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**Neoliberal Urbanism and Spatial Composition in
Recessionary Glasgow**

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MRes

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

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November 2015

Abstract

This thesis argues that urbanisation has become increasingly central to capital accumulation strategies, and that a politics of space - commensurate with a material conjuncture increasingly subsumed by rentier capitalism - is thus necessarily required. The central research question concerns whether urbanisation represents a general *tendency* that might provide an immanent dialectical basis for a new spatial politics. I deploy the concept of class composition to address this question. In Italian Autonomist Marxism (AM), class composition is understood as the conceptual and material relation between ‘technical’ and ‘political’ composition: ‘technical composition’ refers to organised capitalist production, capital’s plans as it were; ‘political composition’ refers to the degree to which collective political organisation forms a basis for counter-power. The research question is developed through a review of historical and contemporary urban literature by way of a distinctive marriage of AM and urban geographical literature, with a specific focus on the city of Glasgow as an exemplary case study.

Given the widely-acknowledged housing crisis and the commodification of land and property markets more generally, the urgency of addressing the research question is self-evident. Yet tenants’ and residents’ movements are very fragmented in Glasgow, and the UK more generally, despite the obvious impact that the privatisation of space has on basic social reproductive needs. This thesis addresses this lacuna in a two-fold manner: firstly, by stressing the compositional significance of urbanisation as an increasingly hegemonic tendency in capital accumulation strategies; secondly, by arguing for an immanent politics of space based on contemporary urban conditions. Empirical research was conducted through three case studies in Glasgow. The first examines the historical socio-spatial development of the city itself, while the second and third focus more closely on large-scale regeneration projects in the north and east of the city. These studies affirm the prevalence of contemporary urban accumulation strategies in Glasgow, and the pressing need for a commensurate politics of space.

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Acknowledgements

Any piece of written work is effectively a collaborative effort, and here I want to acknowledge my debt to various people who have contributed to this thesis in some way.

Traditionally in acknowledgements family and friends question follow on from relations in the workplace but since this thesis has argued that we need to consider relations of social reproduction and care in a primary rather than secondary sense, I want to start here with my partner Bechaela, who has been the main carer for our son Gene while I've grappled with this thesis. Her patience, care, support and engagement has been as immense for me as it has been for Gene, who has everything he needs. I am immensely grateful. Love and thanks also to Gene for all the fun and cuddles. Thanks also to my parents, Jeanette and Joseph, who always said do what you want as long as you're happy.

This thesis also owes a great deal to my supervisors Andy Cumbers and Dave Featherstone, who have been extremely patient and supportive throughout, especially given my capacious propensity for over-writing, and who generously assisted my ESRC funding application so that I could find the time and space to write here in the first place. Within the department, I've found it crucial to engage in collective discussion and debate as a way of resisting academic atomisation. Thanks go to all those involved in the various reading groups and lunchtime sessions I've taken part in during the period of this thesis, including those from outwith the department.

A lot of the work in this thesis draws on ongoing intellectual and practical political engagement outside academia. Thanks especially to all those involved with *Variant* and *Mute* magazines, and to the *Strickland Distribution* and *Glasgow Games Monitor 2014*. Thanks also to Margaret and Jack Jaconelli, and to Grace Harrigan, Helen McCourt and Mary McCarthur for providing fight, political inspiration and friendship from below on the contested sites of the Commonwealth Games 2014. I hope this work does some justice to their ongoing struggles, and others like them.

Author's Declaration

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

Neil Gray

Introduction

If only Marx had been a geographer (Bunge, 1977, p.75).

This thesis argues that urbanisation has become increasingly central to capital accumulation strategies, and that a politics of space is therefore required that is commensurate with this contemporary conjuncture. The central research question concerns whether urbanisation represents a general *tendency* of capital accumulation that might provide an immanent, dialectical basis for a new spatial politics. By this I mean that as space has become increasingly financialised and commodified, with enormous political impacts at the level of social reproduction and consumption, a politics of space has become more than ever necessary. I begin with Henri Lefebvre's (2003 [1970]) seminal thesis that urbanisation has tended to supplant industrialisation as the main motor of capital accumulation in Western Europe and North America. This thesis provides a basis for a deeper examination of urban conditions in contemporary urban geographical literature, with a specific focus on the city of Glasgow as an exemplary case study.

While much recent urban and economic geography, following Lefebvre, excels at *describing* the relations between capital, governance and urbanism, it tends to elide the situated, subversive aspects of Lefebvre's work along with his wider critique of political economy. Such analysis more often pursues a political economy of space rather than a radical critique of the political economy of space (Kipfer *et al*, 2008, 2013; Brenner and Elden, 2009; Charnock, 2010). As a means to extend, problematise and politicise such currents within Marxist urban and economic geography, I will re-read the radical, heterodox traditions of Italian Autonomous Marxism (AM) in the 1960s and 1970s, drawing lessons from their highly reflexive political praxis, with the aim of adapting and mobilising their most significant theoretical innovation - class composition - for an immanent politics of urban space.

Class composition, which is central to this thesis, is understood in AM through a nuanced conceptual relation between what they describe as 'technical' and 'political' composition. 'Technical composition' relates to organised capitalist production, including the division of labour, technological deployment, social planning, supervision and discipline; 'political composition' refers to the degree to which workers make collective political subjectivity and organisation a basis for counter-power (Cleaver, 1979; Wright, 2002; Negri, 2005; Midnight Notes, 2002; Dyer-Witheford, 2008).

The theory and practise of class composition is closely bound up with the parallel methodology of ‘workers inquiry’ (alternatively ‘co-research’ or ‘militant inquiry’), which was developed to give a closer understanding of the subjective and material conditions of workers *from the point of view of the workers themselves*. More recent developments in compositional analysis, as I will show in Chapter 4, have moved beyond the traditional workplace to cut across the wider ‘social factory’, including sites of social reproduction as much as sites of production. Class composition and inquiry methods will be applied here with the aim of forming a political praxis that might traverse the limiting conceptual dichotomy between structure and agency, helping dissolve barriers between subject-researcher and object-researched (Panzieri, 1965; Wildcat, 2003; Negri, 2005; Dyer-Witford, 2008), while aiding the theoretical and practical movement between the particular and the universal, the concrete and the abstract.

Marxist urban geography provides many tools for understanding and describing the complex relations between capital and governance in the production of space, with such systemic accounts having the merit of mapping, or aiming to map, multi-scalar political and economic relations. However, as Alberto Toscano (2004) notes, there is often a “deficit of praxis” in such work, with spatial differentiation, political subjectivity and social antagonism routinely elided (Ibid, p.197). Yet, as much as Toscano rejects a flattening, fatalistic and systemic logic that obfuscates or relegates political subjectivity, he also rejects an anti-universalist discourse of socio-spatial particularity or a potentially parochial theory of cultural differences. Instead, he argues for thinking through an antagonistic production of space by way of a political topology influenced by the theoretical innovation and political militancy of AM. In this way, he proposes, we might navigate the relation between “subjective forms of political action and the shifting configurations of space” (Ibid, p.198). The emphasis that AM placed on anticipating the changing composition of capitalist relations alongside a committed theory of praxis/subjectivation, Toscano continues, bears important lessons for contemporary spatial politics in this regard.

I, too, see similar possibilities in the work of AM, but the distinctive contribution of this thesis is to develop a spatially attuned interpretation and re-reading of AM methodologies that is at once more systematic and more empirical than Toscano’s initial intervention. This contribution will primarily be achieved by adapting and re-working class composition and workers’ inquiry methodologies through what I term ‘spatial composition’ analysis and ‘territorial inquiry’. By spatial composition I mean a study of the relation between the

technical and political composition of capital, with an explicit focus on the organisation and contestation of the production of space. By territorial inquiry I mean the application of inquiry methods in specifically spatial settings as an investigative basis for a collective politics of urban space. These methods are the means by which I will develop class composition analysis with a specifically spatial orientation.

While spatial composition analysis is intimated in classical AM (Bologna, 2002 [1977]; Cleaver, 1979; Toscano, 2004; Calder Williams, 2013), it has not been central to analysis, at least in the English language. Moreover, while an autonomous turn has emerged in geography recently (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010; Chatterton *et al*, 2010; Clough and Blumberg, 2012; Marks, 2012; Vasudevan, 2015), the theoretical and political roots of AM have seldom been explored systematically, leading, I would argue, to a lacuna over the specific historical, material and institutional contexts of autonomy. This turn has largely been ‘anarchist’ in orientation, deriving a definition of autonomy from the Greek *autos-nomos* (‘self-legislation’), arguing that it shares many similarities with anarchism (‘without government’) (cf. Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). I do not want to add here to the sometimes caricatured Marxism-versus-anarchism debates within geography (cf. Springer, 2014; Mann 2014; Waterstone, 2014; Harvey, 2015), but to suggest why I think that the absence of a closer engagement with AM impoverishes autonomous debates in geography.

The Autonomous Geographies Collective, comprising Paul Chatterton, Jenny Pickerill and Stuart Hodkinson, have perhaps most explicitly mobilised autonomous discourses in geography, especially through a 2-year Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research project into the everyday lives of anti-capitalist or ‘autonomous’ activists in Britain in the mid-2000s. The group were no longer active as a collective by 2010 (Chatterton *et al*, 2010), but each in their own way retains autonomous perspectives. The Collective’s studies have the merit of honestly and reflexively examining the actually existing messy politics and relationships involved in scholar activism from a prefigurative, engaged perspective that combines anarchist and autonomous emphases on everyday grass-roots struggles (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010; Chatterton *et al*, 2010). These reflections draw on a combination of place-based participatory action research case studies of autonomous social centres, Low-Impact Developments (LID) and tenants’ networks in the UK (Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010; Chatterton *et al*, 2010).

In a critical discussion of both these case studies and the research project in general, Chatterton and Pickerill (2010) point to an absence of debate within many of the projects over external social, political and institutional arrangements. To this list of absences, I would add economic conditions. However, these absences are also reflected in the scholar-activist work of the Autonomous Geographies Collective itself, whose close attention to the everyday workings of anti-capitalist activism generally foregoes a wider analysis of how these projects are embedded within: inter-related questions of differential class, gender and race structures; different traditions of resistance within the Left, including trades unions, political parties and welfare organisations; and state, capital and development initiatives specific to each of the study areas. Using class composition, or more specifically spatial composition, and drawing on the work of key AM figures often neglected in ‘autonomous geography’ debates¹, offers a way to relate the subjective and collective forms of political action that the Autonomous Geographies Collective rightly emphasise with closer attention to the actually existing social, political, institutional and economic conditions within which such groups are embedded.

In a summary paper compiling their findings, the Collective suggest seven principles for scholar-activism, the last of which is to make “collective strategic interventions which are accountable to and relevant to social movements” (Chatterton *et al*, 2010, p.265). My contention here is that this principle must include, but not be limited to, a strategic appraisal of the very conditions within which such movement activism takes place. As Böhm *et al* (2010) argue, there is no “good outside” allowing an immediate, “alternative” escape from capital, the state and development (Ibid, p.28). Rather the question of autonomy is always already configured as immanent to such structural conditions - in *lieu* of their potential supersession. In Chapter 4, I will outline a spatial composition methodology which I think can help to traverse the theoretical and practical schism between subjective forms of political agency and the always shifting configurations of the technical composition of capital.

Conversely, within the disciplines of urban and economic geography, structural and regulative questions are often prioritised at the expense of the commendable attention paid to the struggles themselves within studies of autonomous geographies. In this field, autonomy has tended to suffer from somewhat caricatured readings, with David Harvey

¹ Including but not limited to, Mario Tronti, Romano Alquati, Raniero Panzieri, Sergio Bologna, Maria Rosa Dalla Costa, Leopoldo Fortunati, Massimo Cacciari, Alisa De Rai, Guido Baldi, Paolo Virno, Manfredo Tafuri. This selection itself is biased towards key theorists and neglects the countless workers and organisers who contributed to the movements within AM.

(2012), not least, flattening out important differences between anarchism, autogestion (self-management), worker co-operatives, moral and solidarity economies and community collectives (Gray, 2013). This thesis will thus endeavour to open a dialogue between urban geography and AM, involving a sustained re-reading of the theoretical roots and praxis of AM in Italy since the 1960s. By doing so, I aim to establish that AM shares with urban geography a significant, but neglected, emphasis on the politics of urban space that has hitherto received scant attention in studies of either AM or urban geography (see, Toscano, 2004; Gray, 2013). Stressing urbanisation and spatial relations as primary areas of immanent political concern, I mean to show how autonomous methods can augment spatial studies and politics, and how spatial research can likewise augment forms of autonomous politics.

In general terms, this study will move gradually from theoretical abstraction in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, to more concrete empirical work in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, with Chapter 4 working as a bridging methodological chapter. Chapter 1 will examine Lefebvre's work and its continuing perspicacity. Chapter 2 will survey contemporary forms of urban and economic geography, which have extended and deepened Lefebvre's often speculative, and rarely empirically grounded, theses. Chapter 3 will examine the period between the 1960s and 1970s when AM was at the apex of its power and influence, drawing out themes which can be usefully mobilised in the current neoliberal urban contemporary conjuncture. Chapter 4 will survey the AM methodologies of class composition and workers inquiry, before suggesting how these might be transformed for a more specific spatial praxis through 'spatial composition' and 'territorial inquiry'.

While the first four chapters provide theoretical depth and a level of abstraction in the thesis, Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will put these insights to use in the situated, empirical analysis of one particular city: Glasgow. As a former industrial city of renown - 'The Second City of Empire' - Glasgow has since been subject to a prolonged and seemingly terminal decline in industry and manufacturing, as well as a rather totalising post-war urban planning programme bearing the indelible marks of 'abstract space' that Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) so railed against. The city thus provides an exemplary case study for testing out Lefebvre's hypothesis that urbanisation has come to supplant industrialisation as a primary motor of accumulation. Long seen as the epitome of the industrial city, I will argue here that, since the 1930s, Glasgow has in fact primarily been governed on the basis of crisis management and social reproduction, rather than the reproduction of the relations of production (cf. Boyle and Hughes, 1994).

A study of Glasgow has wider resonance for those researching other old industrial cities. The city is perhaps the most exceptional example of de-industrialisation and socio-economic decline in the UK (Gibb, 1983; Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Damer, 1990; Helms and Cumbers, 2006). The extremity of this urban situation, and the way it has been dealt with, provides important lessons for other comparable old industrial cities in a wider context of neoliberal hegemony. Glasgow is routinely presented as a model of ‘post-Fordist’ rehabilitation through cultural regeneration and symbolic image reconstruction, even though the results and beneficiaries of this process have been highly uneven in socio-spatial terms (Paddison, 1993; Garcia, 2004b, 2005; Mooney, 2004; Helms and Cumbers, 2006; Gray, 2009a). Land and property development, and the expansion of the rentier economy, I will argue, have been central to this process, with polarising impacts at the level of social space, housing and the wider sphere of social reproduction. These uneven processes re-affirm the need to examine the city through the lens of spatial composition.

Political composition or recomposition (the expansion, unification, and generalisation of struggles) has rightly been seen as a central political goal within the autonomous milieu, but processes of *decomposition* have typically been given less attention (cf. Wright, 2002). In the context of Glasgow, where decomposition has been such a powerful fact, this lacuna is untenable. This study will thus aim to contribute to a wider understanding of what decomposition entails for a politics of urban space in Glasgow, and, potentially, in comparable old industrial cities. Finally, Glasgow is where I live and work, and has been the subject of much of my study and political engagement for nearly a decade. I have been writing about aspects of urban development and contestation in the city since 2006 in a series of in-depth articles and reviews, especially relating to gentrification, cultural regeneration, the creative economy, and housing issues (friendofzanetti, 2006; Gray, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013a, 2014). These studies have been inextricably related to ongoing activist work around large-scale regeneration projects, housing, and the conditions of cultural labour. I will discuss this engagement in more detail in Chapter 4, which outlines my methodology. Trying to understand the city’s socio-economic relations, then, and the immanent possibilities for socio-political transformation therein is an everyday, practical problem for me as much as a theoretically compelling research question.

In *Chapter 1* I examine Lefebvre’s contention that industrialisation has increasingly been supplanted by urbanisation; his influential notion of ‘the production of space’; and his

critique of the ‘state mode of production’ (SMP) and state productivism. At a meta-level, Lefebvre’s understanding of ‘abstract space’ provides a vital means to understand the production of space as a *general tendency* with important political implications, much as Marx understood production in general as a real abstraction that masked relations of class and power. For both Marx and Lefebvre these abstractions provide the basis for immanent collective action, and Lefebvre’s notion of spatial abstraction in particular will be implicit throughout this thesis. The question of abstract space centres on the subordination of use value by exchange value, and I will thus emphasise Lefebvre’s fundamental critique of political economy, which is often sidelined in political economic readings of his work (Charnock, 2010). Crucially, for Lefebvre, abstract space always includes the possibility of differential space (the space of a counter culture or a counter space), and in this chapter I will explore his meta-philosophical critique of everyday life to stress how he approached spatial abstraction through notions of embodied urban struggle. These forms of struggle can be seen in Lefebvre’s notions of the ‘right to the city’ and ‘territorial autogestion’ (generalised self-management), which are both posited as means of direct democracy that might move political action beyond the workplace into the entire terrain of social relations (production *and* reproduction).

In **Chapter 2** I will develop Lefebvre’s influential theses through contemporary readings of ‘the urbanisation of capital’. Drawing on Harvey in particular, I note how urbanisation has often been neglected as a serious issue by the ‘productivist’ Left and Marxist economic orthodoxy. However, Harvey’s development of Lefebvre’s thesis of ‘capital switching’ from the ‘primary’ circuit (industry and manufacturing) to the ‘secondary’ circuit (land, property, real estate and the built environment); his examination of the absorption of capital and labour surpluses; and his emphasis on the related conceptions of ‘spatial fixing’, uneven development, territorial devalorisation and ‘creative destruction’, confirm the continuing importance of urbanisation for capital accumulation strategies, particularly in times of economic and social crisis. Property is, of course, central to the ongoing global financial crisis, which began in earnest in 2007 with the ‘sub-prime’ mortgage crisis, and Chapter 2 will also survey recent literature by urban and economic geographers that examines the roots of this crisis in the areas of urban financialisation, fictitious capital, the rentier economy, and credit and debt in the urban economy. In this way, the general tendencies that Lefebvre outlined are given empirical weight for the contemporary conjuncture.

