71-82

Bonnett, A. (1989) 'Situationism, Geography, and Poststructuralism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 7: 131-146

(1992) 'Art, Ideology and Everyday Space: Subversive Tendencies from DaDa to Postmodernism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10: 69-86

(1996) 'The Transgressive Geographies of Daily Life', *Transgressions*, 2/3: 20-37

Borden, I. (1999) 'Resurrection Politics: Modernism and Architecture in the Twentieth Century and Beyond', in H. Castle (ed.) *Modernism and Modernization in Architecture*, London, Academy Editions

(2001) 'New Babylonians: From the Avant-Garde to the Everyday', *The Journal of Architecture*, 6, September: 129-133

(2003) 'What is Radical Architecture?', in M. Miles & T. Hall (eds.) *Op cit.*

Borden, I. & McCreery, S. (eds.) (2001) 'New Babylonians', *Architectural Design*, 71: 3

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction*, London, Routledge

(1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Polity

(1993) *The Field of Cultural Production*, Cambridge, Polity

Bourdieu, P. & Darbel, A. (1991) *The Love of Art*, Cambridge, Polity

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L (1994) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge, Polity

Boyer, M. (1992) 'Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Sea Port', in M. Sorkin (ed.) *Op cit.*

(1994) *The City of Collective Memory*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press

(1995) 'The Great Frame-Up. Fantastic Appearances in Contemporary Spatial Politics', in H. Liggett & D. Perry (eds.) *Spatial Practices*, Thousand Oaks, Sage

Boyle, M. & Hughes, G. (1991) 'The Politics of the Representation of 'the Real': Discourses From the Left on Glasgow's role as the European City of Culture, 1990', *Area*, 23, 3: 217-228

Boyle, M., Fyfe, N. & McNeill, D. (1999) 'From Critic to Practitioner: An Interview with Deyan Sudjic', *Environment and Planning A*, 31: 951-958

Boys, J. (1996) '(Mis)representation of Society? Problems in the Relationships Between Architectural Aesthetics and Social Meanings', in S. Palmer & M. Dodson (eds.) (1996) *Design and Aesthetics*, London, Routledge

Branzi, A. (2002) 'Exhibition Design as a Metaphor of a New Modernity', *Lotus International*, 115: 99-101

Brett, D. (1992) *Charles Rennie Mackintosh The Poetics of Workmanship*, London, Reaktion

Bridge, G. & Watson, S. (eds.) (2000) *A Companion to the City*, Oxford, Blackwell

Buck-Morss, S. (1989) *The Dialectics of Seeing*, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press

(1997) 'The City as Dreamworld and Catastrophe', in H. Paetzold (ed.) *op cit.*

Burgers, J. (2000) 'Urban landscapes: On public space in the post-industrial landscape', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15: 145-164

Butler, T. (2003) 'Living in the Bubble: Gentrification and its "Others" in North London', *Urban Studies*, 40, 12: 2469-2486

Buxton, P. (1999) 'Year in, Year out', *Building Design*, December 10th: 12-13

Byrne, D. (1999) *Social Exclusion*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Calcutt, J. (1999) 'No Particular Place to Go', *Sculpture Matters*, 6: 12-13

(2002) 'The Misplaced Aims of Public Art', *Matters*, 15: 10-11

Calvera, A. (2001) 'Design in Barcelona: Its History and its Future in the Globalised Scene', *The Design Journal*, 4, 2: 4-13

Campbell, C. (1989) *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Oxford, Blackwell

Carlson, A. (2002) *Aesthetics and the Environment; The Appreciation of Nature, Art and Architecture*, London, Routledge

Carmona, M. (1998) 'Urban Design and Planning Practice', in C. Greed & M. Roberts (ed.) *op cit.*

(2003) 'Design Policy - A Shifting Agenda', *Urban Design Quarterly*, 88: 16-19

Carr, R. (2000) 'Scottish Design Myths', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 5: 37-42

Castells, M. (1994) 'European Cities, the Informational Society, and the Global Economy', *New Left Review*, 204: 18-32

(1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford, Blackwell

(2002) 'The Space of Flows' in I. Susser (ed.) *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*, Oxford, Blackwell

Castle, H. (1999) 'Burning up the Years: the Revival of British Modernism in the 1990s', in H. Castle (ed.) *op cit.*

(2003) 'New Designs in House Building', *Architectural Design*, 73, 4: 31-34

Castle, H. (ed.) *Modernism and Modernization in Architecture*, Chichester, Academy Editions

Champy, F. (2001) *Sociologie de l'architecture*, Paris, Editions La Découverte

Chaney, D. (1994) *The Cultural Turn*, London, Routledge

(2002) 'Cosmopolitan Art and Cultural Citizenship', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1-2: 157-174

Chapman, T. (1999) 'The Ideal Home Exhibition: An Analysis of Constraints and Conventions in Consumer Choice in British Homes', in J. Hearn & S. Roseneil (eds.) *Consuming Cultures: Power and Resistance*, Houndmills, MacMillan Press

Charlesworth, S. (2000) *A Phenomenology of Working Class Experience*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Charley, J. (1996) 'Sentences Upon Architecture', in *Strangely Familiar. Narratives of Architecture in the City*, London, Routledge

(1997) 'Resisting the End-Game. Capitalism and the Crisis of Architecture', in J. Charlie & L. Luithlen (eds.) *Transformations and Resistance. The 17th Proceedings of the Bartlett International Summer School (BISS) Glasgow 1995*, PATH, University of Strathclyde

(2001) 'Editorial' in *Glaspaper*, 1: 1

(2002) 'Fictitious City', *Mac Journal*, 5: 30-37

Chorney, H. (1990) *City of Dreams: Social Theory and the Urban Experience*, Nelson Canada, Ontario

Clarke, P. W. (1989) 'The Economic Currency of Architectural Aesthetics', in M. Diani & C. Ingraham (eds.) *op cit.*

Cochrane, A. (2000) 'New Labour, New Urban Policy?', *Social Policy Review*, 12: 184-204

Collins, J. (2002a) 'High-Pop: An Introduction', in J. Collins (ed.) *op cit.*

(2002b) 'No (Popular) Place Like Home?', in J. Collins (ed.) *op cit.*

Collins, J. (ed.) (2002) *High-Pop: Making Culture into Popular Entertainment*, Blackwell, Oxford

Colomina, B. (1999) 'The Private Site of Public Memory', *The Journal of Architecture*, 4, 4: 337-360

Constant (1959) 'A Different City For a Different Life', *Internationale Situationniste*, 3: 37-40

(1997) *Constant, New Babylon: art et utopia: textes situationnistes*, Cercle D'art, Paris.