In *Chapter 3* I will draw on the heterodox tradition of AM to explore what I consider to be the inherently antagonistic relations of capital (cf. Panzieri, 1964; Tronti M 1979 [1964]; Cleaver, 1979; Negri A, 2003 [1967], 2005; Wright, 2002). Through parallel critiques of the ‘planner state’ and political economy, expressed most sharply in the ‘refusal of work’ slogan, AM posed a direct challenge to mainstream political thought and much of western Marxism. Following Mario Tronti’s ‘Copernican inversion’ (1979 [1964]) of the capital labour relation, they generated forms of class struggle that took their starting point from autonomous working class activity, rather than capitalist initiatives, often in direct confrontation with the parties and unions of the Left. A high point of AM in the classical phase of operaismo (‘workerism’) was the ‘Hot Autumn’ of 1969 and the struggles of the ‘mass worker’ in the factories of northern Italy, but the movement increasingly went ‘beyond the factory walls’ to embrace the entire socio-spatial terrain. Influenced by the feminist movement in the early 1970s, struggles in the wider ‘social factory’ encompassed a broad critique of everyday life, expressed in a series of urban campaigns (‘territorial community activism’; ‘take over the city’), just as de-industrialisation and recession began to eclipse the vanguard role of the factory worker. These political developments in the arena of social reproduction, I argue, have important consequences for political work in the present conjuncture, albeit marked by quite different historical and material circumstances.

In *Chapter 4* I will develop new spatial methodologies based on the autonomous Marxist conceptions of ‘class composition’ and ‘workers’ enquiry’. While autonomous ideas are often cited within the discipline of geography, the origins of autonomy in operaismo are rarely discussed in depth. Augmenting the historiography of operaismo in Chapter 3, this chapter will examine how the methodologies of composition and inquiry evolved in the milieus of operaismo and post-operaismo in the 1960s and 1970s, before speculating on how these methods might be re-worked for the current socio-economic conjuncture. In particular, I propose transforming these modalities through the distinctive methodologies of what I have termed ‘spatial composition’ and ‘territorial enquiry’, so that compositionist methodology can be utilised in a more spatially attuned manner. The method of spatial composition will then be mobilised in Chapter 5 to comprehend the socio-spatial development of Glasgow from the late-19th century until the 1990s, and the ways that this development has been challenged politically. Spatial composition and territorial inquiry methods will then be marshaled to understand urban transformation in the present era through a specific case study of a large-scale cultural regeneration project in the north of

the city (Chapter 6), and the urban transformation of the East End of the city through the Commonwealth Games 2014 and Clyde Gateway regeneration projects (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5 provides a basis for understanding the spatial composition of Glasgow in the present era through several ‘cuts’ into the socio-spatial development of the city since the late-19th century. Specifically, I will examine the first major planned intervention in the city via the 1866 City Improvement Trust (CIT); the 1915 Rent Strikes; the creative destruction of Glasgow’s urban environment through the combined auspices of the post-war Bruce and Abercrombie Plans; the modernist housing revolution from the 1950s to the 1970s; the beginnings of public-private planning partnerships in the 1970s; and the city’s influential neoliberal transformation and cultural regeneration strategy in the 1980s, with a specific focus on the widespread privatisation and demolition of the city’s housing stock. Overall, this chapter will aim to establish that industry and manufacturing have been in decline in the city since the early 1920s, with major implications for the types of political mobilisation that are likely to be effective. The question of social reproduction, I will argue, has been more central to governance than industrial production in the 20th century, and this has been recognised as an immanent political fact by some of the city’s residents, even if traditional Left organisations have largely neglected this compositional shift in theoretical and practical terms (Helms and Cumbers, 2006; Gray, 2010a). This chapter will also aim to establish how cultural regeneration has come to have an increasingly important symbolic importance for the city’s highly uneven ‘regeneration’ processes. These changes have involved a dramatic recomposition of the working population via the service sector, land and property speculation, and the rentier economy, which has reconfigured the possibilities for immanent, dialectical struggle.

In *Chapter 6* I will explore the socio-spatial repercussions of the processes of industrial decomposition described in Chapter 5, through an analysis of an emerging ‘cultural quarter’ at Speirs Wharf, a canalside regeneration area to the immediate North of the city. This chapter will examine multiple public and policy discourses and ‘fixes’ - in particular the ‘creativity fix’ (Peck, 2007); and the ‘sustainability fix’ (While *et al*, 2004; Temenos and McCann, 2012) - around a theme of ‘austerity’ planning which, underwritten by state subsidy, frames cultural regeneration as a placebo for long-term social and economic decline. However, these seemingly progressive discourses of creativity and sustainability, I will argue, mask a pernicious land grab and privatisation of social housing in the area, while perpetuating a ‘post-political’ discursive climate that excludes marginalised resident

populations. In this way, they reflect the rhetorical requirements of the technical composition of capital as it transforms from industry and manufacturing to land and property-based speculation. In response, this chapter will explore my adaptation of class composition and inquiry methods empirically, through spatial composition analysis and a description of a ‘territorial inquiry’ that I led as a collective public walk in the area. Territorial inquiry, I will argue, is a critical methodological tool that provides a necessary critique of contemporary urban regeneration from an embodied, relational perspective. The question of *decomposition* will be central to this analysis, as it must be in an area that has suffered from severe de-industrialisation.

In *Chapter 7* I will focus on the urban transformation of the East End of the city in relation to the Commonwealth Games 2014 events and the Clyde Gateway regeneration project, the largest of its kind in Scotland. These developments, in conjunction with Scottish Government and City Council policy, have catalysed a massive urban transformation in the area, involving punitive welfare reform, the continuing erosion of social housing provision and social services, and the recomposition of employment relations via the expansion of the leisure and business sectors. Such transformations, I will show, have not been of much benefit to some of the most deprived populations in the UK. This chapter argues that the urbanisation of capital, which is exemplified in large-scale mega-event regeneration projects, necessitates immanent, dialectical forms of urban struggle. Drawing on my work with the *Glasgow Games Monitor 2014* (2007-2015), I will focus on the role of land and property markets in particular, stressing how long-term devalorisation in the area through sustained disinvestment has created the necessary, if not sufficient, conditions for potentially profitable re-investment, especially when lubricated with considerable state subsidy. These processes have not been without resistance, and I will discuss examples of these actually existing struggles, and their limitations, in conclusion.

1. Henri Lefebvre: The Urban Revolution and Spatial Politics

I repeat that there is a politics of space, because space is political (Lefebvre, 2009 [1970], p.174).

Henri Lefebvre has become widely known as one of the leading spatial theoreticians in the Marxist tradition, and perhaps the most forceful advocate for the reassertion of space in critical social theory more generally (Soja, 1989; Jameson, 1991; Smith, 2003 [1970]; Goonewardena *et al*, 2008; Brenner and Elden, 2009). In this chapter, I will stress how Lefebvre's foundational work on the urbanisation of capital provides an essential framework for grasping an immanent politics of space that is commensurate with the contemporary neoliberal urban conjuncture. His work also provides an exemplary model for a complex interplay between the particular and the general, the subjective and the objective, and the situated and the abstract (cf. Sohn-Rothel, 1978; Toscano, 2008, 2012); a model which will be central to this thesis throughout. His unitary theory of the production of space, bearing a certain abstract universality borrowed from Hegel, allows for general insights to be drawn about space under a process of universal commodity exchange (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). Yet crucially, his notion of 'abstract space', paralleling Marx's theorisation of 'abstract labour', also suggests the potential for immanent, dialectical struggle against capital at the situated level of everyday life.

Some political economic readings of Lefebvre's work have tended to neglect the autonomous, subjective position that was central to his oeuvre (Kipfer *et al*, 2008, 2013). Yet this position is untenable given Lefebvre's influential role in putting the urban on the agenda "as an explicit locus and target of political organizing" (Neil Smith (2003 [1970]), p.vii). This chapter will thus contribute to Charnock's (2010) call for urban geographers to embrace Lefebvre's critique of space in a way: "that does not substitute an open theory of the space of political economy with a closed theory of the political economy of the regulation of space" (Ibid, p.1279). I will stress the radical nature of Lefebvre's critique of political economy and the state, which I will also compare with similar critiques found in Italian autonomous Marxism (AM) (see Chapters 3 and 4). Such a comparison is especially evident in Lefebvre's critique of the 'state mode of production' (SMP) and AM's critique of the 'planner state', and in Chapter 5 I will show how these interpretations have particular resonance for Glasgow, where the abstract spatial planning of the post-war era has so fundamentally shaped the socio-spatial development of the city.

This chapter will move progressively through Lefebvre's more abstract philosophical considerations, to the particular and concrete suggestions he made with regard to contesting the production of space under capitalist relations. This method, in many ways, mirrors the method applied in the thesis overall. I will explore Lefebvre's method of philosophical abstraction along with his internally related conception of differential space. I will then discuss his theory of the urbanisation of space and the intersection between capital and the production of space, before examining his conception of the SMP and related critiques of state productivism and political economy. Finally, I will examine his formulation of a politics of space through the ideas of the celebrated 'right to the city' thesis and his less well-known conception of *territorial autogestion* (generalised collective self-management or 'workers control').

1.1. The Method of Abstraction and the Demystification of Space

It is necessary to demystify spatial relations in much the same way Marx demystified the commodity form, to reveal the social relations which lie beneath their ideological blanket. This may be the primary task of Marxist analysis (Soja, 1980, p.224).

Lefebvre's method of *abstraction*, heavily influenced by Marx, allowed him to identify space as a central and generalised concern within Marxism. This method was developed to counter prevailing methods of scientific and positivist abstraction within spatial thinking. At best, he argued, space passed as an "empty zone, a container indifferent to its content, but defined by certain unexpressed criteria: absolute, optico-geometrical, Euclidean-Cartesian-Newtonian" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p.206). This influential view of static geometric space was widely developed by key human geographers in the 'spatial turn' of the 1980s and 1990s (Smith, 2010 [1984]); Gregory and Urry, 1985; Soja, 1989; Massey, 1995 [1984]). The privileging of time and the 'subordination of space' in Marxism and social theory, argued Soja (1989), emerged in the classic era of competitive industrial capitalism in the mid-19th century when the motor of uneven development was theorised as primarily historical and located in the forces of production (Bunge, 1977; Harvey, 2012). As Marx put it, geography was seen as little more than an "unnecessary complication" in the real business of class struggle (Soja, 1989, p.32)². Soja (1980, 1989, 2010) has repeatedly emphasised how Lefebvre played a vital role in understanding space as something *produced* rather than a-priori, and thus, crucially, subject to change. But this focus on

² Quoted by Soja (1989) without reference.

space rather than time has often been said to risk ‘spatial fetishism’ by “crowning space” at the expense of historical understanding (Elden, 2001, p.817; Kipfer *et al*, 2008; Stanek, 2011). Yet, it is important to realize that Lefebvre does not only spatialise the dialectic (Soja, 1989), a hugely significant undertaking in itself, but rather he conceives of space dialectically as one element in a broader critique of everyday life under capitalist conditions (Wilson, 2013).

For Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), the geometric conception of space as an idealised ‘empty area’, and the Cartesian opposition between the thinking ‘I’ and the ‘object’ (of space), eliminated the “concrete” or “collective” subject, which both transformed and was transformed by the world (Ibid, p.4). The ‘mental space’ of philosophers and ‘real space’ were thus separated through an epistemological-philosophical discourse that failed to ground itself in material reality. This neo-Cartesian view of space produced a multiplicity of separated, fragmented spaces, a state of affairs that he aimed “to detonate” (Ibid, p.25). To counter what he called the ‘fragmentary sciences’, he sought a revived project of “unity and totality” which attempted to construct, in praxis, relations between fields and fragments hitherto apprehended separately (Lefebvre, 2005 [1981], p.17; Kipfer *et al*, 2008; Wilson, 2013). The concepts of ‘unity’ or ‘totality’ are often treated with suspicion, given postmodern and poststructural scepticism towards truth claims and teleological ‘meta-narratives’³. “Overview”, as Toscano (2012) suggests, can easily become “another name for oversight” (Ibid, p.66).

Yet, despite these qualifications, I want to stress that the widespread “taboo on totality” in the humanities (Jameson, 1998a, p.39) elides what Toscano (2008) terms ‘the open secret of real abstraction’ in Marxism. Toscano draws on Sohn-Rethel’s (1978) methodological viewpoint which stands in opposition to the abstract division of intellectual and manual labour. In traditional philosophy, he argues, abstraction is generally understood as “the exclusive privilege of thought” (Ibid, p.18), yet ‘real abstraction’, for Sohn-Rothel, emerges in material conditions through the abstract equivalence of commodity exchange (Ibid, p.69). “In exchange”, he argues, “the action is social, the minds are private” (Ibid, p.29). In Marxist thought, ‘society’ as such is the appearance in the abstract of the totality of relations reproduced through the reproduction of the relations of production. The ‘secret’ of real abstraction is thus no mere flattery of the mind. As Marx states in the *Grundrisse* (1993), production, distribution, exchange and consumption form “members of

³ It could be countered that the discourse of the end of the meta-narrative has become a meta-narrative in itself, disavowing the meta-narrative of capitalism which remains in rude health despite rumours of its demise.

a totality, distinctions within a unity” (Ibid, p.99); a regular syllogism where “production is the generality, distribution and exchange the particularity, and consumption the singularity in which the whole is joined together” (Ibid, p.89). As Toscano argues (2008), real abstraction proceeds from real material processes under specifically capitalist conditions: “...in the Marxist schema, to put it bluntly, *abstraction precedes thought*. More precisely, it is the social activity of abstraction, in its form as commodity exchange that plays the pivotal role in the analysis of real abstraction” (Ibid, p.281). This is the meaning of abstraction upon which I will draw throughout this thesis.

Adorno argued in the 1960s that a general critical theory of society had been abandoned for specialised fragmented knowledge and political resignation: “one no longer dares to conceive of the whole since one must despair of changing it” (cited, 2009, p.34). Adorno held firm to such a general theory, and so did Lefebvre, who retained a concept of totality, which, much like Adorno’s theory, was: “dynamic, open-ended, undetermined” (Jay, 1984, p.296; Charnock, 2010). As Lefebvre (2008 [1981]) put it, such a theory should provide a path for “approaching the whole concretely” without hoping for final closure (p.16). His unitary theory was based on what Hegel termed the ‘concrete universal’, meaning that the concepts of production and the act of producing, widely understood, have a “certain abstract universality” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p.15). Lefebvre’s great contribution was to apply this understanding to space through the concept of abstract space. Abstract space, he argued, “corresponds [...] to abstract labour - Marx’s designation for labour in general” (1991 [1974], p.307). This conception of spatial production is clarified in the shift that he advocated from an analysis of “the production of things in space to one of the production of space itself” (Lefebvre, 2009 [1979], p.186).

As Merrifield (2000) observes, *The Production of Space* is founded, in large part, on a spatial reworking of Marx’s (1990) discussion of the fetishism of commodities in *Capital Vol. 1*. Marx showed that the commodity (the ‘product’), “is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves”, which assumes under capitalist relations of commodity production “the fantastic form of a relation between things” (Marx, 1990, p.165). Through the ‘magic and necromancy’ of exchange relations under capitalism, humans equate their different kinds of labour, just as their different kinds of products, as value, and do this “without being aware of it” (Ibid, p.166-167). Lefebvre similarly lays bare the concept of space as a social hieroglyphic that assumes the form of “a collection of things”, or an “aggregate of (sensory) data” in everyday life, in order to unravel the exploitative relations

therein (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p.27). The implication of this understanding is given lucid expression in *The Production of Space*:

If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The ‘object’ of interest must be expected to shift from things in space to the actual production of space (Ibid, p.37).

The concept of ‘abstract space’ plays a pivotal, though often under-acknowledged, role in Lefebvre’s conception of the production of space (Stanek, 2008, 2011; Wilson, 2013). Abstract space, he argued, is dominated by exchange value over use value, forming a politics and practice which conceives of and produces space as an empty medium, where objects (houses, machines, industrial facilities, infrastructure, etc), produce a restricted homogenous rationality that destroys differential space (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). The imposition of abstract space has led to “a kind of overall colonization of space” (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970], p.113), which has “no *real* interest in qualitative difference” (Merrifield, 2000, p.175). For Lefebvre (2003), abstract space is defined by the triad “homogenization-fragmentation-hierarchy” which forms the central framework of modernism: homogenous because of mass production techniques; fragmented because, paradoxically, homogeneity is reduced to parcels, units and lots; and hierarchical, because this space of modernity is zoned, poorly linked and establishes a centre/periphery dichotomy (Ibid, p.210). Abstract space functions “objectally” as a set of formal and quantitative things/signs erasing differences and distinctions; it functions positively via technology and applied sciences, and negatively to differential space-time. It is the locus, medium and tool of spatial power (1991 [1974], p.49-50). In abstract space: “[t]he space of a (social) order is hidden in the order of space” (Ibid, p.289).

This conception may seem rather forbidding, but crucially Lefebvre’s conception of abstraction and differential space offered a vital alternative to the subject/object dichotomy of prevailing phenomenological and structuralist approaches in post-war continental philosophy (Kaplan and Ross, 1987, p.3). I will turn to what I mean by differential space shortly, but it is worth briefly contrasting here Lefebvre’s approach with that of phenomenology, structuralism and modernism. Bachelard’s (1994 [1958]) eulogy of the ‘traditional’ house, and the question of ‘poetic dwelling’ by Heidegger (1951), were “negative references” for Lefebvre as both evaded the determinate abstraction of contemporary processes of spatial production (Stanek, 2011, p.88; Wilson, 2013). On the other hand, for Lefebvre, the over-determining structuralism of Althusser and the modernist functionalism of Le Corbusier, and his pale epigones, failed to account for the

subjective experience of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1976; 2003a; Sadler, 1999; McDonough, 2009; Stanek, 2011). This is not the place for a fuller consideration of these debates, but, while Elden (2004a) proposes a Left-Heideggerian marriage ‘between Marx and Heidegger’ via Lefebvre, I side with Adorno’s (2003) critique of Heidegger for prioritising the concretisation of experience, thought and behavior while disavowing “a total state of affairs which oriented itself according to something abstract - according to exchange” (Adorno, 2003, p.75). Heidegger’s “phenomenology of the ontic” (Lefebvre, 1981, pp.18), I would argue, is better approached through Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life, which mediates between the particular and universal in ways that suggest greater collective political potential.

For Lefebvre, the ideology of modern architecture appeared as a distillation of abstract space and a pivotal episode in the development and realisation of the capitalist state mode of production. His critique of modern architecture is perhaps expressed most forcefully in *Notes on the New Town* (In, Lefebvre, 2011, pp.116-126), where the town of Moulins is viewed as a paradigmatic example of modern French capitalism veiled by a discourse of socialist modernism; and where functionalism and abstraction fragment social existence while riding “roughshod over everyday life” (Lefebvre, 1995 [1962], p.120). As one resident put it: “everyone is considered according to the organization chart of the factory” (Stanek, 2011, p.109). While Lefebvre’s critique of architectural modernism is known to have strongly influenced the Situationist International (Sadler, 1999; Swyngedouw, 2002; McDonough, 2009), there are also intriguing, though largely unexplored, links with the Italian architectural critic, Manfredo Tafuri (1998 [1969], 1976; see Stanek, 2011). Tafuri was strongly influenced by AM’s critique of the ‘planner state’, leading him to link modern architecture, design and spatial production inextricably with capitalist development, just as Lefebvre did with the SMP. I will explore this relation further in Chapters 3 and 4, as these arguments have particular resonance for understanding Glasgow as an exemplar of ‘the planned city’ (Gibb, 1983), as we will see in Chapter 5. Lefebvre’s notion of abstract space undoubtedly provides a powerful diagnostic tool, but, as Wilson (2013) observes, the dialectical tension that Lefebvre saw between the production of abstract space and antagonistic ‘differential space’ (see, Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) has been too little explored and demands further exploration.

1.2. The Critique of Everyday Life, Metaphilosophy and Differential Space

Man must be everyday, or he will not be at all (Lefebvre, 1991 [1947], p.127)

As Simmel (2002) observed in *The Metropolis and Mental Life* [1903], the city has long been subject to abstract equivalence ('the money economy'), resulting in that most urban of conditions: "the blasé outlook" (Ibid, p.14). Yet he also stressed the possibilities of transformative encounter in the city when we do not merely condone everyday life but try to understand and apprehend it. Lefebvre's immanent metaphilosophical 'critique of everyday life' was based on similar premises and possibilities, and these can be considered through his influential conceptual triad of *spatial practice* (the practice of daily reality and repetitive urban routine); *representations of space* (the conceptualised space of scientists, planners, urbanists, artists, etc - the dominant space where perception and conception are united); and *representational spaces* (the lived space of urban inhabitants through images and symbols - a space of semiotic subsumption which the imagination seeks to transform) (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], pp.38-39). This conceptual triad is supplemented by another one; the perceived, the conceived and the lived (corresponding, in order, to spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces) (Ibid, p.40). Political economic readings of Lefebvre have typically privileged the perceived or conceived versions of Lefebvre's triad over the *lived* experience of inhabitants, obviating the dialectical relations between abstract and differential space that were so central to Lefebvre's thought (Kipfer *et al*, 2008; Wilson, 2013). But while Lefebvre thought spatial abstraction was responsible for "the devastating conquest of the lived by the conceived" (cited, Wilson, 2013, p.366), his concept of abstract space is internally related to the possibility of 'differential space' (the space of a counter culture or a counter space) within the contradictions of abstract space: "[r]eal alienation can be thought of and determined only in terms of a possible disalienation" (cited, Ibid, p.372). In Chapter 5, I will examine how the spatial abstraction of post-war urban planning in Glasgow, was contested concretely by proponents of differential space.

Lefebvre considered the critique of everyday life his "principal contribution to Marxism" (Elden, 2004b, p.110). First developed with Norbert Guterman in *Mystification: Notes for a Critique of Everyday Life* [1933], the critique concerns subjective practico-sensory experience that is alienated and mediated by an abstract world of commodity-equivalence, where "everything is suspect" (Lefebvre, 2003a, p.81). Alienation became central to Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the early 1930s, when he collaborated with Guterman on the enormously influential first French translation of Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (1959 [1844]). Introducing the text and writing

commentaries on its significance, he helped to restore the then disavowed concept of alienation within Marxism through a radical re-reading of Marx's marginalised early humanist works. Lefebvre defined what he meant by the term negatively in *Critique of Everyday Life Vol. 1* (1991a [1947]): critique of individuality (private consciousness); critique of mystifications (mystified consciousness); critique of money (fetishism and economic alienation); critique of 'needs' (psychological and moral under capitalist relations); critique of work (alienation of the worker); and critique of freedom (as understood in liberal human rights) (Ibid, pp.148-175). These separate domains, he argued, are reproduced through the partial, positivist viewpoint of the 'fragmentary sciences' which "does not step outside the *fait accompli*: the 'factual', the 'real'" (Lefebvre, 2005 [1981], p.4). Crucially, this critique was mobilised against the division of labour under capitalism, but also as an *internal* critique of an ontological Marxism of party and state that neglected communism as movement and becoming:

There is a theoretical revolution to be carried out, and the radical critique of the ideology of the party is part of it; it must strike against *ouvrierisme*, against fetishism of the working class and against a lot of other kinds of fetishism (Lefebvre, 1976, p.99).

This radical rejection of reified forms is apparent in Lefebvre's concept of 'metaphilosophy' which is ultimately concerned with the supersession and practical realisation of philosophy: "We have, then, asserted that everyday life is the object of philosophy precisely because it is non-philosophical. Thus we direct the course of philosophy away from its traditional objectives" (Ibid, p.17). The notion of the realisation of philosophy within Marxism goes back to Marx's doctoral thesis where, sounding like a proto-Deleuzian, he declares that "the world's becoming philosophical is at the same time philosophy's becoming worldly, that its realization is at the same time its loss" (cited, Elden, 2004b, p.85). The theory is perhaps most influentially expressed in Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), where he argues that philosophy should transform the world through "*practical, human-sensuous activity*" rather than merely interpreting it. Like Marx and Sohn-Rothel, Lefebvre saw the fragmentation and specialisation of knowledge as a result of the *division of labour* (technical, social and intellectual), related to class structure, the relations of production and ownership, institutions and ideologies. He argued that the critique of everyday life should approach the whole concretely between "the experiential, the philosophical and the political" (Lefebvre, 2005 [1981], p.17). "How can we manage to convince specialists", he asked (2003 [1970], "that they need to overcome their own

terminologies, their lexicons, their syntax, their way of thinking, their jargon, their professional slant, their tendency towards obscurantism, and their arrogance as owners of a domain?" (Ibid, p.55). Lefebvre's critique of specialised 'roles' would become very influential for the Situationist International and various avant-garde movements that followed them (Vaneigem, 1994 [1967]), and I will take up these questions in Chapter 6 when discussing a collective 'territorial inquiry' I led in Glasgow in 2012.

Adorno (1973 [1966]) famously argued that the moment for philosophy to realise itself had been missed, "breaking its pledge to be at one with reality" (Ibid, p.3). Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) agreed with this verdict, but argued that metaphilosophy might supply the "scope and vision" for this project to be renewed again in the face of political resignation (Ibid, pp.64-65). Everyday life under abstract space may be mediated by the commodity and shrouded in all manner of mystification, yet at the same time it remains, through lived experience, a "primal site of meaningful social resistance" (Merrifield, 2000, p.176). For Lefebvre (1969), the contradictions of differential space were profoundly detonated against the rational functionalism of the Nanterre campus in May 68 (Stanek, 2011, pp.179-191). In the May events, Lefebvre saw "space [...] exploding on all sides", and "everywhere people [...] realizing that spatial relations are social relations" (Lefebvre, 2009 [1979], p.190). Yet Lefebvre's project was not merely based on affirmationism and the disavowal of material constraints (see, Noys, 2010); instead, it was based on an immanent negative critique.

Bemoaning the reduction of cultural studies to an interpretative "politics of representation", largely devoid of structural engagement with the problems of the capitalist monopoly of everyday life, Roberts (1999) argues that Lefebvre's project maintains a "negative political leverage" that nevertheless displays an openness towards possibility (Ibid, p.28). Indeed, against misunderstandings of Marx as a theoretician of positive reality and political realism, Lefebvre (2008 [1981]) argued that Marx was a "*thinker of the negative*" who decreed that the historical mission of workers was "the negation of work" (Ibid, p.167). In this sense, Charnock (2010, 2014) is right to assert that Lefebvre's work bears comparison with the 'open Marxist' tradition, which places negation in the foreground of its analysis. His work also bears comparison with AM's 'refusal of work' position, which I will examine in Chapter 3. Kipfer *et al* (2008) have stressed how some political economic readings of Lefebvre's work can be reductive of the situated and subjective elements in his work, but we should also be wary of an *inverse reductionism* that occludes the wider structural analysis of space that he pioneered. Just as Lefebvre's

notion of abstract space is intimately tied to differential space (Wilson, 2013), so his notion of differential space is immanent to the problematic of abstract space. The next section will thus examine his influential thesis that urbanisation had come to supplant industrialisation as a primary contradiction in the second half of the 20th century.

1.3. Space: The ‘Ultimate Object of Exchange’

Urban reality modifies the relations of production without being sufficient to transform them. It becomes a productive force, like science. Space and the politics of space express social relationships but react against them (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970], p.14)

This formulation from Lefebvre’s *The Urban Revolution* inaugurated the possibility of the ‘socio-spatial dialectic’ for Soja (1980), suggesting that social and spatial relationships are “dialectically inter-reactive, interdependent; that social relations of production are both space-forming and space-contingent” (Ibid, p.211). Once we see that space intervenes in production itself, Lefebvre (2003) stresses, the concept of space cannot remain static or isolated: “It becomes dialectical: product-producer, underpinning economic and social relations” (Ibid, p.208). For Lefebvre (2009 [1978a]), then, spatial production is viewed as a “privileged instrument” (Ibid, p.226) in accumulation strategies, imbuing space with economic functions and determining the reproduction of the social relations of production:

The spatial arrangement of a city, a region, a nation, or a continent increases productive forces, just as do the equipment and machines in a factory or in a business, but at another level. One uses space just as one use machines (Lefebvre, 2009, p.188).

As Neil Smith (2003 [1970]) observes, contemporary urbanisation gives much credence to Lefebvre’s claims. At a territorial level, the reconstruction of urban centres on a vast scale has become the means of “embedding the logics, threads, and assumptions of capital accumulation more deeply than ever in the landscape” (Ibid, p.xxi). Global gentrification, he argues, has now become a “central motive force of urban economic expansion” (Smith, 2002, p.100). Lefebvre frequently argued that our contemporary conditions of production and reproduction could not have been known by Marx in the 19th century, and therefore we must go beyond him, using his methodology not as “a system or a dogma but a reference” (Lefebvre, 1988, p.77). Since the Second World War, he argued, there had been a major wave of industrialisation and urbanisation that required new concepts to apprehend the

spatial aspects of the everyday, the urban, social time and space, and the state-oriented mode of production: “since each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p.46). For Lefebvre, such reflections were linked directly to political issues of class composition and the possibility of struggle within and against the contemporary restructuring of the class relation under capitalism (Stanek, 2011). As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2006) stress, following in Marx’s footsteps means foregoing idealised, trans-historical frameworks and developing “new theories for the new reality” (Ibid, p.140), and this was precisely the open path of Marxism that Lefebvre chose. In Chapter 4, following a similarly open path, I extend Lefebvre’s thinking on urbanisation by developing spatial composition analysis as a methodology for interrogating and contesting contemporary spatial production.

On a cautionary note, Smith (2002) warns that Lefebvre’s inversion from industrialisation to urbanisation should not be seen as something absolute - witness the globalisation of industrial production - but rather as part of a powerful tendency towards the urban as a site of capitalist expansion. This qualification returns us to earlier receptions of Lefebvre’s work in the 1970s, where doubts were expressed by major Marxist thinkers about the *degree* of spatial determination in the relations of production, including the sociologist Manuel Castells (1977) and the geographer David Harvey (1973). Both felt that Lefebvre succumbed to “spatial fetishism” whereby spatial or territorial conflict was presumed to supersede class conflict in production; spatial relationships were envisioned as autonomous from history and human action; and spatial structures were separated from the social relations of production (Soja, 1980, p.208). Harvey (1973) also thought it premature of Lefebvre to assert that the ‘secondary circuit’ of urbanisation had replaced the primary circuit of industrialisation as the motor of accumulation, even if he did acknowledge that it may well be in “the process of becoming true” (Ibid, p.313). As we will see in Chapter 2, Harvey later became influential in developing Lefebvre’s thesis through the theories of ‘capital switching’ and surplus absorption.

Soja (1980) suggested that the method of abstraction which Marx used in *Capital Vol.1* to explain the laws of value - under pure and homogenous theoretical conditions - had abstracted away the particularities of time and place that are central to the reproduction of the relations of production. But if the salient role of space was thus relegated, Soja (1989) later argued, the conditions that underlie the survival of capitalism in contemporary times undoubtedly gave space a more significant role in social and economic relations. Yet,

while Lefebvre argued that theory must take account of the urban revolution, this did not mean that the urban had completely supplanted the industrial. He viewed the process instead as one of “transition” (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970], p.138). Lefebvre’s speculative assertions can be seen in the light of Marx’s method of the *tendency*. As Hardt and Negri (2006) emphasise, when Marx studied industrial production in the 19th century, arguing that it would provide the key site of immanent labour struggles in the future, agriculture was still by far the most dominant sector. Yet industrial production and its contradictions would be a hegemonic concern of the labour movement in much of the 20th century, at least in most of Western Europe and the US⁴, and Marx’s tendential, speculative thought provided an essential diagnostic for that project (Ibid, p.141). Controversy over the degree of spatial determination in the relations of production is ongoing, but it is clear that spatial production has become increasingly central to accumulation strategies and that it requires an immanent political response. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will expand on this thesis with a specific focus on Glasgow.

In *Space: Social Product and Use Value*, Lefebvre (2009 [1979]) argued that space was now produced in and through the process of capitalist development as a “political instrument” of primary importance (Ibid, p.188). In an economy built on flows of energy, materials, labour, information, etc, the planning of the modern economy had become *spatial planning*, producing an increasingly abstract space with extensive networks of communication, exchange and transport (ports, roads, train stations, etc), “utilized to produce surplus value” (Ibid, p.187). The spatial arrangement of territory at all scales, Lefebvre argued, had become central to increasing and enhancing productive and reproductive forces: “...in the current mode of production, social space is considered among the *productive forces and the means of production, among the social relations of production and, especially, their reproduction*” (Ibid, p.189). Deploying his ongoing critique of the ‘fragmentary sciences’, Lefebvre observed how the ideologists of administrative urbanism - technocrats, planners, architects, etc - whether Right or Left, routinely disavow the fact that every space is a “product” which they themselves are co-implicated in:

Urbanists seem to be unaware of or misinterpret the fact that they themselves figure in these relationships of production as organizers and administrators. They implement, they do not control space. They obey a social command that is not

⁴ Of course there has been a great deal of work in the history-from-below and subaltern studies traditions challenging this tendency, but notably as *counter-hegemonic* strategies.

directed at any given object or any given product (commodity) but a global object, the supreme product, the ultimate object of exchange: space (Ibid, p.154).

The control of space, he argued, is no longer just about the control of objects in space. Instead, space itself has become a product in its own right, produced and exchanged as such:

Space is no longer only an indifferent medium, the sum of places where surplus value is created, realized and distributed. It becomes the product of social labour, the very general object of production, and consequently of the formation of surplus value. This is how production becomes social within the very framework of neocapitalism (Ibid, p.154-155).

By the early 1970s, urbanism had become a key feature of what Lefebvre termed the ‘bureaucratic society of controlled consumption’ and a central pivot of the economic exchange of space and habitat. The “unforeseen path” of the socialisation of productive forces was the production of space, which Lefebvre (1976) famously argued had become central to ‘the survival of capitalism’. Running out of profitable means of accumulation, capital “found new inspiration in the conquest of space [...] in real estate speculation, capital projects (inside and outside the city), the buying and selling of space. And it did so on a worldwide scale” (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970], p.155). In this process, space is instrumentalised to privilege exchange-value over use-value, dominating the ‘user’ or the ‘inhabitant’ of the city: “Space becomes a place where various functions are carried out, the most important and most hidden being that of forming, realizing, and distributing in novel ways the surplus of an entire society (generalized surplus value within the capitalist mode of production)” (Ibid, p.156). Central to this project, for Lefebvre, was a general shift or ‘switch’ from the primary sector of industry and manufacturing to the secondary sector of land, real estate, housing and the built environment (Harvey, 1985; Beauregard, 1994; Gotham, 2006; Christophers, 2011).

Lefebvre presaged current urban developments in an extraordinarily prescient manner. In *Reflections on the Politics of Space*, (Lefebvre, 2009 [1970]), he argued that the mobilisation of rent and real estate wealth must be understood as “one of the great extensions of finance capital within recent years” (Ibid, p.177). While the real estate circuit had traditionally played a subsidiary role to the industrial and economic sectors, he argued, it was gradually integrating the construction industry into the industrial, banking and financial circuit, and embedding itself within the production-consumption circuit. At times

when industry slackened, investments in urban production were increasingly utilised as an alternative strategy: “Capital investment thus finds a place of refuge, a supplementary and complementary territory for exploitation” (Ibid). In a key section of chapter eight in *The Urban Revolution* (2003 [1970]), Lefebvre explains how the production of space is inextricably bound up with shifts in investment from the primary sector, industry and manufacturing, to speculation and construction in the secondary sector, running parallel to industrial production (Ibid, p.159). This sector, he argues, serves for capitalism as a crucial “buffer” in times of industrial slowdown and economic depression: “As the principal circuit [...] begins to slow down, capital shifts to the second sector, real estate” (Ibid, p.160). With the decline of industrial production in a time of depression or economic crisis, real estate can even become the primary sector in the formation of capital:

As the percentage of overall surplus value formed and realized by industry begins to decline, the percentage created and realized by real-estate speculation and construction increases. The second circuit supplants the first, becomes essential (Ibid).

The proposition that the second sector has *supplanted* the first is overstated here and better seen as tendency rather than a completed project, as noted previously. Harvey argues very usefully that we should see the production of space as an increasingly important avenue for the *realisation* of surplus value (corresponding to the circulation schemas of *Capital Vol.2*), rather than the *direct production* of surplus value (corresponding to the productive schemas of *Capital Vol.1*) (see, Merrifield, 2014, p.24). I will examine the question of capital switching further in Chapter 2. For now, it is important to stress that Lefebvre conceived switching as intimately bound up with economic and social crisis. As he observes in *The Urban Revolution* (2003 [1970]), economists and critics of political economy alike have long understood that over-investment in real estate is an “unhealthy situation” for capital (Ibid, pp.159-160). Capital is ‘fixed’ or tied up in real estate when it really desires constant movement and flow for the continual realisation of surplus value. Investments in the built environment are thus highly subject to devaluation due to long turnover times (Harvey, 2006 [1982]; Weber, 2002; Gotham, 2006, 2009; Newman, 2009). The intimate relation between the production of space and economic crisis has been further developed within urban geography recently, especially in relation to financialisation, and this will be more fully examined in Chapter 2. The next section will examine how the urbanisation of capital has been inscribed in the production of space through what Lefebvre termed the ‘state mode of production’ (SMP).

1.4. The State Mode of Production: Growth for Growth's Sake

Capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of *Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving 'growth'. We cannot calculate at what price, but we do know the means: by occupying space, by producing a space (Lefebvre, 1976, p.21).