Costa, X. (1998) 'Le grand jeu a venir: Situationist Urbanism', *Daidalos*, 67: 74-81

Crampsey, B. (1988) *The Empire Exhibition of 1938*, Edinburgh, Mainstream

Crang, M. & Thrift, N. (eds.) (2000) *Thinking Space*, London, Routledge

Crary, J. (1990) *Techniques of the Observer*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Crilley, D. (1993a) 'Architecture as Advertising: Constructing the Image of Redevelopment', in G. Kearns & C. Philo (eds.) *op cit.*

(1993b) 'Megastructures and Urban Change: Aesthetics, Ideology and Design', in Knox, P. (ed.) *The Restless Urban Landscape*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall

Crook, S. (1998) 'Minotaurs and Other Monsters: "Everyday Life" in Recent Social Theory', *Sociology*, 32, 3: 523-540

Cuff, D. (1992) *Architecture: The Story of Practice*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Dale, K. & Burrell, G. (2003) 'An-aesthetics and Architecture', in S. Carr & P. Hancock (eds.) *Art and Aesthetics at Work*, London, Palgrave

Damer, S. (1990) *Glasgow: Going For a Song*, London, Lawrence and Wishart

Danson, M. & Mooney, G. (1998) 'Glasgow: A tale of two cities? Disadvantage and Exclusion on the European Periphery', in P. Lawless, R. Martin & S. Hardy (eds.) *Unemployment and Social Exclusion*, London, Jessica Kingsley

David, C. (2001) 'Architecture in the Expanded Field', in K. Feireiss (ed.) *op cit.*

Davies, N. (1998) *Dark Heart: the Shocking Truth About Hidden Britain*, London, Vintage

Dawber, S. (2003) 'The Chimera of Social Inclusion', *Matters*, 17: 37-38

Dawes, M. (1999) 'Barcelona comes to Glasgow?', *Sculpture Matters*, 6: 10

de Cauter, L. (1993) 'The Panoramic Ecstasy: On World Exhibitions and the Disintegration of Experience', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 10: 1-23

(2002) 'The Capsular City', in N. Leach (ed.) *op cit.*

de Certeau, M. (1988) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

de la Fuente, E. (2000) 'Sociology and Aesthetics', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 3, 2: 235-247

Deamer, P. (1997) 'The Everyday and the Utopian', in S. Harris And D. Berke (eds.) *op cit.*

Dean, A. (1994) 'Socially Motivated Architecture', in W. Lillyman et al (eds.) *op cit.*

Debord, G. (1991) *Comments on The Society of the Spectacle*, Sheffield, Pirate Press

(1994) [1967] *The Society of the Spectacle*, New York, Zone Books

Degin, M. (1998) 'Regeneration of Public Life? A Comparison of Regenerated Public Space in El Ravel and Castle field', paper given at the *Cities at the Millennium* conference, London, RIBA, December 1998

(2001) 'Sensed Appearances: Sensing the Performance of Place', *Space and Culture*, 11/12: 52-69

Delanty, G. & Jones, P. (2002) 'European Identity and Architecture', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5, 4: 453-466

Demos T. J. (2003) 'The Cruel Dialectic: On the Work of Nils Norman', *Grey Room*, 13: 32-53

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2002) *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*, Consultation Document

Deutsche, R. (1996) *Evictions*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Diani, M & Ingraham, C. (eds.) (1989) *Restructuring Architectural Theory*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press

Dickens, P. (1994) 'Alienation, Emancipation and the Environment', in S. Neary et al (eds.), *op cit.*

Dicks, B. (2003) *Culture on Display*, Maidenhead, Open University Press

Dovey, K. (1999) *Framing Places*, London, Routledge

(2001) 'The Aesthetics of Place', in B. Cold (ed.) *Aesthetics, Well-being and Health*, Aldershot, Ashgate

(2002) 'The Silent Complicity of Architecture', in J. Hillier & E. Rooksby (eds.) *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, Aldershot, Ashgate

DTZ Pieda Consulting (2000) *Evaluation of Glasgow 1999. Final Report*, Edinburgh

Duncan, C. (1995) *Civilising Rituals*, London, Routledge

Duncan, J. S. (1996) 'Me(trope)olis: Or Hayden White Among the Urbanists', in A. King (ed.) *Op cit.*

Duncan, J. S. & Ley, D. (1993) (eds.) *Place/Culture/Representation*, London, Routledge

Dutton, T. (1996) 'Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogy: Cultural Pedagogy and Architecture', in T. Dutton & L. Mann (eds.) *op cit.*

Dutton, T. & Mann, L. (eds.) (1996a) *Reconstructing Architecture. Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press

Dutton, T. & Mann, L. (1996b) 'Modernism, Postmodernism, and Architecture's Social Project', in T. Dutton & L. Mann (eds.) *op cit.*

Eadie, W. (1990) *Movements of Modernity. The Case of Glasgow and Art Nouveau*, London, Routledge

Eagleton, T. (1990) *Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell

Edge, M. et al (2003) 'Mapping survey of non-technical research on the social value and benefits of good architectural design', *Research Findings* 1, Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

Ellin, N. (1996) *Postmodern Urbanism*, Oxford, Blackwell

Emmerson, R. (1995) 'The Emperor's New Clothes: Pastiche and Reproduction', *Architectural Heritage*, 6: 83-96

(1999) '(P/T)owerplay: a reading of national authority in architecture', *Twoninetwo*, 1: 21-32

(2000) '(re/dis/redis)covery: a pathology of tradition, privilege and modernity', *ARCA*, 3: 66-69

(2001) 'Sae feart tae fail, sae scart tae win: some aspects of modernity in Scotland', *ARCA*, 6: 50-53

(2002) 'Through the Glass Darkly', *ARCA*, 2, 2: 51-52

Evans, B. (1998) 'Reading the City: Approach and Orientation', in J. M. Fladmark (ed.) *In Search of Heritage as Pilgrim or Tourist*, Shaftsbury, Donhead Publishing Ltd

Evans, G & Foord, J. (2003) 'Shaping the Cultural Landscape: Local Regeneration Effects', in M. Miles & T. Hall (eds.) *op cit.*

Fainstein, S. (1999) 'Can We Make the Cities We Want?', in R. Beauregard & S. Body-Gondrot (eds.) *Op cit.*

Fainstein, S. & Gladsone, D. (1997) 'Tourism and Urban Transformation: Interpretations of Urban Tourism', in O. Källtorp et al (eds.) *Cities in Transformation — Transformation in Cities. Social and symbolic Change of Urban Space*, Aldershot, Ashgate

(1999) 'Evaluating Urban Tourism' in D. Judd & S. Fainstein (eds.) *op cit.*

Fausch, D. (1997) 'Ugly and Ordinary: The Representation of the Everyday', in S. Harris & D. Berke (eds.) *op cit.*

Featherstone, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London, Sage

Feireiss, K. (ed.) *The Art of Architectural Exhibitions*, Rotterdam, NAi Publishers

Fiske, J. (1992) *Understanding Popular Culture*, London, Routledge

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York, Basic Books

Ford, H. & Sawyers, B. (eds.) (2003) *International Architecture Centres*, London, Wiley Academy

Forty, A. (2000) *Words and Buildings. A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, London, Thames & Hudson

Foster, H. (2002) *Design and Crime*, London, Verso

Foucault, M. (1980) 'Truth and Power', in C. Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, Brighton, Harvester Wheatsheaf

(1982) 'Space, Knowledge and Power', *Skyline*, March:16-20

Foundation Architectuur Lokaal (1999) *POKON. Architecture Centres in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam, Foundation Architectuur Lokaal

Fowler, B. (1997) *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory*, London, Sage

Frampton, K. (1985) *Modern Architecture. A Critical History*, London, Thames & Hudson

Franck, K. & Lepori, R. (2000) *Architecture Inside Out*, London, Wiley Academy

Franklyn, A. (2002) 'Consuming Design, Consuming Retro', in S. Miles et al (eds.) *The Changing Consumer: Markets and Meanings*, London, Routledge

Franklyn, B. (2001) 'Discourses of Design: Perspectives on the Meaning of Housing Quality and "Good" Housing Design', *Housing, Theory and Society*, 18: 79-92

Ffrench, P. (1996) '*Dérive*: the *Détournement* of the *Flâneur*', in A. Hussey & G. Bowd (eds.) *The Hacienda Must be Built*, Manchester, AURA

Frisby, D. (1992) *Simmel and Since*, London, Routledge

(2001) *Cityscapes of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity

(2002) 'The Metropolis as Text: Otto Wagner and Vienna's "Second Renaissance"', in N. Leach (ed.) *op cit.*

Frith, S. & Savage, J. (1993) 'Pearls and Swine', *New Left Review*, 198: 107-116

Furbey, R. (1999) 'Urban "Regeneration": Reflections on a Metaphor', *Critical Social Policy*, 19, 4: 419-445

Fyfe, N. (1996) 'Contested visions of a modern city: planning and poetry in post-war Glasgow', *Environment and Planning A*, 28, 3: 387-403

Fyfe, N. & Bannister, J. (1998) 'The Eyes Upon the Street: Closed-circuit Television Surveillance and the City', in N. Fyfe (ed.) *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, London, Routledge

Gallacher, P. (1999) 'Making a difference: Community initiatives in Glasgow 1999', talk given at The Lighthouse, Glasgow, 30th November

(2000) *1999 and Beyond*, booklet, Glasgow, Glasgow City of Architecture and Design

(2002) 'Glasgow 1999 Achievements and Legacy', *Mac Journal*, 5: 23-29

(2003) 'Only Connect: Built Environment and the Scottish Social Agenda', in S. MacDonald (ed.) *op cit.*

Gartman, D. (2002) 'Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Change: Explication, Application and Critique', *Sociological Theory*, 20, 2: 255-277

Ghirardo, D. (ed.) (1991) *Out of Site. A Social Criticism of Architecture*, Seattle, Bay Press

Gibbon, Lewis Grassic (1988) 'Glasgow' in G. McLay (ed.) *op cit.*

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity

(1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge, Polity

Gieryn, T. F. (2000) 'A Space for Place in Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26: 463-496

Gilbert, N. (ed.) (1993) *Researching Social Life*, London, Sage

Gillespies (1995) *Glasgow City Centre Public Realm.* Strategy and Guidelines, Glasgow, Strathclyde Regional Council

Glasgow District Council (1989) *Glasgow: a City Reborn*, Glasgow, Glasgow District Council,

(1990) *Glasgow 1990 The Book* 'The Authorised Tour of the Cultural Capital of Europe'

(1994) 'Glasgow: The City as a Living Artwork', proposal to the Arts Council for City of Architecture and Design 1999 competition

(1999) *Glasgow Urban Design Strategy*

(2001) *The Directory of Design Capability in Glasgow*

(2004) *Clyde Waterfront Regeneration Annual Report 2004*

Glasgow Alliance (1999) *Creating Tomorrow's Glasgow*, City Strategy Document, Glasgow Alliance

Glasgow Development Association & Glasgow City Council (1998) *Glasgow in Profile*

(1999) *Glasgow's Renewed Prosperity*, A Joint Economic Strategy, Policy Booklet

Glasgow International Exhibition 1901, Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Section, Glasgow, Charles Watson

Glasgow International Exhibition 1901, Official 3d Guide, Glasgow, Charles Watson

Glasgow Empire Exhibition Official Guide, 1938, Glasgow, Charles Watson

Glendinning, M. (ed.) (1997) *Rebuilding Scotland: The Postwar Vision 1945-1975*, East Linton, Tuckwell Press

(1999) 'Prelude to Revolution: Scottish Architecture in the 1930s and 1940s', in R. McKenzie & C. Hermansen (eds.) *Brave New Worlds*, Glasgow School of Art Exhibition Catalogue

(2001) Department of Urban Studies Seminar, University of Glasgow, 2002

Glendinning, M. & Page, D. (1999) *Clone City*, Edinburgh, Polygon

Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A. (1996) *A History of Scottish Architecture,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

Gomez, M. (1998) 'Reflective Images: The case of Urban Regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22, 1: 106-121

Gordon, T. (2002) 'Glasgow Set to Become "New Berlin" in Construction Boom', *The Herald*, 12th April

Gorst, T. (1998) 'Architectural Aesthetics and Power', *Transgressions*, 4: 65-70

Graham, B. (2002) 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?', *Urban Studies*, 39, 5-6: 1003-1017

Greed, M. & Roberts, M. (eds.) (1998) *Introducing Urban Design: Interventions and Responses*, Harlow, Addison Wesley Longman

Greenberg, R. (1996) 'The Exhibited Redistributed. A Case for Reassessing Space', in R. Greenberg et al (eds.) *Thinking about Exhibitions*, London, Routledge

Greenhalgh, P. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

(1990) (ed.) *Modernism in Design*, London, Reaktion Books

(1991) 'Education, Entertainment and Politics: Lessons form the Great International Exhibitions', in P. Vergo (ed.) *The New Museology*, London, Reaktion Books

(2000a) (ed.) *Art Nouveau 1890-1914*, London, V & A Publications

(2000b) 'The Style and the Age', in P. Greenhalgh (ed.) *op cit.*

Guest, A. & Smith, H. (eds.) (1994) *The City is a Work of Art 1: Glasgow*, Scottish Sculpture Trust

Gurney, P. (2001) 'An Appropriated Space: The Great Exhibition, the Crystal Palace and the Working Class', in L. Purbrick (ed.) *op cit.*

Hajer, M. A. (1993) 'Rotterdam: re-designing the public domain' in F. Bianchini & M. Parkinson (eds.) *op cit.*

(1999) 'Zero-Friction Society' *Urban Design Quarterly*, 71, online version, accessed on 24th April, 2000

Hall, T. (1997) '(Re)placing the City. Cultural relocation and the city as centre', in S. Westwood & J. Williams (eds.) *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, London, Routledge

Halle, D. (1993) *Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press

Hamilton, C. & Scullion, A. (2002) 'Cultural Policy and Scotland: A Response to the "National Cultural Strategy"', *Scottish Affairs*, 39: 131-148

Harris, S. & Berke, D. (eds.) (1997) *Architecture of the Everyday*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press

Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford, Blackwell

(1993) 'From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity', in J. Bird et al (eds.) *op cit.*

(2000) *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

(2001) 'The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture', in L. Panitch & C. Leys (eds.) *op cit.*

Harvey, P. (1996) *Hybrids of Modernity*, London, Routledge

Harvie, C. (1993) *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes* (2nd ed.), Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