With this contention, argued Soja (1989), Lefebvre defined an "encompassing spatial problematic in capitalism", redefining space as a central question for class struggle (Ibid, p.92). The rational occupation of space, Lefebvre (2009) argued, increasingly became the "secret" of state order in the latter half of the 20th century (Ibid, p.228). In response to the fundamental question he posed in *The Survival of Capitalism* (1976 [1973]), 'how does capitalism survive and continue to produce and reproduce new capitalist spaces?', Brenner and Elden (2009) argue that the question is answered by Lefebvre's conception of the SMP; a theoretical construct that helps bridge his earlier speculative correlation between the production of space and the survival of capitalism. The consolidation of the SMP in the 1970s was conceived by Lefebvre, in the four-volume *De l'Etat* [1976-1978] and related writings on state and space, as "the significant event of the 20th century" (Ibid, p.17). The SMP, he argued, was inextricably bound up with *state productivism* whereby the state - of all political persuasions - takes charge of ensuring and regulating capitalist growth, using space as a privileged instrument of accumulation strategies (Lefebvre, 2009 [1978]). The problem of the SMP was fundamentally a spatial problem according to Lefebvre, with the 'crisis of the Left' in the 1960s related to a disavowal of the urban which ignored the subsumption of everyday life under a "repressive and banal urbanism", subject to "the limitations of national development programs" (Lefebvre, 2009 [1966], p.148)⁵. The state's unrivalled ability to channel large-scale investments into the built environment, he argued (Lefebvre, 2009 [1978]), aligned with the legal power to plan and regulate these investments, gave it a unique position in the production and reproduction of new capitalist spaces:

Space: how practical [Quelle aubaine, l'espace]! It may be sold and bought. It expands the realm of the commodity. At the same time, it permits the social forces that would otherwise resist established power to be controlled. And so the state mode of production is inaugurated (Ibid, p.246)

⁵ The Situationist International, very much influenced by Lefebvre, was an important exception here (see, Debord, 1995 [1967]; Vaneigem, 1994 [1967]; Knabb, 1981; Sadler, 1999; McDonough, 2009).

At a higher level of abstraction, the SMP develops Lefebvre's conception of abstract space as an affirmation of industrial rationality: "For industry, the means became an end and the end a means: production becomes strategy, productivism a philosophy, the state a divinity" (2003 [1970], p.176). Qualitative development is demoted in favour of quantitative growth, retarding the possibilities of *differential* urban space whether under capitalism or state socialism. The development of the SMP across the apparently diverse regimes of fascism, Stalinism, and Western liberal democratic models such as the U.S New Deal, and European social democracy, Lefebvre notes, allows us to understand how the survival of capitalism was made possible in the 20th century (Brenner and Elden, 2009). Far from being a guarantor against further capitalist development, he argues, social democratic forms are directly subsumed in the state form, serving as a crucial fulcrum for state productivism and capitalist growth:

What the 'left', apart from a few exceptional people, has been proposing for years is the same thing that the government has been proposing (by promising that it will do more and better): a higher rate of growth, fairer distribution of the national income, etc. It has proposed no new concept of society, of the state (Lefebvre, 1976, p.126)

By failing to undermine capitalist relations of production and their political basis in state productivism, social democracy assumes a managerial role for capitalism, becoming the arbiter of redistribution rather than seeking methods to supersede capitalist relations *per se* (Brenner and Elden, 2009). The transformation from a Marxist critique of the state into an ideology of the state, he argues, designates the SMP as: "immortal, eternal" (Lefebvre, 2009 [1976], p.158). Yet for Lefebvre (1976a), space is neither absolute nor unconditional: "*it has always been political and strategic. [...] It is a product literally filled with ideologies*" (Ibid, p.31). Neglecting, or ignoring, this understanding, the French Communist Party (PCF), from which Lefebvre had broken, had become 'neo-Hegelian' thinkers of the state:

This is Hegelian thinking: the State is an unconditional political existence, an absolute. We can neither envisage its supersession by the supranational, nor its withering or its rotting away, nor its fragmentation by regions. To maintain the State as an absolute, this is the skill of Stalinism. It is Stalin who introduced the fetishization of the state into Marxism, the idea of the State as an unconditional, total, absolute, political existence (Lefebvre, 2009, p.159)

Against this reification, Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) called for “a criticism of the Left (by the Left)” (Ibid, p.163), affirming with implacable clarity that the conflicts associated with modern political life could not and should not be overcome within the current order. Lefebvre’s conception of the SMP links his work with the critique of Fordism/Keynesianism that served as a fundamental reference point for the AM critique of the ‘planner state’ in Italy (Hardt and Negri, 2003 [1967]; Negri, 2005; Wright, 2002; Gray, 2013). As Ronneberger (2008) observes, Lefebvre’s work was briefly read alongside the critique of “the planning state” in early 1970s by the German New Left (Ibid, p.138), and a similar understanding of the integration of state and capital allowed Manfredo Tafuri (1976) to observe that architectural innovation had been largely integrated within the “ideology of the plan” (Ibid, p.114). Closely related to Italian operaismo through the journal *Contropiano* (Aureli, 2008), Tafuri argued that, when the unity of the production cycle became identified with the city, “the only suitable role for the architect was as organizer of that cycle” (Tafuri, 1976, p.107). Lefebvre’s position on avant-garde modernism was similar: the Bauhaus and Le Corbusier, wrote Lefebvre (2009 [1978]), were taken for socialists, “when actually they inaugurated capitalist space” (Ibid, p.233). I will explore and develop these links between the SMP and the planner state more closely in Chapters 3 and 4, but it is enough here to note how both conceptions understood spatial planning as increasingly integral to contemporary accumulation strategies. In Chapter 5, I will examine the links between the SMP, the planner state, and ‘the planned city’ of the post-war era in Glasgow (Gibb, 1983; Fyfe, 1996) by means of a spatial composition analysis beginning in the late 19th century and ending in the present era.

1.4.1. Anti-Productivism and the Critique of Political Economy

But Marxist politics implies the critique of all politics and every state; it seeks to put an end to them (Lefebvre, 1976, p.80)

For Lefebvre (1976), chief among the characteristic fetishisms of the state were the ideologies of productivism and growth. Brenner and Elden (2009) argue that Lefebvre was “one of the great anti-productivist theoreticians of the twentieth century” (Ibid, p.3), which in practice meant an internal critique of the Marxist tradition. His critique of the SMP was developed from an analysis of Ferdinand Lassalle’s influential social-democratic project in the late 19th and early 20th century (Brenner and Elden, 2009, p.18). As Marx made clear in *Critique of the Gotha Program* [1875], one of Lefebvre’s favoured texts, social democracy mistakenly stresses the ‘fair’ and ‘equal’ distribution of surplus wealth, while leaving untouched the unequal and alienating conditions at the point of production. For

Lefebvre (2009 [1979a]), this was untenable. There is no “good State” that can avoid moving towards the logical outcome of the SMP, and that is why, he argued: “the only criterion of democracy is the prevention of such an occurrence” (Ibid, p.130). Thus Lefebvre posited both “an anti-Stalinist *and* anti-social-democratic form of radical democratic praxis” (Brenner and Elden, 2009, p.7), where “interrupting economic growth” is the precondition for political transformation (Lefebvre, 1976, p.19). For Lefebvre (1968 [1940]), the ‘critique of political economy’ (the subheading of the three volumes of *Capital* as well as the *Grundrisse*), must be taken literally for all political economies, including ‘socialist’ ones. Yet this critique has been largely ignored or disavowed by the productivist Left, despite its continuing provenance:

There it sits, perched on a branch in the tree of knowledge: in spite of Marx’s ‘critique’ of political economy, in spite of the fact that he exposed it be the mere crumbs of knowledge, ‘knowledge in pieces’, and ideology entangled with an all too real practice: the distribution of scarcities and frustration (Ibid, p.57).

Lefebvre, like those within the autonomous and ‘open Marxist’ traditions, deeply distrusted the separation of ‘political’ and ‘economic’ spheres characteristic of structuralist and regulationist Marxism (Cleaver, 1979; Bonefeld *et al*, 1992a, 1992b, 1995; Charnock, 2010). As Bonefeld (2013) argues, the analysis of the state should not take place as if the economy and the state are two distinct forms of organisation; rather, “the purpose of capital is to achieve the valorization of value, and the state is the political form of that purpose”⁶. While some may argue that the state retains a relative autonomy, it is instructive to examine the state response to the financial crisis beginning in 2007, where crisis management has undoubtedly exacerbated social polarities by externalising crisis onto the public rather than the banks and financial elites. Indeed, the deepening financialisation of the economy has established a powerful financial sector with strong links to regulatory governance, which largely “thwarted” progressive regulation of the economy after the crisis of 2007 (Christophers, 2014, p.2). As Charnock (2010) observes, Lefebvre’s practically reflexive ‘open Marxist’ position “warns against analyzing society ‘according to its own categories’”, through the critical examination of inherent contradictions in the categories of subject and object, form and content, and theory and practice (Ibid, p.1287; Bonefeld *et al*, 1992a).

⁶ No pagination in web resource. Where no page numbers are cited in the rest of the text, I have adopted Harvard citation practice, which states that material cited from web resources without pagination does not require in-text page referencing.

While the era of Fordism/Keynesianism may seem a distant memory, calling into question the continuing relevance of the SMP as an analytical framework, Brenner (2001) argues that an understanding of the SMP can be propitiously mobilised to understand the current neoliberal era. The post-1970s round of state restructuring, he says, can be understood as “a systematic *assault* on the state’s redistributive functions, coupled with a marked *intensification* of the productivist, commodifying aspects of the SMP - its role in promoting, financing, subsidizing and regulating economic growth” (Ibid, p.799). In a period when a powerful discourse of ‘free markets’ obscures the role of state power in economic relations, the theory of the SMP provides a useful analytical lens to decode the entanglement of state and capital. A critique of the production of new spatial configurations to aid the circulation process of capital, and the disassociation of the state from redistributive functions, should be central to this project. Not so much the shift ‘*from managerialism to entrepreneurialism*’ [my emphasis] that Harvey (1989) seminally diagnosed, but the synergy of managerialism *with* entrepreneurialism. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will address these questions in Glasgow by examining the city’s neoliberal turn in urban governance from the 1980s and its ramifications for the contemporary era.

Yet some problems remain with Lefebvre’s conception. Ronneberger (2008) has questioned Lefebvre’s commitment to a dialectical theory of the actual and the possible. This theory, he says, “evaporated” in Lefebvre’s concrete studies of the Fordist SMP, resulting in a “leveling and flattening” of the possibilities for emancipatory social praxis (Ibid, p.136). Roberts (2006) also notes how Lefebvre often elides the dialectical potentialities of technological mediation and the possibility for non-instrumental use-values in the relations between technology, creativity and labour (Ibid, p.110). He contrasts Lefebvre with Walter Benjamin’s more positive attitude to the advanced cultural adaptation of technological relations - most famously in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Benjamin, 1999, pp.211-244) - while acknowledging that many of those potentialities have been eviscerated by the ‘culture industry’, as Adorno prophesied (Ibid, p.117). If, as Roberts argues, Lefebvre loses sight of technical mediation as a means to revolutionise everyday life, studies such as Owen Hatherley’s *Militant Modernism* (2009) have attempted to re-activate the utopian impulses behind the modern avant-garde, providing an important corrective, if not an entirely convincing rebuttal, to Lefebvre’s view of the SMP. Notwithstanding these qualifications, it is important to see Lefebvre’s critique of the SMP as part of a wider critique of abstract space, which always suggests immanent political potential. As Wilson (2013) observes, Lefebvre’s critique of abstract space places differential space (counter space) at the centre of his analysis, with

autogestion posited as the organisational means by which differential space might be realised. Along with Lefebvre's celebrated concept of 'the right to the city', this is the subject of the next section.

1.5. The Means of Differential Space: The Right to the City and *Autogestion*

The Right to the City manifests itself as a superior form of rights; right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996, p.174).

For Lefebvre, a politics of differential space must be founded on a critique of abstract space and the subordination of use value to exchange value. Two of the principal practical means suggested for such a politics were the 'right to the city' thesis and *autogestion*, which was given an explicitly spatial content through the prefix *territorial*. This section will summarise these ideas, discussing their relevance, and limitations, for radical urban praxis. I will start with Lefebvre's (1996) right to the city thesis, first outlined in 1968, which has become something of a clarion call in radical urban geography (Dikeç, 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Harvey, 2008, 2012; Brenner *et al*, 2009; Merrifield, 2011; Attoh, 2011). I will not attempt an overview of these discussions here, but will instead question some assumptions underlying the "cry and demand" for the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996, p.158). For Harvey (2008), the phrase holds promise as "both working slogan and political ideal" for a new urban politics (Ibid, p.40), yet, he acknowledges, it can easily become an "empty signifier" or mere "chimera" due to the abstraction of its terms (Harvey, 2012, pp.xv-xvi). As Attoh (2011) observes, the meaning of rights in these discussions often remains vaguely defined, raising questions over how rights are defined, whose rights are being identified, and for whose benefit. Indeed, the slogan has long been recuperated by everyone from UN-Habitat, to state agencies from Brazil to Hamburg, to small-scale NGO's, for purposes that often directly contradict Lefebvre's aims (De Souza, 2010; Merrifield, 2011; Harvey, 2012).

The critique of 'rights' has, of course, a long tradition in Marxism. In *On the Jewish Question*, Marx (1844a) observes how the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1793) was only a declaration of rights for 'man' in the singular; the liberty of man as an isolated monad. This right of *self-interest*, Marx argued, was based on an abstraction of citizens under the universal equivalence of exchange; an abstraction from

real differences in wealth, privilege, power, occupation, kinship, etc. “Between equal rights force decides”, he states in *Capital Vol.1* (1990, p.344). Harvey (2012) follows the critical line on ‘rights’ established in the Marxist tradition, by arguing that no concept could be more unequal in a world dominated by property and the law of exchange: “We live in a world, after all, where the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of human rights one can think of” (Ibid, p.3). Like Marx, he argues that we need a more systematic critique of social and economic relations if we are to overcome partial rights struggles: “The whole capitalist system of perpetual accumulation, along with its associated structures of exploitative class and state power, has to be overthrown and replaced” (Ibid, p.xviii).

If the notion of rights is problematic, so is the term ‘city’. The movement of history has called into question the very notion which Lefebvre deployed in 1968. He already saw the “implosion-explosion” of the traditional city in 1968 (Lefebvre, 1996, p.71), and this insight was re-affirmed in a recently translated article on the ‘dissolving city’ (Lefebvre, 2014 [1989]), where he argued that the modernist promise of new relations in city life had failed to materialize, and that modernism had “degraded” the life of urban dwellers rather than enhancing it (Ibid, p.203). The deconcentration of the working class (through de-industrialisation and suburbanisation), he observed, had created new trends of gentrification, services, finance, tourism and consumption, leaving an urban core which “once belonged to the workers” (Ibid, p.203) as the property, and site of consumption, of the dominant classes:

The urban centre is not only transformed into a site of consumption; it also becomes an object of consumption, and is valued as such [...] In this way the urban phenomenon is profoundly transformed. The historic center has disappeared as such (Ibid, p.204).

New communication networks and the intensification of the homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchy triad, he argued, had reduced the meaning of urban encounter while perfecting the art of separation. Lefebvre’s melancholy reflections mirror the level of political decomposition that has occurred in many historic urban centres since the 1970s. As Merrifield (2011) observes, Lefebvre’s article diagnoses an urban core increasingly riven by hierarchical and exclusive social relations, and the absence of traditional ‘formal’ work has become a basic banality in contemporary cities. In this context, Merrifield asks: ‘*what right to what city* are we asking for?’ In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will explore this question in light of Glasgow’s technical and political decomposition in the post-war era. Returning to

Merrifield here, however, he suggests that, instead of the right to the city, Lefebvre's idea of urban 'encounter' might instead be mobilised. This term, and Merrifield's articulation of it, is also somewhat abstract, but more positively it suggests active, experiential engagement rather than the deferment to existing power structures that the notion of rights seems to infer. For Merrifield (2014), questions of rights are about social power. It is not about "recognition" by a higher arbiter; instead, rights must be *taken*: a bill of rights is the end not the means of enforcing democratic rights, he argues (Ibid, p.86).

Let's forget about asking for our rights, for the rights of man, the right to the city, human rights. A politics of the encounter utters no rights, voices no claims. It doesn't even speak: rather, it just does, just acts, affirms, takes, takes back. It doesn't ask, doesn't plead for anything abstract. It has little expectation of any rights, and doesn't want any rights granted, because it doesn't agree upon any accepted rules, isn't in the mood for acceptance by anyone in power (Merrifield, 2011, p.479).

Lefebvre's intention when he wrote *Right to the City* in 1968 was to establish the *political importance* of urbanism and to open up the possibilities for urban struggle (Lefebvre, 1996, p.63). In this sense, in abstraction, the concept has been influential at the level of discourse, even if in practice the slogan has often been somewhat chimerical. But there might also be a sense, returning to the quote that opens this section, where the right to *appropriation* becomes the primary aim of any right to the city. As Silvia Federici (1975) has argued; it is one thing to organise communally and then demand that the state pay for it, and it is another to ask the state to organise communal production: "In one case we regain some control over our lives, in the other we extend the State's control over us". While the achievement of rights is not necessarily the *goal* of a politics of encounter, then, it may, paradoxically, be a more likely outcome. In Chapter 5, I will show how direct action in the 1915 Glasgow Rents Strikes led to significant gains in terms of housing rights across the whole UK, and in Chapter 3 I will discuss how the autonomous 'Take over the City' movement in 1970s Italy (Lotta Continua, 1973), which can be productively compared with the right to the city, made significant gains precisely by placing the direct appropriation of social resources on the immediate horizon without waiting for permission from a state that would dispense this as a 'right'. In many ways, a similarly radical position was foregrounded by Lefebvre in his writings on autogestion, which has remained in relative obscurity compared to the right to the city concept. I will now turn to that subject, with a specific focus on the spatial orientation that Lefebvre added to the concept of self-management.

1.5.1. From Autogestion to Territorial Autogestion: Spatialising Self-Management

Autogestion cannot escape this brutal obligation: to constitute itself as a power which is not the state (Lefebvre, 2009 [1966], p.147)

Lefebvre saw autogestion as an essential means for the contestation of everyday life, endorsing it as a form of organisation that could reclaim the spontaneous, revolutionary democracy from below which had been suppressed through the state and party ideology of the SMP (Brenner and Elden, 2009). He sought forms of autogestion in the cracks or lacunae of capitalist relations: “occupying and transforming them into strong points or, on the contrary, into ‘something other’ than what has a stable existence” (Lefebvre (2009 [1966]), p.144). The historical precedents that he cited include the Paris Commune of 1871; the ‘Soviets’ of the 1917 Russian revolution; and the events of ‘May 68’ in Paris, where the working class “occupied space, its own space” (Lefebvre, 2009 [1976], p.162). For Lefebvre, 2009 [1966], autogestion carries within it the possibility of radicalisation and generalisation, revealing and crystallising the contradictions of the state form and the logic of equivalence in society: “In essence, *autogestion* calls the State into question as a constraining force erected above society as a whole, capturing and demanding the rationality that is inherent to social relations (to social practice)” (Ibid, p.147).