Heinich, N. (2000) 'From Rejection of Contemporary Art to Culture War', in M. Lamont & L. Thevenot (eds.) *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Hermansen, C. (1997) 'The Voice of Time Cries Out to Man: Advance. The 1945 Bruce Plan: An Evaluation', *Mac Journal*, 3: 25-33

Herzog, J. (1999) 'Foreword: Thoughts on the Exhibition "Vertigo"', in J. Moore (ed.) *op cit.*

Heynen, H.(1996) 'New Babylon: The Antinomies of Utopia', *Assemblage*, 29: 24-39

Highmore, B. (2002) *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory*, Routledge, London

Hills, H. (with Paul Tyrer) (2002) 'The Fetishised Past: Post-industrial and Interstitial Spaces', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 3, 2: 103-117

Hoffenberg, Peter H. (2001) *An Empire on Display*, University of California Press, Berkeley

Holden, A. & Iveson, K. (2003) 'Designs on the urban: New Labour's urban renaissance and the spaces of citizenship', *City*, 7, 1: 57-72

Howarth, J. (1977) (2nd. Ed.) *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, London, Routledge

Hubbard, P. (1996) 'Conflicting Interpretations of Architecture: An Empirical Investigation' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16: 75-92

(1997) 'Diverging Attitudes of Planners and the Public: An Examination of Architectural Interpretation' *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 14,4: 318-328

Hudson, J. (1987) *The Unanticipated City*, Loft Conversions in Lower Manhattan, Amherst, The University of Massachusetts Press

Hughes, R. (1992) *Barcelona*, London, Harvill

Huizinga, J. (1970) *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, Paladin, London

Ivey, M. (ed.) (2001) *Exploring the Interface Between Education and the Creative Industries*, Glasgow, The Lighthouse

Jackson, T. & Guest, A. (eds.) (1991) *The Visual Arts in Glasgow Cultural Capital of Europe 1990. A platform for partnership*, Glasgow, Glasgow City Council

Jacobs, J. M. (1998) 'Staging Difference, Aesthetization and the Politics of Difference in Contemporary Cities' in R. Fischer & J. M. Jacobs (eds.) *Cities of Difference*, London, The Guildford Press

Jameson, F. (1985) 'Architecture and the Critique of Ideology', in J. Oakman et al (eds.) *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*, Princeton, Princeton Architectural Press

(1991) *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London, Verso

[1995] 'Is Space Political?' in N. Leach (ed.) *op cit.*

(1998) 'The Brick and the Balloon: Architecture, Idealism and Land Speculation', *New Left Review*, 258: 25-45

Judd, D. (1999) 'Constructing the Tourist Bubble' in D. Judd & S. Fainstein (eds.) *op cit.*

Judd, D. & Fainstein, S. (eds.) (1999) *The Tourist City*, New Haven, Yale University Press

Leach, N. (1997) (ed.) *Rethinking Architecture*, London, Routledge

Jay, M. (1993) *Downcast Eyes. The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*, Berkeley, University of California Press

Johnson, R. (1993) 'Introduction', in P. Bourdieu (1993) *op cit.*

Julier, G. (1990) 'Radical Modernism in Contemporary Spanish Design', in P. Greenhalgh (ed.) *op cit.*

(1996) 'Barcelona Design, Catalonia's Political Economy and the New Spain', *Journal of Design History*, 9, 2: 117-128

(2000) *The Culture of Design*, London, Sage

Kauffmann, V.(1997) 'Angels of Purity', *October*, 76: 48-68

Kearns, G. & Philo, C. (1993) *Selling Places*, Oxford, Pergamon

Kenway, P. et al (2002) *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion in Scotland*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Kerevan, G. (2000) 'North of the Border, West of the Sun. Architecture and Politics in 20th century Scotland', *ARCA*, 2: 54-56

Kidron, M. (2001) 'The Injured Self', in L. Panitch & C. Leys (eds.) *Op cit.*

Kinchin, P. & Kinchin, J. (1988) *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988*, Bicester, White Cockade Publishing

Kinchin, J. (2000) 'Glasgow: Dark Daughter of the North', in P. Greenhalgh (ed.) *op cit.*

King, A. D. (ed.) (1996) *Re-Presenting the City*, Houndmills, MacMillan Press

King, R. (1996) *Emancipating Space. Geography, Architecture, and Urban Design*, New York, The Guildford Press

Kirkpatrick, J. (1997) 'Design as a Tool for Cultural Change - Glasgow's Experience', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, 16, 1: 83-90

(2001) 'Change and Creative Futures', in M. Ivey (ed.) *op cit.*

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

Kofman, E. & Lebas, E. (1996) 'Lost in Transposition — Time, Space and the City', in E. Kofman and E. Lebas (eds.) *op cit.*

Kolb, D. (1990) *Postmodern Sophistications*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press

Koolhaas, R. (1999) 'Metropolitan Apotheosis', BBC Radio 3 'Nightwaves' lecture, October 11th

Kossak, F. (2002) 'The Value of Architecture Centres', *glaspaper*, 4: 19

Krishnan, S. (2002) 'The Exposition Pavilion: A play of structure and sign', *Datutop*, 23: 37-70

Lack, J. (ed.) (1999c) (ed.) *In Partnership: Working with Glasgow for 1999*, London, August Media

Landry, C. (2003) 'The Creative City: Aspiration and Reality', in H. Ford & B. Sawyers (eds.) *Op cit.*

Lang, P. & Miller, T. (eds.) (1997) *Suburban Discipline*, New York, Storefront Books & Princeton Architectural Press

Larson, M. (1993) *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

Lash, S. (1990) *Sociology of Postmodernism*, London, Routledge

(2002) *Critique of Information*, London, Sage

Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*, London, Sage

Laurier, E. (1993) 'Tackintosh: Glasgow's Supplementary Gloss' in G. Kearns & C. Philo (eds.) *op cit.*

Leach, N. (1999) *The Anaesthetics of Architecture*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Leach, N. (ed.) (1997) *Rethinking Architecture*, London, Routledge

(1998) 'The Dark Side of the Domus', *Journal of Architecture*, 3, Spring: 31-42

(ed.) (2002) *The Hieroglyphics of Space*, London, Routledge

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

(1996) *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Kofman & Elizabeth Lebas (eds.) Oxford, Blackwell. Mostly being a translation of his *Le droit à la ville* [1968]

(1997) [1972] 'The everyday and everydayness', in S. Harris & D. Berke (eds.) *op cit.*

Lever, William F. (1997) 'Glasgow: A Post-industrial City', *Mac Journal*, 3: 15-20

Levin, T. (1996) 'Geopolitics of Hibernation: The Drift of Situationist Urbanism', in L. Andreotti & X. Costa (eds.) *op cit.*

Levitas, R. (1998) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour*, London, MacMillan

Lewis, P. (2003) *gm+ad: Challenging Contextualism*, Glasgow, Carynx Group

Ley, D. (1996) *The New Middle Classes and the Remaking of the Central City*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

(2003) 'Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification', *Urban Studies*, 40, 12: 2527-2544

Liggett, H. (1995) 'City Sights/Sites of Memories and Dreams', in H. Liggett & D. Perry (eds.) *op cit.*

Lillyman, W. Moriarty, M. & Neuman, D. (eds.) (1994) *Critical Architecture and Contemporary Culture*, New York, Oxford University Press

Livesy, G. (1998) 'Gestural Space and the Post-industrial City', *Edinburgh Architectural Research*, 24/25

Lloyd-Jones, T. (1998) 'The Scope of Urban Design', in C. Greed & M. Roberts (eds.) *Op cit.*

Locock, M. (1994) (ed.) *Meaningful Architectures: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, Aldershot, Avebury

Lootsma, B. (2001) 'Forgotten Worlds, Possible Worlds', in K. Feireiss (ed.) *op cit.*

(2003) 'Architecture as Part of a Nation's Culture', in H. Ford & B. Sawyers (eds.) *op cit.*

Löwy, M. (1998) 'Consumed by Night's Fire. The Dark Romanticism of Guy Debord', *Radical Philosophy*, 87: 31-34

Lury, C. (1996) *Consumer Culture*, Cambridge, Polity

(2002) 'Style and the Perfection of Things', in J. Collins (ed.) *op cit.*

Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Macauley, D. (2000) 'Walking the City: An Essay on Peripatetic Practices and Politics', *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 11, 4: 3-41

MacCannell, D. (1998) 'Making Minor Places: Dilemmas in Modern Tourism', in J. M. Fladmark (ed.) *In Search of Heritage as Pilgrim or Tourist*, Shaftsbury, Donhead Publishing

(1999) [1976] *The Tourist*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

Macdonald, K. (1989) 'Building Respectability', *Sociology*, 23, 1: 55-80

Macdonald, S. (ed.) (1998) *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, London, Routledge

MacDonald, S. (1999a) 'A Beacon for Scotland' in N. Barley (ed.) *op cit.*

(1999b) 'The Lighthouse', *Urban Design Quarterly*, 72, October issue

(1999c) 'education, education, education - architecture', *MacMag*, 24: 63-65

(1999d) 'The Trouble with Post-modernism', *The Journal of Art and Design Education*, 18, 1: 15-21

(2001) 'Shining a Light on Lifelong Learning', *The Light*, 2: 5

(2002) 'The Lighthouse - Architecture and Design Centre or Multiplex', talk given at RIAS, Edinburgh, 23rd January, copy received from author

(2003a) (ed.) 'Introduction', *Scottish Architecture 2000-2002*, Glasgow, The Lighthouse

(2003b) 'The Lighthouse: Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City and Scotland's Policy on Architecture', in H. Ford & B. Sawyers (eds.) *Op cit.*

(2004) 'Badly Drawn Culture', paper at the *Images of the City: Glasgow's Changing International Appeal* conference, Centre for Cultural Policy, January 2004

MacLeod, G. (2002) 'From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance', *Antipode*, 5, 3: 602-624

MacMillan, A.(1990) 'A City Fit for People' in Glasgow District Council, 1990, *op cit.*

Madanipour, A., Cars, G. & Allen, J. (eds.) (1998) *Social Exclusion in European Cities*, London, Jessica Kingsley

Madigan, R. & Munro, M. (1996) 'House Beautiful: Style and Consumption in the Home', *Sociology*, 30, 1: 41-57

Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Time of the Tribes*, London, Sage

Maragall, P. (1999) 'Acceptance speech: RIBA Gold Medal award to Barcelona', *Journal of Architecture*, 4, Autumn: 232-240

Margolin, V. (ed.) (1989) *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press

Markus, T. (1993) *Buildings and Power*, London, Routledge

Markus, T. (1997) 'Glasgow as a Utopian Project. The History of Utopian Planning as Camouflage', in J. Charley & L. Luithlen (eds.) *op cit.*

Markus, T. A. & Cameron, C. (2002) *The Words Between the Spaces. Buildings and Language*, London, Routledge

Martin, P. (1999) *Popular Collecting and the Everyday Self*, London, Leicester University Press

Massey, D. (1992) 'A Place Called Home?', *New Formations*, 17: 3-15

Matarasso, F. (1997) *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*, Stroud, Comedia

(2003) 'Smoke and Mirrors', *International Cultural Policy*, 9, 3: 337-346

Maver, I. (2000) *Glasgow*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

May, T. (1993) *Social Research*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Mayo, J. M. (1996) 'The Manifestation of Politics in Architectural Practice', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 50: 76-88

McConnell, I. (1999) 'Glasgow plans for 15,000 new jobs', *The Herald*, 17th March

McCrone, D. (2001) (2nd ed.) *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, London, Routledge

McDonough, T. F. (1994) 'Situationist Space', *October*, 67: 59-77

(1996) 'The Derive and Situationist Paris', in L. Andreotti & X. Costa. (eds.) *op cit.*

McGuigan, J. (1992) *Cultural Populism*, London, Routledge

McKean, C. (1987) *The Scottish Thirties: an Architectural Introduction*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press

(1990) 'Architecture and the Glasgows of the Imagination', in *A Glasgow Collection. Essays in Honour of Joe Fisher*, Glasgow, Glasgow City Libraries

(1999) 'Fostering Old Ideas', *Prospect*, 70: 40-41

(2000) 'A Spurious Scottishness', *InScotland*, 2: 17-21

McKean, C. & Walker, D. (1996) 'The Professorial on the Professional: A History of the Scottish Architectural Profession', in R. Bailey (ed.) *Scottish Architect's Papers. A Source Book*, Edinburgh, The Rutland Press

McKean, C. Walker, D. & Walker, F. (1989) *Central Glasgow. An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, Mainstream Publications

McKean, J. (1994) 'Thomson's City' in G. Stamp & S. McKinstry (eds.) *Greek Thomson*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

McKean, J. & Baxter, C. (2000) *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Architect, Artist, Icon*, Edinburgh, Lomond Books

McKenzie, R. (2002) *Public Sculpture of Glasgow*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press

McLay, F. (ed.) (1988) *Workers' City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, Glasgow, Clydeside Press

McLeod, M. (1996) 'Everyday and "Other" Spaces', in D. Coleman et al (eds.) *Architecture and Feminism*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press

(1997) 'Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction', in S. Harris & D. Berke (eds.) *op cit.*

McNeill, D. (1998) 'Writing the New Barcelona', in T. Hall & P. Hubbard (eds.) *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Policies, Regimes and Representations*, Chichester, John Wiley

(1999) *Urban Change and the New Left: Tales from the New Barcelona*, London, Routledge

Melhuish, C. (2002) 'From Dematerialisation to Depoliticisation in Architecture', in K. Rattenbury (ed.) *This is Not Architecture*, London, Routledge

Merkel, J. (2003) 'Curating Architecture', *Architectural Design*, 73, 3: 59-67

Merli, P. (2002) 'Evaluating the Social Impact of Participation in Arts Activities', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8, 1: 107-118

Merrifield, A. (2000) 'Henri Lefebvre. A Socialist in Space', in M. Crang & N. Thrift (eds.) *op cit.*