Yet like all social relations, he argued, autogestion is prone to recuperation and/or degeneration into ideology and ossified forms. He thus criticised, for example, Yugoslavian planned autogestion for conceiving itself as a “model” or “system” that could maintain social democratic state power without contradiction or disharmony (Lefebvre, 2009 [1979], p.135). Similar recuperation dynamics have long been identified in critiques of self-management from a radical left communist perspective (Dauve and Martin, 1997 [1974]). Endnotes (2008) have more recently argued that the Situationist International (SI), who were heavily influenced by Lefebvre, were at their most incoherent and contradictory when they called to “abolish work” at the same time as they cried ‘All Power to the Workers Councils!’ (Ibid, p.7). While Lefebvre (2009 [1966]) acknowledged that *autogestion* does not challenge the value form *per se*, either in theory or practice, he argues more positively that it does push the contradictions between use-value and exchange-value to their limit, establishing a “favourable conjuncture” that might lead “beyond political democracy” (Lefebvre, 2009 [1966], pp.149-150). In autogestion, Lefebvre sees the potential of exploding the contradictions of rational planning in capital relations: “Once someone conceives of autogestion, once one thinks its generalization, one radically contests the existing order, from the world of the commodity and the power of money to

the power of the State” (Ibid, p.148). Autogestion is thus proposed as a path and practice to challenge the subsumption of everyday life under capitalism:

Each time a social group (generally the productive workers) refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, of life, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring (Ibid, p.135).

This statement might seem to privilege productive workers. But Lefebvre (2009 [1976]) elsewhere suggests that the problematic of autogestion is “transposed more and more from enterprises towards the organization of space” (Ibid, p.160), becoming a highly diversified practice across territorial units, cities and regions. This adaptation of autogestion to include all aspects of social and civic life radically reconfigures traditional ‘workerist’ notions of *autogestion* for a conception of generalised or territorial autogestion embedded across all facets of everyday life. The notion of territorial autogestion can be seen as part of Lefebvre’s wider theorisation of an adequate immanent response to changes in the composition of the relations of production and reproduction from the mid-1950s, especially relating to urbanisation. The term evokes the potential for a wide-ranging assault on capitalist relations in everyday life: “overturning dominant spaces, placing appropriation over domination, demand over command, and use over exchange” (Lefebvre, 2009 [1980], p.194). It suggests an open and unlimited form of direct democracy that is neither condition nor ideology, but an ongoing struggle for extended democratisation as “an urgent utopia” (Brenner and Elden, 2009, p.39). Territorial autogestion is thus established from the “low to high” of social space at all levels, complementing, not excluding, that of production and overcoming separations between public and private, work and non-work, production and reproduction (Lefebvre, 2009 [1979]), p.193).

The transformation of society through territorial autogestion, Lefebvre argues, presupposes “the possession and collective management of space by a permanent intervention of ‘interested parties’” (Ibid, p.195). It promotes a political orientation through which various sectors of social life - factories, universities, political associations, housing and community groups, etc - might be organised according to “new forms of decentralised, democratic political control” (Brenner, 2001, p.795). This conception connects Lefebvre’s theory of generalised autogestion to his wider concerns over social reproduction and everyday life (Kaplan and Ross, 1987; Soja, 1980). Indeed, Lefebvre’s critique of state productivism allowed his thinking to move beyond the immediate sphere of production (the workplace) very early on in Marxist terms, embracing the wider sphere of social reproduction as an

equally valid site of political contestation (Soja, 1980). As Kaplan and Ross (1987) observe, the emphasis that Lefebvre placed on ‘everyday life’ helped to create a paradigm shift within Marxist vocabulary from the mode of production to the area of social reproduction: “the myriad activities and conditions for existence that must be satisfied in order for relations of production to take place at all” (Kaplan and Ross, 1987, p.2). Lefebvre did little empirical work in this area, but in Chapter 3 I will explore the question of social reproduction through the concept of the ‘social factory’ and the movements of ‘territorial community activism’ (Bologna, 2007 [1977]) and ‘Take over the City’ (Lotta Continua, 1973) which arose in Italian autonomous Marxism in the early 1970’s. Like the right to the city concept, territorial autogestion, as Lefebvre saw it, was rarely put to work in practice, yet it remains suggestive as a potential orientation for a new politics of urban space.

Conclusion

Lefebvre’s work provides a vital foundation for this thesis, establishing a way to understand the production of space in its abstraction as a *general* phenomenon, but also the possibilities for generating an immanent and generalised challenge to abstract space. His notion of abstraction, then, both in the sense of capital’s abstractions and the method of abstract thinking, is central to this thesis. Lefebvre’s radicalism, evidenced in his avowedly negative critique of political economy and the value form, is not always apparent in engagement with his work in academic geography (Charnock, 2010; De Souza, 2010). However, comparing Lefebvre’s work with AM, as I do in Chapter 3, offers one potential route to open up the ‘futures of Lefebvre’ (Brenner and Elden, 2009) for more radical ends. His critique of the SMP and state productivism, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, bears close comparison with the AM critique of the planner state. These analogous understandings hold much relevance for understanding the specificity of Glasgow’s post-war urban planning - which in many ways exemplifies the production of abstract space.

While Lefebvre’s contribution to the spatial turn is well established, it may be that he succumbed to the specialised comforts of academic sociology, especially, and perhaps understandably in his latter years (Barrot, 1996). Indeed, his conceptions of the right to the city and autogestion, which were developed well into his 60s, were largely untested empirically, remaining suggestive rather than practised for the most part. In Chapter 3, I will argue that the radical urban collective practices of the ‘Take over the City’ movement in 1970s Italy provides a more cogent example of what actually existing radical urban

praxis looks like. Yet, Lefebvre's practically reflexive open Marxism (Charnock, 2010) continues to hold great heuristic value for contemporary urban struggles, not as a prescriptive model, but as a theoretical orientation that "opens the road, clears a new way" (Lefebvre, 2009 [1978b], p.288) for the potential production of a new urban life. In the next chapter, we shall see how his conceptual innovations have been developed in contemporary urban and economic geography, but also how many of his epigones fail to match his dialectical understanding of the relation between spatial abstraction and differential space. Such a dialectical spatial praxis, however, was widely developed through the methodologies of class composition and inquiry/co-research in the Italian Autonomous Marxist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and this tendency will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2. The Urbanisation of Capital: Spatial Fixing in the Built Environment

Capital flow presupposes tight temporal and spatial coordinations in the midst of increasing separation and fragmentation. It is impossible to imagine such a material process without the production of some kind of urbanization as a rational landscape within which the accumulation of capital can proceed. Capitalist accumulation and the production of urbanization go hand in hand (Harvey, 1985, p.190).

David Harvey (2006 [1982], 1985, 2012) has rigorously developed Lefebvre's insights around the centrality of urbanisation to capitalist accumulation and crisis. This chapter will focus on some of his central insights in close relation to contemporary theoretical developments around financialisation, urbanisation, the rentier economy and debt (Aalbers, 2009a, 2009b; Hudson, 2006b, 2010; Turner, 2008; Fox Gotham, 2006, 2009; Lazzarato, 2011). The recent 'sub-prime' housing crash in the US and Europe is no mere exception, Harvey (2008, 2010, 2011, 2012) argues, but only one instance of a series of financial crises with roots in urban speculation. Yet, the urban roots of financial crisis have traditionally been a blind spot in both mainstream and Marxist political economy, with urban investments routinely treated as secondary to other matters in the national economy, and urban struggles often dismissed as reformist partial struggles rather than systemic issues for authentic movements against capital. Discussing this lacuna, Harvey (2012) observes:

...the structure of thinking within Marxism is distressingly similar to that within bourgeois economics. The urbanists are viewed as specialists, while the truly significant core of macroeconomic Marxist theorizing lies elsewhere (Ibid, p.35).

Harvey cites no particular examples, but perhaps the major reference point within Marxism, beyond those outlined by Soja in the previous chapter, is *The Housing Question* by Frederick Engels (1942 [1872]) which is primarily a polemic against the French anarchist, Proudhon, and his proposal to abolish private landlordism in favour of independent, free ownership of dwelling (Hodkinson, 2012a; Slater, 2013). Engels (1942 [1872]) excoriates Proudhon for emphasising only one fragmented aspect of capitalist expropriation, while neglecting the primary 'pivot' of exploitation in the reigning mode of production - industrial wage labour:

Only the proletariat created by modern large-scale industry, liberated from all inherited fetters, including those which chained it to the land, and driven in herds into the big towns, is in a position to accomplish the great social transformation which will put an end to all class exploitation and all class rule (Ibid, p.29).

While this position has the merit of examining housing within a totality of socially mediated relations, one does not need to accept Proudhon's reformist thesis of 'fair' exchange within the capitalist mode of production to note that Engels's emphasis on the centrality of wage labour for social transformation is historically contingent (cf. Mann, 2010). At a time when debates over the labour theory of value, primarily focused on industry and manufacturing, were foundational for the labour movement, Engels understandably neglected certain forms of struggle that have since become more prominent again. The narrow focus on the point of production within Marxism has led to a neglect of the "second front"; what Engels termed "the point of reproduction" (Bunge, 1977, p.60). A focus on the point of production, however, has tended to elide the fact that "the geography of the working class is overwhelmingly at the point of reproduction and not the point of production" (Ibid, p.60), even more so now than when Bunge was writing in the 1970s.

The 'law of value' is far from obsolescent (See, Wright, 2002; Caffentzis, 2005; Henninger, 2007), despite arguments to the contrary (Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2006; Virno, 2004), yet the technical composition of capitalist development has changed markedly in the last forty years (Cleaver, 1979; Wright, 2002). In the UK, the working class has been "thoroughly decomposed" by de-industrialisation, leaving behind radically splintered class identities (Endnotes, 2013, pp.116-117; Gilroy, 2002 [1987]; Helms and Cumbers, 2006; Gray and Mooney, 2011). This is perhaps especially the case in Glasgow, as I will discuss in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, where the technical and political decomposition of the industrial working class has been exceptionally severe (Gibb, 1983; Cumbers *et al*, 2010; Gray and Porter, 2014). Class struggle is now increasingly articulated through the *rentier* economy rather than the wage relation in direct production (Vercellone, 2008; Mann, 2010; Hudson, 2010; Harvey, 2012; Lazzarato, 2011), thus urban expropriation 'beyond the factory walls' deserves more sustained attention.

In *Rebel Cities* (2012), Harvey describes the disappearance of conventional workplaces "almost everywhere" (Ibid, p.53), suggesting that the 'precariat' has now displaced the traditional proletariat as the central figure of any potential urban revolution and that struggles over social reproduction are just as important as those over production. While such a prognosis may seem rather Western-centric, Endnotes (2010) and other groups in

the ‘communisation’ current have recently reprised Marx’s theory of the ‘general law of accumulation’, or the “immiseration thesis” (Ibid, p.33), after the development of Fordist/Keynesianism had seemingly proved it wrong in the 20th Century. The general law states that concomitant with growth, capital produces a relatively redundant population out of the mass of workers, which then tends to become a consolidated ‘surplus population’ redundant to the needs of capital (Marx, 1999, pp.762-870; Endnotes, 2010). As Endnotes (2010) observe, contemporary industrial growth is based on intensified absolute and relative surplus value extraction (increasing the length and intensity of the working day and improving the technological means of production, respectively) rather than job creation. A general shift from labour-intensive to capital-intensive industries, they argue, has led to a relative decline in the demand for labour globally (Endnotes, 2010)⁷. Even China, the seeming paragon of contemporary industrial growth, did not create any new jobs in manufacturing between 1993 and 2006 (Ibid, p.48). This suggests, as Harvey (2012) has argued, that urban investment in China is a response to a deeper crisis in the relations of production (cf. Goldner, 2007, 2008, 2011). With such an understanding, he argues, the urbanisation of capital that Lefebvre identified has only intensified in our own times. For Harvey (2012), this suggests a necessary corollary, which can be considered a leitmotif of this thesis:

If the capitalist form of urbanisation is so completely embedded in and foundational for the reproduction of capitalism, then it also follows that alternative forms of urbanization must necessarily become central to any pursuit of a capitalist alternative (Ibid, p.65).

In this chapter, I will show how Lefebvre’s thesis has been deepened theoretically in a context where the movement of history has confirmed many of his main suppositions. I will discuss Harvey’s ideas of the urbanisation of capital, the spatial fix, surplus absorption, capital switching and fictitious capital. This analysis will be supplemented by work on urban financialisation, the rentier economy, and the role of debt in the urban economy. While this analysis helps to provide a means to describe the contemporary relations of capital, there is also a need to develop a ‘politics of space’ that is commensurate with tendential processes of urban expropriation. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will thus show how the urbanisation of capital has been contested through the praxis of AM

⁷ It is important to stress that this thesis requires further empirical investigation across different sectors of industry and different localities, yet it does seem to point to a general *tendency* in labour-capital relations.

beginning in 1960s Italy, before developing these methodologies with an explicitly spatial dimension through empirical case studies in Glasgow in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

2.1. The Production of Space: An ‘Active Moment’ in Capitalist Accumulation Strategies

I view location as a fundamental material attribute of human activity but recognize that location is socially produced. The production of spatial configurations can then be treated as an ‘active moment’ within the overall temporal dynamic of accumulation and social reproduction (Harvey, 2006 [1982], p.374).

Perhaps the major contribution made by Lefebvre (2003 [1970]; 1976), and Harvey (2006 [1982]; 1985), has been diagnosing the shift of capital from the ‘primary circuit’ in manufacturing and industrial production to the ‘secondary circuit’ of land, property, housing and the built environment (Beauregard, 1994; Gotham, 2009; Christophers, 2011). Since the 1970s, Harvey argues, capital accumulation has been intertwined with the production of space, “to the point where it is hard to disentangle one from the other” (2010, p.147). In the foundational *Limits to Capital* (Harvey, 2006 [1982]), and in other writings, Harvey rigorously develops Lefebvre’s speculative theses through an original synthesis of Marx’s scattered writing on credit, urbanisation, circulation and crisis, contributing influentially to the ‘spatial turn’ in the humanities. As noted previously, in Marx’s *Grundrisse* (1993 [1973]), the phases of production, distribution, exchange, circulation and consumption are considered in totality as the general preconditions for all production: a “regular syllogism” (Ibid, p.89). This analysis, Harvey (2006 [1982]) maintains, shows that constant movement between the separate phases of the accumulation process is imperative, leading him to define capital as “value in motion” (Ibid, p.194).

Harvey makes an important distinction between the production and *realisation* of surplus value, stressing that “socially necessary turnover time” is central to the realisation of value (Ibid, p.194), just as socially necessary labour time is pivotal for the production of value (Marx, 1990). According to Marx in *Capital Volume 1* (1990, p.325), a “correct understanding” of surplus value must have its origin in socially necessary labour time. But as Merrifield (2014) observes, Harvey’s analysis is grounded in the three volumes of *Capital*, rather than just the first volume, which focuses on production (Ibid, p.20). Harvey augments the notion of value production by working through Marx’s understanding of circulation in volume two of *Capital*, and finance and crisis in volume three. As Marx acknowledges in the *Grundrisse* (1993), circulation is central to the continued reproduction

of capitalism: “Thus a moment enters into value-determination which indeed does not come out of the direct relation of labour to capital” (Ibid, p.538). Thus, Harvey (1985) defines productive investment as that which directly or *indirectly* expands the basis for the production of surplus value (Ibid, p.10). Drawing on Marx’s analysis of transportation and communications as central to the elimination of spatial barriers, Harvey argues that a theory of spatial accumulation must “unravel the relation between the temporal dynamics of the accumulation of capital and the production of new spatial configurations of production, exchange and consumption”, noting that Marx considered the trip to the market for goods as part of the production process itself (Ibid, p.33). Spatial configurations can then be seen to enter the forces of production, as a *causal power* not merely an incidental one (Gottdeiner, 1987).

The spatial implications of viewing capital as ‘value in motion’ are evident in the relationship between fixed capital and circulation. Fixed capital is defined as an instrument of labour “used to facilitate the production of surplus value” (2006 [1982], p.205), generally understood as fixed machinery used in production directly. But fixed capital is not confined to immovable machinery: ships, docks, railroads, locomotives, dams, bridges, water supply, sewage systems, power stations, factory buildings, warehouses, etc, can all be described as fixed capital. Such forms of fixed capital appear as ‘independent’ forms outside the immediate production process, yet they act as “the general preconditions of production” (Ibid, p.226), and “the necessary but not sufficient conditions for the perpetuation of accumulation” (Ibid, p.410). Logistics and transport, requiring extensive investments in fixed capital, are central to the means of communication, the flow of commodities, and the elimination of spatial barriers (1985, p.44). The ever-increasing importance attached to logistics (Cowen, 2010, 2014; Toscano, 2011) can be gauged in Glasgow via the publicly funded M74 motorway, which became the most expensive road in UK history via land speculation and expropriation, the costs of land remediation, and significant protests which delayed the road’s construction. The road was heavily promoted by the business lobby and local and national state agencies as an essential component of Glasgow’s competitive business environment and connectivity, despite an independent public inquiry which concluded that the road should not proceed on social, environmental and economic grounds (JAM 74; Gray, 2008). I will discuss the M74 further in relation to the Commonwealth Games and Clyde Gateway urban development projects in Chapter 7.

In a famous passage from the *Grundrisse*, Marx (1993 [1973]) described circulation time as a barrier or obstruction to the circulation of commodities and the realisation of value:

...while capital must on one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, i.e. to exchange, and conquer the whole earth for its market, it strives on the other side to annihilate this space with time, i.e. to reduce to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another (Ibid, p.539).

Harvey (1990) reformulates the meaning of this passage with his own term, ‘time-space-compression’, which addresses command over space and the destruction of spatial and temporal barriers as important weapons of accumulation (Ibid, p.294). Yet the conception of a unified system of accumulation that depends on perpetual motion for the realisation of value suggests the potential for crisis whenever value is stalled. *Devaluation*, Harvey argues, is inherent to the process of circulation (whenever a product remains unsold, whenever transport is unavailable, whenever reserves of money are unused), and “a normal feature” of capitalist development provoked by competition and class conflict (2006 [1982], p.426). Crisis will be averted as long as the phases of circulation are completed, but failure to complete the process of circulation leads to over-accumulation and eventually “savage devaluation” for factions of capital and labour (Ibid, p.305). Without reproducing the relations of production, there is no production and no fresh value can be produced: “production is thus predicated on extended and expanded reproduction” (Merrifield, 2014, p.12). Otherwise, labour is thrown out of work, the circulation of revenues collapses, wage rates drop, and effective demand for consumer goods is curtailed. The result is devastating: “[c]risis, as the irrational rationalizer of the economic system, cuts a grim swathe across the economic landscape of capitalist society” (Harvey, 2006 [1982], p.305).