Metzstein, I. (1999) 'Placed in Context?', *The Architects Journal*, 7th January

Meurer, B. (2002) 'Social Sciences and Design Innovation', in J. Frascara (ed.) *Design and the Social Sciences*, London, Taylor & Francis

Miles, M. (1998) 'Strategies for the Convivial City: A New Agenda for Education for the Built Environment', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, 17, 1: 17-25

(2000a) *The Uses of Decoration. Essays in the Architectural Everyday*, Chichester, John Wiley and Sons

(2000b) 'Vistas of the Post-Industrial City' in S. Bennet & J. Butler (eds.) *Locality, Regeneration and Divers(c)ities*, London, Intellect Books

(2000c) 'After the Public Realm: Spaces of Representation, Transition and Plurality', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, 19, 3: 253-261

Miles, M. & Hall, T. (eds.) (2003) *Urban Futures*, London, Routledge

Miles, S. (1998) *Consumerism as a Way of Life*, London, Sage

Mills, C. (1993) 'Myths and Meanings of Gentrification', in J. Duncan & D. Ley (eds.) *op cit.*

Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell

Mitchell, T. (1988) *Colonising Egypt*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Mitchell, William J. (1995) *City of Bits*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Montgomery, R. (1989) 'Architecture Invents New People', in N. Ellis & L. Cuff (eds.) *op cit.*

Mooney, G. (1999) 'Urban "Disorders"', in S. Pile, C. Brook & G. Mooney (eds.) *Unruly Cities*, London, Routledge

Mooney, G. & Johnstone, C. (1998) 'Imagining and Reimagining Glasgow: Glasgow's Role in Urban Discourse in Twentieth Century Britain', paper at the Cities at the Millennium Conference, RIBA

Moore, R. (1999) *Vertigo: The Strange New World of the Contemporary City*, London, Lawrence King

Mugerauer, R. (1994) *Interpretations on Behalf Of Place*, Albany, State University of New York Press

Müller, M (1999) 'Musealisation, Aestheticisation and Reconstructing the Past', *Journal of Architecture*, 4, Winter: 361-367

Müller, M. & Dröge F. (1997) 'Museumification and Mediation: Two Strategies for Urban Aestheticisation', in H. Paetzold (ed.) *City Life. Essays on Urban Culture*, Maastricht, Jan Van Eyck Academie Editions

Myerscough, J. (1992) *Monitoring Glasgow 1990*, Report to Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and Scottish Enterprise

Narotzky, V. (2000) '"A Different and New Refinement": Design in Barcelona 1960-1990', *Journal of Design History*, 13, 3: 227-243

Noever, P. (ed.) (1991) *Architecture in Transition. Between Deconstruction and New Modernism*, Munich, Prestel

(1993) (ed.) *The End of Architecture*?, Munich, Prestel

Norman, N. (2000) *The Contemporary Picturesque*, London, Bookworks

Nylund, K. (2001) 'Cultural Analyses in Urban Theory of the 1990s', *Acta Sociologica*, 44, 3: 219-230

O'Connor, J. & Wynne, D. (1997) 'From the Margins to the Centre': Post-Industrial City Cultures' in P. Sulkunen et al (eds.) *Constructing the New Consumer Society*, Houndmills, Macmillan Press

O'Neill, M. (2002) 'The Good Enough Visitor', in R. Sandell (ed.) *Museums, Society, Inequality*, London, Routledge

Ockman, J. & Adams, N. (1999-2000) 'Forms of Spectacle', *Casabella*, 673/674: 162-163

Ockman, J. (2000) 'Une nouvelle politique du spectacle: entre le tourisme architectural et l'imagination globale', in A. Guiheux (ed.) *Architecture Instantanée: Nouvelles Acquisitions*, Paris, Éditions du Centre Pompidou

Ogundehin, M. (ed.) (1996) *The Glasgow International Festival of Design 1996 Guide*, London, Blueprint Media

Olson, D. J. (1986) *The City as a Work of Art*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press

Pacione, M. (1995) *Glasgow. The Socio-spatial Development of the City*, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons

Page, D. (1991) 'The Spirit of the Future', in T. Jackson & A. Guest (eds.) *op cit.*

(1999) 'Did 1999 Leave Us Anything to Build Upon?', *Sunday Herald*, 12 December

Pallasmaa, J. (1998) 'Logic of the Image', *Journal of Architecture*, 3, Winter: 289-299

(2000) 'Hapticity and Time. Notes on Fragile Architecture', *Architectural Review*, March: 78-84

Painter, J. (2000) 'Pierre Bourdieu', in M. Crang & N. Thrift (eds.) *op cit.*

Panitch, L. & Leys, C. (eds.) (2001) *Socialist Register 2002*, London, Merlin Press

Papanek, V. (1984) 'Design Responsibility: Five Myths and Six Directions', in J. Stein & K. Spreckelmeyer (eds.) *op cit.*

Parfect, M. & Power, G. (1997) *Planning For Urban Quality*, London, Routledge

Parker, D. & Long, P. (2003) 'Reimagining Birmingham: Public History, Selective Memory and the Narration of Urban Change', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6, 2: 157-178

Paterson, A. (2000) 'We need an architectural revolution', *New Statesman*, 17th January

Pawley, M. (1998) 'After Armageddon. The Decline of a Profession', *Archis*, 5: 28-37

Pinder, D. (2000) '"Old Paris is no more": Geographies of Spectacle and Anti-spectacle', *Antipode*, 32, 4: 357-386

Plant, S. (1992) *The Most Radical Gesture*, London, Routledge

Podmore, J. (1998) '(Re)reading the 'Loft Living' Habitus in Montreal's Inner City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22, 2: 283-301

Porteous, J. D. (1996) *Environmental Aesthetics*, London, Routledge

Pred, A. (1995) *Recognising European Modernities*, London, Routledge

Prior, N. (2002) *Museums and Modernity*, Oxford, Berg

Purbrick, L. (ed.) (2001) *The Great Exhibition of 1851. New Interdisciplinary Essays*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Quilley, S. (1999) 'Entrepreneurial Manchester: The Genesis of Elite Consensus', *Antipode*, 31,2: 185-211

Rajchman, J. (1999) 'The Bilbao Effect', *Casabella*, 673/674: 163-164

Reed, P. (ed.) (1999) *Glasgow: The Forming of the City* (2nd ed.) Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

Rees, H. (1995) 'The Culture of Consumption: Design Museums as Educators or Tastemakers', in R. Keat, N. Whiteley & N. Abercrombie (eds.) *The Authority of the Consumer*, London, Routledge

Reeves, D., Brand, J., Dunn, M. (1999) *Celebrating the Role of Women in the Design of Glasgow*, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Department of Environmental Planning

Relph, E. (1987) *The Modern Urban Landscape*, Beckenham, Croom Helm

(1993) 'Modernity and the Reclamation of Place', in D. Seaman (ed.) *op cit.*

Rice, C. (2001) 'Images at the Edge of the Built', in I. Borden & S. McCreery (eds.) *Op cit.*

Richards, T. (1990) *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, London, Verso

Rigby, B. (1991) *Popular Culture in Modern France*, London, Routledge

Ritchie, I. (1998) 'New Life in the City', *1999 Magazine*, 2: 12-16

Ritzer, G. (1999) *Enchanting a Disenchanted World*, Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press

Roberts, J. (2003) 'Towards a Genealogy and Typology of the Spectacle. Some Comments on Debord', *Thesis Eleven*, 75: 54-68

Roberts, J. (1990) 'The Greening of Capitalism: the Political Economy of the Tory Garden Festivals', in S. Pugh (ed.) *Reading Landscape: Country, City, Capital*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Roberts, M. (1998) 'Art in the Public Realm', in C. Greed & M. Roberts (eds.) *Op cit.*

(2000) 'Banlieues 89: Urban Design and the Urban Question', *Journal of Urban Design*, 5, 1: 19-40

Robertson, D. (1998) 'Pulling in opposite directions: The Failure of Post War Planning to Regenerate Glasgow', *Planning Perspectives*, 13, 1: 53-67

Rodger, J. (1997) 'Glasgow Style 1999 (Authenticity, tradition, eclecticism, plagiarism: does it matter?)', *Mac Journal*, 3: 57-60

(1999a) *Contemporary Glasgow: The Architecture of the 1990s*, Edinburgh, The Rutland Press

(2002) 'Graham Square: A Meditation', *Mac Journal*, 5: 99-103

Rodger, J. J. (2000) *From a Welfare State to a Welfare Society*, Houndsmills, MacMillan Press

Rogers, R. (1997) *Cities for a Small Planet*, London, Faber

Rojek, C. (1995) *Decentring Leisure*, London, Sage

(2000) *Leisure and Culture*, London, MacMillan

Romito, L. (1997) 'Stalker', in P. Lang & T. Miller (eds.) *op cit.*

(2001) 'The Surreal Foil' in I. Borden & S. McCreery (eds.) *op cit.*

Rosenburg, L. & Watkins, C. (1999) 'Longtitudinal Monitoring of Housing Renewal in the Urban Core: Reflections on the Experience of Glasgow's Merchant City, *Urban Studies*, 36, 11:

Ross, K. (1997) 'Lefebvre on the Situationists: An Interview', *October*, 79: 69-83

Rowe, P. G. (1997) *Civic Realism*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Rowland, K. (1973) *A History of the Modern Movement. Art, Architecture, Design*, London, Looking and Seeing

Ryle, M. & Soper, K. (2002) *To Relish the Sublime?* London, Verso

Sadler, S. (1998) *The Situationist City*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Sandell, R. (1998) 'Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17,4: 401-418

Sassen, S. (1994) *Cities in a World Economy*, Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press

(2003) 'Reading the City in a Global Digital Age', in L. Krause & P. Petro (eds.) *Global Cities: Cnema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age*, New Brunswick NJ, Rutgers University Press

Sassen, S. & Roost, F. (1999) 'The City. Strategic Site for the Global Entertainment Industry', in D. Judd & S. Fainstein (eds.) *Op cit.*

Savage, M., Barlow, J., Dickens, P. & Fielding, T. (1995) *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle Class Formation in Contemporary Britain*, London, Routledge

Savage, M. Warde, A. & Ward, K. (2003) *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity* (2nd edition) Houndmills, Palgrave MacMillan

Scaff, L. A. (1995) 'Social Theory, Rationalism and the Architecture of the City: Fin-de-siecle Thematics', *Theory Culture & Society*, 12, 2: 63-85

Scalbert, I. (2003) 'Architecture at the End of History', *Contemporary Magazine*, online edition: http://www.contemporary-magazine.com/march/mvrdv.html

Schmiechen, J. (1996) 'Glasgow of the Imagination: Architecture, Townscape and Society', in W. Fraser & I. Maver (eds.) *Glasgow Vol. 2: 1830 to 1912*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Schutz, A. (1966) *Collected Papers*, Vol. 3, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff

Scott, A. J. (2001) 'Capitalism, cities, and the production of symbolic forms', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26: 11-23

Scott, R. D. (1996) 'Taking 1999 to the Streets', *1999 Magazine*, 1: 8

Scottish Arts Council (1995) *Changing Places: The Arts In Scotland's Urban Areas*

(1995) *Changing Lives. The Social Impact of the Arts*

Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (2000a) *Desire, Delight, Design*

Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (2000b) *European Focus on Glasgow 2000*

Scottish Executive (1999) *The Development of a Policy on Architecture for Scotland*, Framework Document

(2000) *The Development of a Policy of Architecture for Scotland*, A Report on the Public Consultation

(2001a) *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland*

(2001b) *Designing Places*

Scottish Executive Social Research (12/12/2003) 'Mapping Survey of Non-Technical Research on the Social Value and Benefits of Good Architectural Design', *Research Findings*, 1

Seaman, D. (ed.) (1993) *Dwelling, Seeing, and Designing. Towards a Phenomenological Ecology*, New York, State University of New York Press

Sennett, R. (1973) *The Uses of Disorder*, Harmondsworth, Pelican

(1991) *The Conscience of the Eye*, London, Faber and Faber

(1994) *Flesh and Stone. The Body and the City in Western Civilisation*, London, Faber & Faber

(1997) 'The search for a place in the world', in N. Ellin (ed.) *Architecture of Fear*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press

Seo, J-K. (2001) Re-urbanisation in Regenerated Areas of Manchester and Glasgow: New Residents and the Problems of Sustainability', *Cities*, 19, 2: 113-121

Serafini, B. (2003) 'Boom time for leisure sector', *Glasgow Herald*, Commercial Property section, Feb. 13th issue: 26

Sharpe, T. (1997) 'Participatory Design Methods in Glasgow', *Mac Journal*, 3: 61-66

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin*, London, Routledge

(1992) 'Spaces for the Subject of Consumption', in R. Shields (ed.) *Lifestyle Shopping*, London, Sage

(1996) 'A Guide To Urban Representation and What To Do About It: Alternative Traditions of Urban Theory', in King, A. (ed.) *Op cit.*

(2002) 'Social Science as a Design Profession', in J. Frascari (ed.) *Design and the Social Sciences*, London, Taylor & Francis

Silverman, D. L. (1989) *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siecle France*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press

Simmel, G. (1997) *Simmel on Culture*, edited by D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, London, Sage

Simpson, B. (ed.) (1988) Souvenir Brochure and Official Guide to the Glasgow Garden Festival, Glasgow

Slater, D. (1997) *Consumer Culture & Modernity*, London, Polity

Smith, M. (2001) 'Repetition and Difference: Lefebvre, Le Corbusier and Modernity's (Im)moral Landscape', *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 4, 1: 31-44

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier*, London, Routledge

(1999) 'Which New Urbanism? New York City and the Revanchist 1990s', in R. Beauregard & S. Body-Gendrot (eds.) *Op cit.*

Smout, T. C. (1986) *A Century of the Scottish People*, London, Fontana Press

Sola-Morales, I. (1996) *Differences: Topographies of Contemporary Architecture*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

(2000) 'Barcelona: Spirituality and Modernity', in P. Greenhalgh (ed.) *op cit.*

Soltan, M. (1996) 'Architecture and Deconstruction' in T. Dutton & L. Mann (eds.) *Op cit.*