A primary contradiction of capital is embodied in the relation between fixity and motion; between fixed capital and circulation (Harvey, 2006 [1982]; 1985, Brenner, 1998; Gotham, 2009; Weber, 2002). Paradoxically the elimination of spatial barriers requires fixed capital investment, which potentially throws up new barriers to future development. Viewed from the side of capitalist production, fixed capital enhances the productive power of labour, increases the velocity of turnover time, and ensures the dominance of ‘dead’ over ‘living’ labour in the production process. The resultant geographical landscape is the “crowning glory” of past capitalist development...but also a “prison” that inhibits further accumulation by generating new spatial barriers (Harvey, 1985, p.43). Fixed capital is locked within a specific use value and thus subject to devaluation through technological changes in production processes, competition, changes in prices for raw materials, new fashions in consumption demand, etc. (Harvey, 2006 [1982], pp.237-238). As one regime of accumulation finishes or slows down, the infrastructure for its realisation is devalued

when new infrastructures are established to service new rounds of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Brenner, 1998, p.461).

Devaluation is hugely destructive for the social institutions and environments in and around eviscerated infrastructures, tending to be “location specific” in the cyclical restructuring of accumulation processes (Harvey, 2006 [1982], p.378, 403). In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will discuss how such exceptionally harsh forms of location specific devaluation occurred in Glasgow in the mid-to-late 20th century (Gibb, 1983; Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Damer, 1990; Pacione, 1995). These processes of socio-spatial devaluation (Gray and Mooney, 2011) will be central to my analysis of decomposition and urban struggle in the second part of this thesis. However, while devaluation of infrastructure is devastating for those affected, it also produces the potential for profitable re-investment (Smith, 1996, p.61). Devaluation provides the ground for both external (Harvey, 1981, 2006 [1981], 1990; Brenner, 1998) and internal (Smith, 1996; Wyly *et al*, 2004; Gotham, 2009) reconfigurations of space through what Harvey terms the ‘spatial fix’ (2006 [1981], 1989, 2001, 2006 [1982]). This is the subject of the next section.

2.2. The Spatial Fix, Uneven Development, and the Rent Gap

...no spatial fix can ever definitively resolve the endemic problem of overaccumulation under capitalism, each configuration of territorial organization within capitalism’s geographical landscape is merely temporary, a chronically unstable ‘dynamic equilibrium’ [...] within a broader chaotic seesaw of perpetual de- and reterritorialization (Brenner, 2008, p.462).

Harvey (2001) primarily deploys the term spatial fix to describe “capitalism’s insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring” (Ibid, p.24), and to question, like Brenner above, whether this is possible. The term has interlocking meanings, including ‘fixing’ and securing in a particular place; ‘fixing’ a problem; and metaphorically ‘fixing’ an addiction - however temporary that may be. The term is designed to show that: (1) capitalism cannot survive without geographical expansion; (2) that major innovations and investment in transport and communication technologies are necessary conditions for expansion; (3) that expansion depends on the search for new markets, labour reserves, and resources (raw materials); (4) that opportunities for constructing new production facilities are at stake (Ibid, pp.25-26). In Chapter 5, I will show how post-war urban planning in Glasgow represented such a spatial fix. At a wider level of abstraction, Harvey (1985) notes how Marx saw geographical

expansion as essential for the real subsumption of the labour process under specifically capitalist relations: the “metabolism of circulation” was viewed as a vital component in the universalisation of exchange and abstract labour across an integrated world market (Ibid, pp.45-46).

Interrogating Hegel’s *Philosophy of Right*, Harvey (2006 [1981]) shows how Hegel promulgates an early version of Marx’s ‘general law of accumulation’. In Hegel’s account, the expansion of production on the basis of profit and greed, leads on the one hand, to a concentration of wealth in a few hands; and, on the other, to “the creation of a rabble of paupers” (Ibid, p.2). This contradictory “inner dialectic” of civil strife and class conflict, Hegel intimates, requires an *external* solution through geographical expansion (e.g. imperialism, colonialism) to ward off crisis. While Hegel is tentative, Harvey develops the idea of external geographical restructuring more fully through the concept of the spatial fix, arguing, however, that it can only ever be a temporary solution to the contradictions of the ‘inner dialectic’ as long as capitalist social relations remain intact (Ibid, p.9). On the one hand, developing productive forces and fixed capital in new regions creates new forms of inter-state competition, bringing devaluation at home; on the other, constrained external development blocks the dynamism of capital as ‘value-in-motion’: “Devaluation”, says Harvey, “is the end result no matter what” (2006 [1982], p.435). The effect of the external solution is simply to spread the contradictions across wider geographical areas, exacerbating inherent social contradictions and potentially sowing the seeds of widespread social unrest (Harvey, 1985).

As Schoenberger (2004) notes, the spatial fix can be registered in two ways: either by spreading capital geographically or by “deepening its presence in place” (Ibid, p.429). With the exhaustion of external solutions, Brenner (1998) argues, “capital is increasingly forced to recolonize, reterritorialize, and redifferentiate social space on subglobal scales - that is within the second nature of territorial organization it has already produced” (Ibid, p.470). Neil Smith’s (1979, 1982, 2010 [1984]), 1996) work on the rent gap, uneven development and the ‘new urban frontier’ examines this *internal* fix through the “internal differentiation of already developed spaces” (Smith, 1996, p.xvi). While post-war suburbanisation in the US was once a solution to capital and labour surpluses, Smith observes, it later became a *barrier* to further rounds of accumulation due to monopoly control of space, fixity of investments and long turnover periods (Ibid, p.59). At the same time, inner-city land values, which had fallen because of suburbanisation and deliberate disinvestment, were once again producing the possibility of profitable reinvestment by the

1980s. Such uneven development, Smith (1979) argues, fosters a ‘locational seesaw’ of successive development, underdevelopment, and redevelopment as capital jumps from one place to another, then back again, first creating then destroying its own opportunities for further development each time it lays down new spatial barriers in the form of fixed capital.

For Smith (2010 [1984]), processes of uneven development are “the systematic geographical expression of the contradictions inherent in the very constitution and structure of capital” (Ibid, p.4). The alternation between development and underdevelopment can be observed in the many US inner city areas which have been gentrified in the ‘back to the city movement by capital’ beginning in the late 1970s (Smith, 1979). These processes were abetted by policies of poverty ‘deconcentration’ which demolished much of the public housing that replaced the old industrial matrix of factories and workers housing which had become a barrier to re-development in a previous era (Crump, 2002; Newman K, 2004), and policies of ‘cultural regeneration’ which have typically erased the very qualities of urban ‘authenticity’ that such policies sought to reclaim and revalorise (Zukin, 1988 [1982], 2010). The locational seesaw of uneven development has also been manifest in a massive ‘suburbanisation of poverty’ trend in the US, with more people in poverty now living in suburbs than inner cities (Neel, 2014; R.L., 2014). The recent riots in Ferguson, St. Louis, dramatically marked this compositional shift in the economic and racial demography of the US (Neel, 2014; R.L., 2014), representing the obscene underside of the ‘dissolving city’, as Lefebvre (2014) termed the process involving the expulsion of working class residents from Paris in the late 1980s.

While consumer preference and the laws of supply and demand are often used to explain the gentrification of neighbourhoods (Smith, 1979, 1996; Slater, 2013), Smith (1979) argues that a theory of gentrification must account for *conditions of profitability* in urban redevelopment strategies. He thus developed the rent gap thesis to show, perhaps counter-intuitively, how capital devalorisation and urban deterioration are a “necessary if not sufficient condition for the onset of gentrification” (Smith, 1996, p.193). As Eric Clark (1995) observes, the rent gap must be seen as political theory of uneven development which cannot be separated from wider power relations in the creation and capture of values in the built environment. Smith (1979) defines the rent-gap as “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use” (Ibid, p.545). The rent gap is produced by capital depreciation in specific areas in a context of wider urban development and expansion. When the rent gap is sufficiently wide,

profits can be achieved by transforming potential ground rent levels in depreciated areas to their ‘highest and best use’, matching higher ground rent levels in adjacent neighbourhoods (Smith, 1979, 1996; Clark, 1995, 1998). Sustained disinvestment, he argued, is no mere accident but the result of necessarily *collective social action* by owners, landlords, state agents and a phalanx of financial institutions: it is “a strictly logical, ‘rational’ outcome of the operation of the land and housing market” (1979, p.543).

While rent-gap theory can clearly never function as a ‘catch-all’ explanation for urban development (Clark, 1988), the thesis can help to explain the economic rationale for seemingly irrational urban disinvestment, especially when combined with other processes such as territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007, 2008). In Chapter 5, I will show how Glasgow’s city centre has been subject to a ‘back to the city movement by capital’ (Smith, 1979), while the city’s suburbs have been subject to increasing poverty (Horsey, 1990; Kavanagh *et al*, 2014). In Chapters 6 and 7, I will examine the relation between uneven development, rent-gap processes and stigmatising discourses of decline in the north and east of Glasgow. As Kallin and Slater (2014) observe in a case study of Craigmillar in Edinburgh, opening the reputational gap through the stigmatisation and demolition of council housing was integral to public-private plans for closing the rent gap through the development of private housing in the area. The next section, however, will examine the absorption of capital and labour surpluses, a process that is also integral to the spatial fix.

2.3. Surplus Absorption through Urbanisation

Every city I go to is a huge building site for capitalist surplus absorption. This way of absorbing capital surpluses has got more and more problematic over time (Harvey, 2011).

One of Harvey’s central arguments is that urbanisation has been a vital means for the absorption of capital and labour surpluses throughout capitalism’s history (1985, 2008, 2010, 2012). In the present era, the new global economic relations have greatly benefited the wealthy under a neoliberal order, which has seen a massive restoration of class power and privilege (Harvey, 2005, 2011). As a consequence, the amount of capital surplus liquidity in the global economy requiring absorption has never been greater. As noted in the previous chapter, the process of urbanisation has vastly accelerated since the 1970s, along with a decline in industrial production, at least in the UK and US, the core examples here. Long swings in building and residential cycles, Harvey argues, were dampened somewhat by post-World War II Keynesian contra-cyclical interventions, but the

abandonment of Keynesian policy from the mid-70s onwards has meant that cyclical swings (booms and busts) in the built environment have become increasingly prevalent (Harvey, 2012). Nowhere has this been more apparent than in the built environment. For Turner (2008), the credit crunch beginning in 2007 was the direct result of offshoring since the 1970s, and a “necessary component” of the incessant drive to expand free trade at all costs (Ibid, p.1). Speculative housing bubbles fostered by borrowing, debt, and massive switches of capital into the built environment were “the flipside to jobs being lost in the East” (Ibid, p.xi):

A growing share of the national income was absorbed by companies at the expense of workers. And the record borrowing provided a short-term panacea, to bridge the yawning wage gap that ineluctably followed. Governments fostered housing bubbles to stay in power. Consumers were encouraged to borrow, to ensure there would be enough economic growth (Ibid, p.1).

Mortgages - which make up the largest portion of escalating personal and household debt (2006b, 2010) - have been central to housing speculation and crisis. As Gotham (2009) notes, the institutional roots of the US sub-prime mortgage crisis, whose reverberations were global, were inaugurated in a series of ad hoc policies in the 1980s that promoted the securitisation of mortgages in the ‘secondary’ mortgage market. Mortgages in this market are securitised and repackaged by institutional investors for national and global capital markets rather than being obtained by borrowers from mortgage originators (Ibid, p.360). As Turner (2008) notes, an explosion of credit was introduced in “a blizzard of abbreviations” (MBS, CDOs, CDs, SIVs) that generated widespread “money illusion”, with toxic debt underpinning rising house prices as a sign of symbolic wealth (Ibid, p.3). Harvey (2012) cites President Clinton’s launch of the National Partners Homeownership initiative in the mid-1990s as a pivotal moment for the absorption of surpluses in the US urban environment. Fannie Mae and Freddy Mac, government-sponsored enterprises holding and marketing mortgages, lowered their lending standards in response to Clinton’s initiative, and mortgage institutions accelerated lending on securitised subprime and predatory mortgages (cf. Wyly *et al*, 2004; Aalbers, 2009a, 2009b; Fox Gotham, 2009). This lending activity was further accelerated after the bursting of the high-tech bubble and the stock market crash of 2001. The housing lobby increased in power enormously during this period, with the political construction and reconstruction of new financial institutions, combined with low interest rates and negligible capital gains tax, fuelling the housing

boom enormously (Hudson, 2006b; 2010; Aalbers, 2009a, 2009b; Wyly *et al*, 2009; Fox Gotham, 2009; Newman, 2009).

Harvey's summary of the role of urbanisation in the absorption of capital and labour surpluses (1985, 2008, 2010, 2012) is worth repeating here in some detail. In his account of the 'geography of it all' (Harvey, 2010), the *raison d'être* of capital accumulation is summarised as the production of surpluses. Yet the absorption of these surpluses for profitable investment can become a problem due to 'barriers' such as scarcity of labour and resources, the limits of the natural environment, and the need to develop new modes of production. Urbanisation provides one crucial platform for absorbing surpluses and circumventing these limits with huge amounts of capital - usually mobilised in the form of long-term loans - set to work in the urban environment. Yet, these debt-fuelled investments often precipitate crisis. Indeed, many of the financial crises since the early 1970s, Harvey argues, have been property or urban development-led. The first full-scale global crisis in 1973 was the result of a global property market crash. The Japanese boom of the 1980s ended with a collapse of the stock market, and land prices which plummeted as dramatically as they rose. In 1992, excesses in the property market caused a Nordic crisis in Sweden, Norway and Finland. The East-Asian crisis of 1992 was deeply affected by excessive urban development fuelled by an influx of speculative foreign capital. The commercial property-led savings and loans crisis in the US from 1984-92 was effectively a property-related crisis (Ibid, pp.6-10). The US 'sub-prime' mortgage crisis of 2008, derived from a mountain of 'toxic' mortgage-backed securities all over the world, is therefore just the latest in a long line of property crises. While "everyone had acted as if property prices could rise forever" (Ibid, p.4), the reality has been rather more prosaic.

Harvey (2010) outlines the intimate historical link between capital and labour surpluses, urbanisation and crisis, in a developing history of expanded scalar transformation. First, he returns to the period of Second Empire Paris (1852-1870) as a key exemplar. The Europe-wide economic crisis of the time, he argues, was a crisis of surplus capital and surplus labour sitting side by side, "with seemingly no way to put them back together again" (Ibid, p.167). In order to resolve the capital and labour surplus problem, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte announced a vast programme of infrastructural works in France and abroad. In Paris, this entailed an enormous reconfiguration of the urban infrastructure by Baron von Haussmann, who took charge of public works from 1853. Haussmann understood his mission clearly, according to Harvey: "solve the surplus capital and surplus labour problem by way of urbanisation" (Ibid). He transformed the scale at which the urban process could

be imagined, annexing the Parisian suburbs and redesigning complete neighbourhoods in a wholesale transformation of the urban conurbation. To initiate these changes, Haussmann needed new financial institutions and debt instruments. In effect, the capital surplus problem was resolved by setting up a proto-Keynesian system of debt-financed infrastructural urban development (Ibid, p.168). Paris famously became the ‘City of Light’, a centre of boulevards, shopping arcades, consumption, tourism and pleasure (Harvey, 2006; Benjamin, 1999b). But the overextended, highly speculative financial system and credit structures on which this urban phantasmagoria was built crashed in the financial crisis of 1868, leading to the Paris Commune of 1870, one of the most significant urban revolts in history. In Chapter 5, I will show how Haussmann’s model was a direct influence for Glasgow Corporation’s City Improvement Trust (CIT) scheme in 1866.

Harvey’s second major exemplar of surplus absorption is US suburbanisation in the post Second-World-War era. The capital and labour surplus problem of the 1930s depression was partly resolved by the war, but remained unresolved in the post-war period. However, Robert Moses, an urban planner directly influenced by Haussmann (Harvey, 2008), changed the scale of thinking about urbanisation again by planning beyond the city level. His debt-financed highways and infrastructural transformations, and his hand in large-scale suburbanisation, helped to define a new way to absorb capital and labour surpluses profitably. All this was achieved with a turn to debt financing assisted by a new Fordist compact between capital and labour that helped resolve the problem of effective demand (Harvey, 2010). Suburbanisation entailed a radical transformation of lifestyles just as ‘Hausmannisation’ did in the mid-19th century. It created a spectacular commodity economy of consumer goods, thus playing a key role in absorbing both capital and labour surpluses in the post-war US economy. All this, however, generated new contradictions, just as Haussmann’s Paris had done: suburbanisation hollowed out the inner cities through ‘white flight’ and uneven development, exacerbating the US urban crisis of the 1960s which resulted in a wave of inner-city riots. By the late 1960s, the “state-finance nexus” that powered suburbanisation was in crisis, and by the early 1970s the whole capitalist system fell into a deep recession after the collapse of the global property market bubble (p.169-171).

Urbanisation made another transformative leap of scale with China’s recent urban development drive, which in principle is similar to that of Hausmannisation in Second Empire Paris. Harvey (2012) argues that the scale of development here is of an “entirely different order than anything before in human history” (Ibid, p.60). The huge wave of debt-

financed infrastructural development in China has global ramifications. It is deeply intertwined with the raw material exports of Australia and Chile, and also the machine tool and automotive exports of Germany, for instance (Ibid, p.57). Indeed, the separation between industry and finance is typically greatly exaggerated. Marx (1990) saw credit as “a new and terrible weapon in the battle of competition” (Ibid, p.778), and finance is now an integral part of every sector of the economy, pervasive across the entire economic cycle and *cosubstantive* with the production of goods and services (Marazzi, 2010; Lazzarato, 2011). China is estimated to consume around 50% of key global commodities - including cement, steel and coal - and Chinese real estate, inextricably linked with speculative credit, is the main driver of that demand. However, the long lag between investment and returns in the built environment, bridged by fictitious capital (paper claims to future wealth), means that predicted revenues are highly subject to potential devalorisation, with the possibility of economic collapse “very real” (Harvey, 2012, p.60).

Since the “general privatisation of housing” in China in 1998, housing speculation and construction has escalated profoundly. In 2011, house prices had reportedly risen by 140% since 2007, and as much as 800% in cities such as Beijing and Shanghai in the preceding five years. In Shanghai, property prices were reputed to have doubled from 2010 to 2011 alone, with the average apartment price standing at \$500,000, while in ‘second-tier’ cities, a typical home costs 25 times the average income of residents (Ibid, p.58). Real estate spending surpassed foreign trade as the biggest contributor to China’s economy in 2011, with government investment in urban infrastructure equalling nearly 70% of the nation’s GDP in the same year (Ibid, p.59). Harvey does not make the connection here, but the link between rising house prices and the privatisation of housing has a direct correlation with the privatisation of public housing in the UK and escalating housing costs (cf. Harvey, 2005; Glynn, 2009; Hodkinson, 2012b). Indeed, housing privatisation has been a central component in what Harvey (2005) terms ‘accumulation by dispossession’, entailing: (1) privatisation and commodification; (2) financialisation; (3) management and manipulation of crises; (4) and state redistribution towards the wealthy (Ibid, p.160-165).