Sorkin, M. (ed.) *Variations on a Theme Park*, New York, Hill and Wang

Spiller, N. (1998) *Digital Dreams. Architecture and the New Alchemic Technologies*, London, ellipsis

Spring, I. (1990) *Phantom Village*, Edinburgh, Polygon

Stamp, G. (1999) *Alexander Thomson: The Unknown Genius*, London, Lawrence King Publishing

Stein, J. & Spreckelmeyer, K. (eds.) (1999) *Classic Readings in Architecture*, Boston, McGraw-Hill

Stevens, G. (1995) 'Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at Architectural Pedagogy', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 49, 2: 105-122

(1998) 'Angst in Academia: Universities, the Architecture Schools, and the Profession', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 15, 2: 152-169

Stevenson, N. (ed.) (2001) *Culture & Citizenship*, London, Sage

Sudjic, D. (1993) *The Hundred Mile City*, London, Flamingo

(1999) 'Face Values — The changing shape of design', *RSA Awards Review 1999*, London, August Media

(2000a) 'Design: Culture or Commerce', *MacMag*, 25: 35-39

(2000b) 'Back From the Future', in *20/20 Vision: Metropolitan Glasgow*, Glasgow, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow Brochure

Swyngedouw, E. (2002) 'The Strange Respectability of the Situationist City in the Society of the Spectacle', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26, 1: 153-165

Tafuri, M. (1976) *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Thomas, B. (1997) 'Culture, Merchandise, or Just Light Entertainment? New Architecture at the Millennium', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 50, 4: 254-264

Thompson, J. B. 'Editor's Introduction', in P. Bourdieu (1991) *op cit.*

Thrift, N. (1997) 'Cities without Modernity, Cities with Magic', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 113, 3: 138-149

(2001) 'How Should We Think About Place in a Globalising World?', in A. Madanipour, A. Hull & P. Healey (eds.) *The Governance of Place*, Aldershot, Ashgate

Till, J. (1998) 'Architecture of the Impure Community', in J. Hill (ed.) *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User*, London, Routledge

Torrington, J. (1988) 'Singing: No, No, Yuppie, Yuppie - No!' in F. McLay (ed.) *op cit.*

Tufts, S. & Milne, S. (1999) 'Museums: A Supply-Side Perspective', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26, 3: 613-631

Turner, Bryan S. (2001) 'Outline of a General Theory of Cultural Citizenship', in N. Stevenson (ed.) *Op cit.*

Turok, I. et al (2003) *Twin Track Cities? Linking Prosperity and Cohesion in Glasgow and Edinburgh*, Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow and School of Planning and Housing, Heriot-watt university, ESRC

(2004) 'The New Paradigm of "Creative Cities"', paper at the *Images of the City: Glasgow's Changing International Appeal* conference, Centre for Cultural Policy Research, Glasgow

Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London, Spon

Urry, J. (1990) [2002, second edition] *The Tourist Gaze*, London, Sage

(1995) *Consuming Places*, London, Routledge

(1999) 'Sensing the City', in D. Judd & S. Fainstein (eds.) *op cit.*

(2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies*, London, Routledge

Usherwood, B. (1995) 'The Design Museum: Form Follows Funding', in V. Margolin & R. Buchanan (eds.) *The Idea of Design*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Various authors (1990) *Glasgow's Glasgow: The Words and the Stones*, Glasgow, The Words and the Stones

Venturi, R., Scott Brown, D. & Izenour, S. (1977) *Learning From Las Vegas*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Vidler, A. (1992) *The Architectural Uncanny*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press

Vila Domini, D. (1997) 'Barcelona. Urban and Architectural Developments: The Last Decades', *Mac Journal*, 3: 49-55

Vitta, M. (1989) 'The Meaning of Design', in V. Margolin (ed.) *op cit.*

Walker, A. & Walker, C. (eds.) (1997) *Britain Divided: The Growth of Social Exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*, London, Child Poverty Action Group

Walker, F. A. (1994) 'The City as a Work of Art', in A. Guest & H.Smith (eds.) *Op cit*

Ward, A. (1996) 'The Suppression of the Social in Design: Architecture as War' in T. Dutton & L. Mann (eds.) *op cit.*

Waters, M. (2001) (2nd ed.) *Globalization*, London, Routledge

Webster, D. (2000) 'Scottish Social Inclusion Policy: A Critical Assessment', *Scottish Affairs*, 30: 28-50

Webster, F. (2001) 'Re-inventing Place. Birmingham as an information city', *City*, 3, 1: 27-46

Welsch, W. (1997) *Undoing Aesthetics*, London, Sage

Whiteley, N. (1993) *Design for Society*, London, Reaktion Books

Wigley, M. (1998) 'Whatever Happened to Total Design?', *Harvard Design Magazine*, 5: 44-52

Willis, P. (1990) *Common Culture*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Wilson, E. (1985) (1991) *The Sphinx in the City*, Berkeley, University of California Press

(1999) 'The Bohemianization of Mass Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2, 1: 11-32

Winters, E. (2002) Art, Architecture and Their Public', *Journal of Architecture* 7: 383-391

Wollen, P. (2001) 'Situationists and Architecture', *New Left Review* 8: 123-139

Worpole, K. (1992) *Towns for People*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Worpole, K. & Greenhalgh, L. (1999) *The Richness of Cities: Urban Policy in a New Landscape*, Stroud, Comedia/Demos

Wu, Chin Tao (2002) *Privatising Culture*, London, Verso

Wynne, D. & O'Connor, J. (1998) 'Consumption and the Postmodern City', *Urban Studies*, 5-6: 841-864

Zizek, S. (1998) 'Risk Society and its Discontents', *Historical Materialism*, 2: 143-164

Zukin, S. (1990) 'Socio-Spatial Prototypes of a New Organisation of Consumption: The Role of Real Cultural Capital', *Sociology*, 24, 1: 37-56

(1991) *Landscapes of Power*, Berkeley, University of California Press

(1996a) 'Space and Symbols in an Age of Decline', in A. King (ed.) *op cit.*

(1996b) 'Cultural Strategies of Economic Development and the Hegemony of Vision', in A. Merrifield & E. Swyngedouw (eds.) *The Urbanisation of Injustice*, London, Lawrence & Wishart

Archives

Glasgow City of Architecture and Design Company Archive, Glasgow School of Art

Glasgow City of Architecture and Design files, The Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow

Broadcast and/or Exhibited Video Productions

'Buildings of the Future', broadcast on Channel 5, April 19, 2002 including a feature on 'Homes for the Future' in Glasgow

'Glasgow 1999', CAD film shown at the Lighthouse during 1999

'The Hard Sell' (1998) CAD film for the exhibition 'Winning: The Design of Sports'

'Transition' (1998) CAD film for general promotion of festival

Websites

www.glasgowarchitecture.co

www.glas.co

www.glasgoweconomicfacts.co

www.hiddenglasgow.com

www.seeglasgow.com/seeglasgow/CityCulture

http://scotguide.com/architecturaltours