Burgeoning house prices suggest that supply is still failing to meet demand, with massive land acquisition and population displacement indicating an “active economy of dispossession” alongside enormous waves of urbanisation (Harvey, 2012, p.59). Even official figures, probably vastly under-estimated according to Shin (2012), estimate that 1.5 million people were displaced for the 2008 Beijing Olympics and 476,246 households by the 2010 Shanghai World Expo. As well as displacement, debt is fundamentally linked to

the new urbanisation. The municipal debt of China was estimated at around \$2.2 trillion in 2011, with as much as 80% of this debt held by off-the-books investment companies, sponsored by, but not technically a part of, municipal government. Cumulative debt liabilities are enormous when aligned with central government debt, estimated at \$2 trillion in 2011 (Harvey, 2012, p.60). The debt-driven nature of this urban development, its speculative nature, and the social contradictions it produces, including low wages, poor working conditions, rent extraction and escalating prices, suggest that the urbanisation solution is extremely “toxic” (Ibid, p.61) with massive repercussions pending globally:

...the Chinese ‘model’ is far from trouble free, and [...] could all too easily morph overnight from benefactor to problem child of capitalist development. If this ‘model’ fails, then the future of capitalism is dire indeed. This would then imply that the only path is to look more creatively to anti-capitalist alternatives (Ibid, p.65).

This brief excursus on urbanisation in China shows both the expanded scale of urbanisation globally, and the potentially drastic global implications of that tendency given China’s influential status in the global economy. The analysis here lends credence to Lefebvre’s theses that capital is increasingly ‘switching’ from industrialisation to urbanisation, especially in times of crisis, underlining the core importance of urbanisation globally. Indeed, after the economic crisis of 2007-2009, a Keynesian-style stimulus package created hundreds of billions of government investment in the infrastructural, local development and property sectors. This, as Harvey argues, was a classic example of surplus absorption through ‘capital switching’ into the secondary circuit, a term that I will now examine briefly.

2.4. ‘Capital Switching’ in the Built Environment

Conceptualizing and analyzing the dynamics of the secondary circuits suggests a theory of circulating capital that emphasizes the irrationalities of the circulation process and the systemic crises that periodically affect real estate markets (Gotham, 2009, p.359).

As Brett Christophers (2011) observes, Harvey’s extended treatment of capital and labour surplus absorption through urbanisation develops arguments that he has been making since the 1970s, following Lefebvre’s thesis of ‘capital switching’ discussed in Chapter 1. When capitalist production edges towards periodic crises of overaccumulation, Harvey (1985) argues, capital ‘switches’ from the primary circuit (industry and manufacturing) to the

secondary circuit (land, real estate, housing and the built environment), as a means to absorb surpluses and avoid crisis, if only temporarily. But capital switching, according to Harvey, is also crisis switching. Long-term investments in the built environment are “a kind of last-ditch hope for finding productive uses for rapidly accumulating capital” (Ibid, p.7). While it might be argued that forms of capital switching in the post-war Keynesian era were relatively successful in resuscitating the economy and engendering new regimes of accumulation, the link between urbanisation and crisis has become much clearer with the growing role of finance and credit in property and housing speculation (Gotham, 2009; Hudson, 2006b, 2010; Christophers, 2011; Harvey, 2012). Yet, as Christophers argues, there has been very little empirical attention paid to the capital switching thesis despite the pivotal role that financing of the built environment has played in the ongoing global economic crisis (Turner, 2008; Aalbers, 2009a; Hudson, 2010). Where studies have been undertaken (King, 1989; Beauregard, 2004), they have been inconclusive. However, Christophers (2011) provides evidence for Harvey’s thesis by showing how property booms have been a leading indicator of recession and crisis in the UK.

Christophers describes the daunting methodological problems associated with tracing capital switching in the built environment: the economic interrelations are extremely complex given the expanded role of financial intermediaries, and the data required to provide irrefutable proof of switching is simply not available. The best that can be done, he argues, is to give a broad indication of switching, with the UK providing a suitable empirical focus due to its long-term property investment profile, its prominent role in the global financial crisis, and the availability of relatively good data sources. Between 2000-2007, charting private finance investment and pension fund investment, Christophers found substantive evidence of crisis-related ‘switching’ from production into the built environment:

...cumulatively, the analyses presented here point to massive capital switching in the years following the turn of the millennium [...] Moreover, not only did switching seemingly occur, but it did so precisely in the run-up to the onset of the economic crisis – just as Harvey argues that it typically will (Ibid, p.1360).

For Christophers, ‘capital switching’ from productive investment to the urban built environment is crisis switching “from the world of productive capital to the world of financialized, surplus-capital-swollen real estate” (Ibid, p.1361). He observes the acceleration of financialisation in the UK economy since Harvey’s initial thesis in 1985, while also noting that the surplus absorption observed between 2000 and 2007 was based

on capital rather than labour absorption, with pension funds increasingly sunk into new and existing property. This should come as no surprise. The role of pension funds has been heavily criticised by Hudson (2010) as a form of corporate raiding against industrial capital and labour. Pension fund managers use workers savings not to increase employment, improve working conditions or invest in productive capital formation, but to speculate on the financial markets at the expense of industrial capitalism and associated ancillary jobs (Ibid, p.439). This suggests that the problem, as viewed by capital, is less one of producing jobs, as it was in the Keynesian era, but more one of finding a secure home for surplus capital in the built environment.

One implication of this crisis of production is that, without the vector of industrial and manufacturing work, social reproduction may come more to the fore as opposed to traditional labour struggles (Gilroy, 2002 [1987]; Wacquant, 2008; Endnotes, 2010). The lines between the two are more blurred than some literatures allow, as I will argue in Chapter 5, but the general shift in compositional terms, and the political implications of that shift, have been under-studied and under-theorised in Glasgow, as elsewhere. As Harvey argues, capital switching opens up new forms of social contradiction that must be examined afresh. Merrifield (2014) notes how the London property market has become a new safe haven for the surpluses of the super-wealthy in crisis-ridden economies globally. Money from Greece and Italy, and from China, Singapore and India, has been dumped into the London property market on a breathtaking scale. In 2012 alone, £83 billion of cash money was used to purchase London properties (Ibid, p.112), vastly inflating living costs, rents, and house prices in London. The contradictions were manifest in the London riots of 2011, which as Hatherley (2011) perceptively showed, were directly linked to areas undergoing rapid gentrification and exacerbated socio-spatial inequality. While Harvey stresses the role of economic crisis in capital switching, Beauregard (1994) has suggested that switching into the secondary circuit is not simply the safety valve of the primary circuit. He points instead to global speculation and rent-seeking as major factors in capital switching, independent of conditions in the primary circuit:

It is not the switching of accumulated capital from the primary to the secondary circuit that is the issue, but the manipulation of capital to alter the value of the built environment without consideration of either the economic viability of investments or the contribution of such investments to the development of society (Ibid, p.730).

A proper evaluation of this discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth asking how much actual ‘switching’ is required when the ‘primary’ circuit has already

been so thoroughly gutted. While this process is uneven globally, de-industrialisation has long been all too evident in places like Glasgow (Gibb, 1983; Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Helms and Cumbers, 2006; Cumbers *et al*, 2010; Gray and Mooney, 2011). We might then conclude that much ‘switching’ has already been completed in such old industrial cities as part of a broader restructuring of capitalist investment premised, broadly speaking, on property based regeneration and the service sector⁸. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I provide strong evidence for that thesis in Glasgow. What is clear is that investments in the ‘second circuit’ cannot be achieved without a money supply and credit system that creates ‘fictitious capital’ in advance of production and consumption (Harvey, 1985). The next section will thus examine the relationship between credit, fictitious capital, urbanisation and rent in processes of urban expropriation.

2.5. Credit, Fictitious Capital and Urban Crisis

The problem that the credit system poses is that it is on the one hand vital to the production, circulation, and realization of capital flows at the same time as it is, on the other hand, the pinnacle of all manner of ‘insane forms’ (Harvey, 2012, p.42)

In writing *Capital Vol.1*, his most influential book, Marx aimed to understand the production process and the realisation of surplus value while abstracting from the ‘particularities’ of distribution, including interest, rents, taxes, wage and profit rates (Harvey, 2012, p.36-37). The virtue of Marx’s method is that in abstraction it provides a framework for understanding the labour theory of value across volatile temporal and spatial moments. But, as Harvey notes, this theory is problematised by the development of Marx’s analysis in Volumes 2 and 3, and more generally by the unfolding of history (Merrifield, 2014). Credit, for instance, is not only invoked by circulation but *necessitated* by it, an idea Marx (1990) was already developing in Volume 1 as a way of understanding the differing timescales between the production of commodities and their realisation in the market. When it is not possible to make an exchange between two different commodities because one commodity has not yet reached completion (a grape harvest, a plot of housing, etc), then the means of payment becomes credit. For Marx, the establishment of credit was a key transition point in the development of capitalism, establishing the role of money as the universal commodity. In the fully-fledged colonial period, the systems of public credit and national debt became “one of the most powerful levers of primitive accumulation”;

⁸ It is also important to note that de-industrialisation is a willed and highly politicised process, as important studies on the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) work-in (Foster and Woolfson, 1986) and the Scottish coal industry (Phillips, 2015) have shown.

giving rise to “stock-exchange gambling and the modern bankocracy” (Ibid, p.919). This reminds us that credit and debt were at one with capitalism’s origins and expansion. But with financialisation developing rapidly since the 1970s (Krippner, 2005; Lapavistas, 2011; Hudson, 2010; Marazzi, 2010), the credit system has become increasingly fundamental to the motion of capital.

To understand the relation between financialisation, urbanisation and debt, we need to understand the concept of ‘fictitious capital’ and its connection with land, property markets and crisis. Fictitious capital develops out of the credit system as ‘capitalisation’: it represents “accumulated claims, legal titles, to future production” (Marx, 1991, p.599). Fictitious capital represents the net present value of *future* cash flows. It is termed ‘fictitious’ because it pertains to a realisation of future revenue which can never be guaranteed. As Harvey (2012) observes, when banks lend to purchase land and property in expectation of future rental repayments with interest, then fictitious capital is articulated within chains of circulation and production. When banks lend to other banks, who then lend to speculators, fictitious capital looks more and more like “an infinite regression of fictions built upon fictions” (Ibid, p.40). Lending at ever higher ratios, with increasing risk on returns, as with the sub-prime and predatory mortgage crisis, magnifies the amounts of fictitious capital in circulation, converting “real into unreal estate” (Ibid, p.41). The capitalist dream of M-M (money-money), where capital supersedes M-C-M (money-commodities-money), and is automatically valorised by its own powers, is deeply problematised when the market for products, and the hoped-for future revenues that go with the rights to them, is diminished - ‘What is the real value of a foreclosed house for which there is no market?’, asks Harvey.

The relation between capital circulation and the credit system and property markets is highly complex. When financiers lend to developers to build housing, or other forms of urban development, the combined forces of finance and construction do so in the expectation that value can be realised in the market. This expectation is the motor of fictitious capital, but it is also an index of confidence in the market that is entirely unreliable, as has been seen since the economic crisis of 2007. Control of supply and demand is crucial, but the ‘ghost estates’ generated by the Republic of Ireland’s property bubble, which left up to 400,000 properties lying empty (McDonald, 2012), is only one recent example of what happens when the search for an urban spatial fix by speculative capitalism fails to meet its fictitious future (O’Callaghan *et al*, 2014). The problem of value realisation, from the point of view of capital, is exacerbated by existing housing or building

stock, which remains fixed for long periods of time, adding considerable constraints to turnover time in the built environment (Harvey, 1985; Weber, 2002; Prole.info, 2012). This correlates with the central problem of fixity and motion discussed earlier in this chapter (Harvey, 2006 [1981], 2006 [1982], 1985; Brenner, 1998). Housing production, then, is not always an attractive option for financiers when profit can still be extracted by trading on existing buildings rather than building anew. Indeed, increasing supply often has a detrimental effect on the demand for existing housing from the point of view of capital. Scarcity is essential to the garnering of monopoly rents, as I will show in Chapter 5, and it is no coincidence that housing construction in the UK remained static from the early 1990s while rent and house prices rose rapidly in an escalating housing crisis (Meek, 2014).

In the US, as noted previously, trading in increasingly risky securitised mortgages and collateralised debt obligations (CDOs), with supposedly guaranteed income streams, fed the sub-prime mortgage crisis as fictitious capital flooded into the property market. Drawing on Harvey's characterisation of the urban environment as both potential source and barrier to capital accumulation, Gotham (2009) argues that securitisation, encompassing the homogenisation of diverse commodities and the weakening of the institutional buffers between local, national and global markets, has been crucial for the conversion of opaque assets into "liquid" and transparent securities (Ibid, p.357). The re-regulation of the housing market, then, rather than its de-regulation, has played a crucial role in converting "spatial fixity" in the built environment (immobility, illiquidity and long turnover times between buying and selling) into "liquid assets", characterised by predictable and standardised features that promote exchangeability and marketability (Ibid; Weber, 2010). Such processes have also been evident in the European mortgage markets (Aalbers, 2009a, 2009b) with predatory and sub-prime lending performing an "inner-city spatial fix" by switching into the mortgage market (Wyly, et al, 2004). A stress on re-regulation rather than de-regulation suggests that considerable care is required not to lapse into treating finance as merely parasitical or pathological (Lapavitsas, 2013). The "financial expropriation" associated with financialisation (Ibid, p.749) is rather a process of accumulation "symmetrical" with new processes of value production (Marazzi, 2010, p.49). Financial profits since the 1970s are predicated on the "capitalist colonization" of the circulation sphere (Ibid, p.66), as well as the compression of direct and indirect wages, precarisation, and the creation of a vast pool of surplus labour. Financialisation is about capital seeking maximal profits in the realm of finance (Krippner, 2005), and this in turn exacerbates the ongoing crisis in productive investment: profits are not re-invested in the

production sphere and thus fail to generate either stable employment or a regular wage (Lapavitsas, 2013; Hudson, 2010).

The sub-prime market for mortgages stood at around \$30 billion in the mid-1990s, but had risen to \$625 billion in 2005 shortly before the sub-prime crisis of 2007 (Harvey, 2012, p.47). Supply could not, and would not, keep up with a demand that was fostered by banks, the government, the property market and the media, so prices continued to rise “like they could rise forever” (Ibid). However, as Marx argued, without value creation through socially necessary labour time, and the expanded reproduction of the relations of production that typically follows, the fantasy of automatic valorisation through usury will only generate more crises. This is why both Marx and Keynes thought the ‘euthanasia of the rentier’ was essential for stabilising capitalist development (Hudson, 2010), as discussed in the next section. The global financial crisis would seem to bear that thesis out. But crisis has important class dimensions, and the externalisation of risk through the securitisation of predatory mortgages helped to pass on the burden to those who can least afford it (Ibid). For Newman (2009), the flow of capital into the secondary mortgage market provides a vital “node” facilitating capital accumulation, linking the ethereal world of financialisation and securities with the real-world place of extraction in urban communities (Ibid, p.316). The general shift from commodity production to finance production (Krippner, 2005) is epitomised in the shift to urban centres and the production of mortgages: “the raw products that fuel the financialized economy” (Newman, 2009, p.316).

Socially, the expansion of toxic sub-prime and predatory lending has replaced the practice of ‘redlining’ (the denial of mortgages or other financial or insurance services on racially discriminatory terms), with ‘reverse redlining’ (or ‘greenlining’), the aggressive targeting of minority consumers with over-priced and mis-sold sub-prime mortgages (Ibid, p.318; Wyly *et al*, 2004, 2009). Drawing on Harvey’s (1974) thesis of ‘class-monopoly rent’, which involves the power-laden exercise of one class-interest group over another in the realisation of rent, Wyly *et al* (2009) reveal how the new cartographies of race and class discrimination see greenlining marginalised communities as an “efficient, economically rational way” to indebt those previously excluded from credit markets, as they are more likely targets of deception and abuse (Ibid, p.339). While property is often neglected as a means of value creation under contemporary capitalism, this is unsustainable given recent developments in the global economy. Christophers (2010b), for instance, argues that Hernando de Soto’s influential call for developing countries to institute legal-institutional

property rights, in order to liquidify the exchange-value of homes and buildings, is a form of “voodoo economics” extracting value from the world’s poorest regions through credit and property titling (Ibid, p.101; Harvey, 2012, p.20). At another level the institution of ‘monopoly rent’ has been central to the commodification of urban resources and assets via culture-led regeneration schemes (Harvey, 2002; Anderson, 2014; Charnock et al, 2014). This process of urban expropriation has been starkly evident in Glasgow (Tretter, 2009; Gray, 2010), as I will show in Chapter 5.

As Harvey argues, it would be a mistake to suggest that all urban production is fictitious. In 2011, construction activity in the US economy accounted for 7% of GDP, with ancillaries accounting for more than double that figure. Prole.info’s *The Housing Monster* (2012)⁹ describes the continuing need for labour in the construction industry, and surplus dumping in the built environment also suggests the need for material production as a (temporary) resolution to labour crisis as well as financial crisis. That labour is involved in the production and reproduction of housing may seem obvious, but the fetish character of capitalism tends to obscure relations between people by making them appear as relations between things. Large-scale advertising tarpaulins which obscure the labour going on behind scaffolding are apposite in this regard. Overall, while fictitious capital and financialisation clearly play an increasingly advanced role in the global economy, it is important not to underplay the continuing role of labour in value creation (Wright, 2002; Caffentzis, 2003, 2005). However, here I am primarily concerned with the urbanisation of capital, and one major development in this area has been the escalation of the ‘rentier economy’, a characterisation of which follows here.

2.6. The Rentier Economy: An Unearned Increment

Far from the ‘euthanasia of the rentier’ that Keynes envisaged, class power is increasingly articulated through rental payments (Harvey, 2006 [1982], p.xvi).

In the odd logic of the real estate bubble, debt has come to equal wealth (Hudson, 2006b, p.39).

For Harvey (1974, 2002, 2012), the neglected role of rent has to be brought to the centre of critical Marxist analysis, and here I will make a contribution to that research agenda by

⁹ *The Housing Monster* (2012) is a libertarian communist graphic comic book that examines construction work in the building industry from the point of view of labour. The book discusses gentrification, commodity fetishism, fictitious capital and many other facets of the production process in the built environment: <http://www.prole.info/pdfs/thm.pdf>.

bringing together Harvey's work with that of the economist Michael Hudson (2006, 2010). Hudson's research complements Harvey's analysis of financialisation, fictitious capital and urban crisis with a more detailed interrogation of the rentier aspects of capitalism. Like Harvey, he suggests that a re-orientation of thought on land and rent has become necessary due to tendential changes in the means and mode of expropriation deployed by capital. Hudson foregrounds how financialisation and rentier capitalism have formed a "counter-Enlightenment" that has usurped the predictions of classical economists who thought that rentier interests would be subordinated to the needs of industrial capitalism in the long run (Hudson, 2010, p.419). In this sense, Hudson provides a very useful historical framework in his description of the tendentious development of financialisation and fictitious capital. In the 19th century, he notes, Marx was optimistic about industry's ability to subsume usurious finance capital credit for more productive social ends. As Hudson (2010) observes, for a time this seemed possible:

It was the great achievement of industrial capitalism to mobilize credit to finance production, subordinating hitherto usurious interest-bearing capital to 'the conditions and requirements of the capitalist mode of production' (Hudson, 2010, p.420).

Yet in the last few decades, accumulation has increasingly occurred through financialisation (Krippner, 2005; Vercellone, 2008; Aalbers, 2009a; Harvey, 2012; Lapavistas, 2013) alongside a fully-fledged comeback and proliferation of forms of rent in symbiosis with finance capital, real estate and monopolies rather than industry (Vercellone, 2008). Corporate raiding, financial fraud, credit default swaps and other derivatives have expanded on an unprecedented scale, leading to accelerated de-industrialisation and enormous taxpayer bailouts for the finance industry. As Hudson (2006a) argues, stock market speculation is really largely rent-seeking activity as companies are raided for their land or other property income. The commonly used phrase, 'Generation Rent', meaning *private* rent in practice, encapsulates the present moment, with obvious implications in terms of rising costs and increasing insecurity for tenants. Rather than earning higher wages through productive work and spending these wages on rising living standards, for the past generation labour has instead been encouraged to use its income to carry a higher debt burden¹⁰ (Hudson, 2010, p.441). For Hudson, this debt burden has been exacerbated through the 'fictions of fictitious capital', paper claims on future wealth (bank loans, stocks and bonds), that "do not create the surplus directly, but are like sponges absorbing the

¹⁰ For more discussion on debt, in relation to morality, the future, and production, see: Marx (1844b); Nietzsche (2013[1887]); Lazzarato (2011); Toscano (2014); Mitropoulos (2011); Neilson (2007).

income and property of debtors - and expropriate this property when debtors (including governments) cannot pay” (Ibid, p.421). This is the parasitic role of finance that Marx discussed as *usury*, whereby capital does not confront the labourer through industrial capital, but “impoverishes this mode of production, paralyzes the productive forces instead of developing them” (Cited, Ibid, p.421).

As Hudson observes, even classical economists such as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill argued that rent is an “unearned increment”; a monopoly price based on extraction rather than productive investment (Ibid, p.429). Yet, the recent expansion of capital in the so-called advanced economies has predominantly taken the form of ‘usury capital’: mortgage lending, personal and credit card loans, government bond financing and debt-leveraged gambling (Ibid, p.424). The cost of living now reflects *FIRE* sector costs (finance, insurance, real estate) more than prices for commodities produced by labour (Ibid, p.436), with usury capital seeking to make money in what Hudson calls “sterile” ways, characterised by the disembodied formula M-M, rather than M-C-M (Ibid, p.423-424). Contemporary financial engineering aims not at industrial engineering to increase output or cut the costs of production, but at economic rent which to the financier or capitalist is “earned in their sleep” (Ibid, p.434), the profit one earns “simply by owning something” (Hudson, 2006b, p.40). Growing independently from tangible production, Hudson (2006a) argues, the rentier economy represents a parasitical financial overhead:

The bulk of this rentier income is not being spent on expanding the means of production or raising living standards. It is plowed back into the purchase of property and financial securities already in place - legal rights and claims for payment extracted from the economy at large (Ibid)

Hudson shows that most wealth in the US economy is generated by rent-yielding property, with real estate the economy’s largest asset, and land accounting for most of the gains in real estate valuation. Rentier income is ploughed back into real estate or ownership rights, inflating prices for assets and making further speculation more attractive to investors. This exacerbates the cost of living, with the wealth generated being captured by landlords, creditors and other rentiers (Ibid). These rental incomes can be seen as an unproductive “free lunch” gouged from the economy at large, forcing an ever-higher proportion of wages to be spent on rent and basic social subsistence, and denying it for socially productive means (Ibid). This form of predatory wealth extraction has been exacerbated by regulatory reforms which have shifted the burden of taxation from property to labour and consumption in the form of income and sales tax; by aggressively selling the dream of

homeownership; and by vastly reducing or eliminating capital gains tax (Hudson, 2006b). While Hudson's analysis raises important issues, it is important to stress again the symmetry between finance and industry (Krippner, 2005; Lazzarato, 2011; Marazzi, 2010; Lapavistas, 2013) if we are not to valorise 'good' production over 'bad' financialisation, as Hudson tends to do (Hudson, 2010).

Industrial production has been as much the enemy of the working class, if on different terms, as financialisation has. The premises of Fordist/Keynesianism were underwritten by colonial exploitation, by migrant and unpaid domestic work, the sexual division of labour, and by imperial power and the hegemony of the US dollar (Mitropolous, 2011). As much as gains for working class people were made in the Fordist/Keynesian zenith, the integration of the working class in the SMP was also a means of recuperation and alienation founded on the continuing exploitation of global resources and workforces (Negri, 2003 [1967], 2005; Lefebvre, 2009; Brenner, 2008). Hudson's (2010) distinctively moral call to restore the "classical economic doctrine" of progressive liberalism by linking income and profit to productive work, rather than to usurious rent, obscures the fact that the classical rent/profit distinction depended on an industrial capitalism which has long since been eviscerated by new forms of expropriation in the US and UK economies, and which was always dependent on the credit relation anyway (Vercellone, 2008; Lazzarato, 2011). As Mann (2010) argues in 'Value after Lehman', the distinction between 'real' and 'fictitious' production is problematically dependent on a critique of capital from the standpoint of labour as 'abstract labour' (Ibid, p.177). Instead, what is required, he argues, is a critique of labour as the producer of value *per se* (cf. Postone, 1993; Wright, 2002; Negri, 2005; Holloway, 2010 [2002]). Hudson's view remains firmly within the framework of political economy, but this thesis shares the fundamental critique of political economy established by Marx and Engels in the mid-19th century. The next chapter, which will focus on the insights of Autonomous Marxism, will discuss how such a critique was fundamentally embedded in new forms of urban organisation in the Italian autonomous movement of the early 1970s, although it is important to recognise the exceptional character of that period compared to the current context in Glasgow, the subject of Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Such arguments, however, do not entirely invalidate Hudson's analysis. Attempts to alleviate the excesses of parasitic financial expropriation remain vital as part of a wider critique of political economy. As Hudson shows, the share of the 'rental pie' has increased dramatically for the wealthy, while "more people owe more money to banks than at any

other time in history” in the US (Ibid, p.42). While this picture of debt may be geographically uneven, depending on particular state, legal, institutional and economic frameworks, it resonates with ongoing processes of accumulation by dispossession across the globe (Lazarrato, 2011; Harvey, 2012). The illusion that everyone can make a profit by simply owning something, especially housing, only leaves most of us on a debt-ridden ‘new road to serfdom’ according to Hudson (2006b).

2.7. Conclusion

The built environment requires collective management and control, and it is therefore almost certain to be a primary field of struggle between capital and labour over what is good for accumulation and what is good for people (Harvey, 1976, p.278).

This chapter has augmented Lefebvre’s initial formulations on the urbanisation of capital by engaging with contemporary empirical discussions on financialisation, surplus absorption, spatial fixing, capital switching, and rentier and debt-financed urban economies. The combined analyses overwhelmingly suggest the increasingly intimate nexus between financialisation, urbanisation, rent, and debt as key determining, though not determinist¹¹, forces in contemporary capitalist accumulation strategies (cf. Smith, 2010 [1984]; Mann, 2008). Reading Harvey and Hudson together foregrounds the increasingly ubiquitous role of the rentier economy in social and economic relations, especially in the housing market, showing the tendential development of accumulation strategies that are increasingly financialised and spatially-orientated. This material analysis of the changing spatial composition of capital, I argue, suggests the necessity for an immanent politics of space at the urban level. However, while the contributions in this chapter help to illustrate how the urbanisation of capital contributes to the ‘survival of capitalism’ (Lefebvre, 1976), providing powerful tools for diagnosing current modes of expropriation under capitalist relations, more fine-grained readings of dialectical resistance are largely absent from the analysis.

While broadly agreeing that such work can tend to be somewhat ‘capital-centric’ (cf. Charnock, 2010, Cumbers *et al*, 2010), it is also important to stress that subjectivity and questions of social reproduction are not *always* relegated in such analysis (see, Harvey, 1974, 1976, 2002, 2012). In *Rebel Cities* (2012), Harvey recently provided his most

¹¹ As Mann (2008) observes, Marxism’s supposed “determinism” is a “tired old saw”. Marx was no determinist, economic or otherwise, but this should not preclude the fact that ‘determination’ plays a role in social life (Ibid, p.921).

sustained critical engagement with Lefebvre's notion of the 'Right to the City' through a detailed investigation of global urban resistance, focusing strongly on the area of social reproduction as a primary arena of contestation over the collective management and control of the built environment. Yet, the rather caricatured account that he presents of 'autonomous' struggles tends to undermine his often valid critiques of horizontalist organisational fetishism, state disavowal, and small-scale 'alternative' economies (Gray, 2013). In Chapters 3 and 4, I aim to rectify that aporia through a detailed examination of AM and the pioneering methodologies of class composition and workers inquiry established in 'Laboratory Italy' (Hardt, 1996). In doing so, I aim to show how a politics of space should necessarily be derived from an immanent understanding of changes in class composition. Such an understanding can potentially have significant resonance for contemporary urban contestation in Glasgow, as I will discuss in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3. Italian Autonomous Marxism: Learning from ‘Laboratory Italy’

I take Italian revolutionary politics as a model [...] because it has constituted a kind of laboratory for experimentation in new forms of political thinking that help us conceive a revolutionary politics in our own times (Hardt, 1996, p.1).

Henri Lefebvre’s anti-productivist critique of everyday life was famously taken up in France by the Situationist Internationale before and during the May events of 1968 (Debord, 1995 [1967]); Vanegheim, 1994 [1967]; Ross, 1997), but here I will argue that many similar concerns, though not directly linked to Lefebvre, were also taken up *en masse* by AM from the early 1960s to the late 1970s in Italy. Like Hardt (1996), I believe that learning from this radical milieu can contribute significantly to political struggles in the present. As he observes, the practices of the Italian extra-parliamentary Left in this period constitute an anomaly with respect to comparable Western countries in terms of size, intensity, creativity, and duration. A comparison with ‘May 68’ in France is instructive: “Some like to say that whereas 1968 lasted only a few months in France, in Italy, it extended over ten years, right up until the end of the 1970s” (Ibid, p.2). Here I argue that the heterogeneous currents of AM advanced well beyond Lefebvre’s theoretical positions in praxis, developing a radical critique of productivism and political economy immanent to mass movement struggles. The spatial dimension of these struggles, however, has hitherto seen little sustained attention (see Gray, 2013; Toscano, 2004). This chapter will attempt to redress that aporia, by undertaking a distinctive double manoeuvre which emphasises what AM can bring to geography, and conversely what geography can bring to AM.

The emphasis AM placed on anticipating the changing composition of capitalist relations alongside a committed theory of praxis/subjectivation, Toscano (2004) argues, bears important lessons for contemporary spatial politics. Following industrial decomposition in the early 1970s, he notes, the “spatial composition of class” became increasingly important for autonomous currents (Ibid, p.200). Reflecting on this compositional shift, I will examine here the spatial politics that lay, often hidden, between the industrial ‘mass worker’ of classical operaismo in the 1960s (a category formulated to recompose the divided but in fact relatively undifferentiated technical composition of unskilled labourers in mass industry) and the ‘socialised worker’¹² (the immaterial, cognitive, or affective

¹² The concept of the ‘socialised worker’ was developed from a reading within AM of the ‘Fragment on Machines’ in Marx’s (1993) *Grundrisse*, where workers were seen to have increasingly come under the sway of the ‘general intellect’. There is not the space to deal with this question here, but key readings include:

labourer) of *autonomia* from 1973 onwards (see, Negri, 1989; Bologna, 2007 [1977]). While the mass worker was integral to a wave of hugely important factory struggles, especially in the ‘Hot Autumn’ of 1969 (Lumley, 1990; Wright, 2002; Bologna, 1991), this figure became less significant with industrial restructuring and decomposition beginning in the late 1960s (Bologna, 1972; Wright, 2002; Negri, 1989; Berardi, 2007). The influence of Negri’s post-autonomous thought, initially through the phenomenal success of *Empire* (Hardt and Negri, 2000) and *Multitude* (Hardt and Negri, 2006), has made the often-hyperbolised socialised worker thesis widely known in the anti-globalisation movement and within academia. But the frequent contemporary conflation of AM with Negri, and derivations of the ‘socialised worker’ thesis, while productive in many ways, has tended to proceed on a rigorously non-empirical basis (Wright, 2002; Caffentzis, 2004). Moreover, a focus on the advanced industrial and technological sectors in post-operaismo has tended to overlook the typically gendered labour of care and social reproduction (Federici, 2004, 2012).

For my purposes here, a privileged focus on the socialised worker obviates the spatial politics that were an immanent part of AM in the early 1970s. *Spatial composition* will thus be central to this chapter, by which I mean a consideration of class composition that takes seriously the urbanisation of capital as an immanent political question. The notion of the ‘social factory’, developed by Mario Tronti (1962), is crucial here as it shifts attention from the productive sphere to the wider sphere of social reproduction, thus opening up the theoretical ground for situated spatial politics, ‘territorial community activism’ and new ‘social subjects’, most importantly women and those not included in the Keynesian wage-bargain (Bologna, 2007 [1977]). The first section will provide a brief historiography of the Italian autonomous movement, with the second section considering AM’s conception of the ‘planner state’, which bears comparison with Lefebvre’s idea of the SMP. The third section examines the ideas of workers agency, the ‘refusal of work’, and the critique of political economy within AM. The fourth section discusses the idea of the ‘social factory’, which extends the critique of the planner state to the entire social terrain. The fifth section examines the ‘new social subjects’ that emerged with the decline of the ‘mass worker’, paying particular attention to operaismo-influenced Italian feminism, domestic labour and social reproduction. The final section investigates the militant forms of ‘territorial community activism’ (Bologna, 2007 [1977]) that gave an explicitly spatial content to autonomous struggles in the 1970s.

Lazarrato (1996); Virno (2004); Negri, 1989; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004; Berardi, 2009, 2009a). Salient critique comes from Wright (2002), Caffentzis (2003) and Federici (2004).

3.1. A Brief Historiography: Introducing Autonomous Marxism

At the beginning of the seventies when everybody was glorifying the factory working class and the ‘final struggle’ it was not easy to emphasize the extraordinary transformations that were under way in the social body of the working class. And within this transformation it was not easy to try to raise the necessary renewal of political forms (Negri, 2005, p.x1).

The origins of autonomous Marxism (‘operaismo’ or ‘workerism’) lie at the beginning of the 1960s when young dissidents in the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and Italian Socialist Party (PSI) first attempted to apply Marx’s critique of political economy within a rapid passage of industrialisation. As Wright (2002) stresses, Italian workerism should not be confused with the term ‘workerism’ which is used pejoratively to describe an over-emphasis on industrial and manufacturing workers to the exclusion of all other social subjects. Instead, the term was used to designate the primacy placed on workers experience rather than the mediated representation of workers by Left parties and unions. This, to clarify, was typically based on a radical negation of work and workers’ identity rather than its reification.

The conceptual basis for operaismo emerged in the early 1960s in the journals *Quaderni Rossi* (‘Red Notebooks’, 1961-64) and *Classe Operaia* (‘Working Class’, 1964-66). *Contropiano* (‘Counterplan’) was founded in 1968 (lasting until 1973), and in 1969 the journal *La Classe* (‘The Class’) was initiated. In the same year, two influential political groups were formed: *Lotta Continua* (‘Continual Struggle’), who were very active in worker-student and urban struggles, and *Potero Operaio* (‘Workers Power’), who were influential in the northern industrial centres (Bologna, 2007a, pp.178-179). In 1973 *Potero Operaio* shut down, effectively ending the main period of operaismo influence. In the same year, Negri fully developed the idea of the ‘socialised worker’ which would influence the new social subjects of *autonomia*, comprised of intellectuals, young workers, and the unemployed (a libertarian and artistic end of autonomy) (Bologna, 2007a; Lotringer, 2007; Berardi, 2007). The high point of *autonomia* came in the ‘movement of 1977’, marked by various journals and free radio stations which disseminated the radically heterodox views of those involved (Lotringer and Marazzi, 2007; Berardi, 2007). The main cycle of autonomous Marxism in Italy came to an end, however, with the widespread repression of activists and intellectuals from 7th April 1979 under exceptional emergency laws:

hundreds fled abroad and 12,000 were arrested for terms of up to 20 years (Lotringer, 2007, p.v; Agamben, 1996).

The material context for this radical intellectual lineage can be traced to the Marshall Plan-aided reconstruction of the Italian economy after the Second World War. Industrial growth was concentrated in the North, with the South, deliberately undeveloped, providing cheap agricultural produce and a massive reserve army of low wage labour. Following the rationalisation and mechanization of the agricultural industry, 17 million people were forced to migrate north between 1950 and 1967, unwittingly depressing wages and exacerbating the division of labour in the northern industrial factories (Dowson, 1973). However, by the early 1960s the industrial boom was beginning to raise wages and reduce unemployment. Important strikes at FIAT in 1962 and 1964 occurred, which were increasingly autonomous and ‘anti-collaborationist’ in that they radically disrupted the Fordist compact between capital, the unions and labour (Alquatti, 2013 [1964]). Student agitations in 1968 produced a new composition of worker-student struggles in the ‘Hot Autumn’ of 1969, which generated a range of radical tactics, including sabotage, ‘autoreduction’¹³, the refusal of work, wildcat strikes, base committees, worker-student assemblies, workplace takeovers and autonomous newspapers outside the control of the main parties and unions (Dowson, 1973; Berardi, 2007; Wright, 2002). Conflict between the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and autonomous organisations was heightened within and outside the factories.

Organising around the category of the ‘mass worker’, workers mobilised against the division of labour in the factories, bargaining for the abolition of wage differences and hierarchical job classifications, while rejecting piece-work and productivity-linked bonuses. The ‘mass worker’ was not a ready-made category handed to operaismo, but instead a strategic neologism designed to conceptualise the *recomposition* of working class unity against the specialised division of labour and wages in mass industry (Negri, 2005). It was also a way of recomposing the racial and cultural divisions between Northern workers and migrant labourers from the South, inaugurating new forms of class composition that provided unity and rebellion where internal divisions had been deliberately fostered by management. Many southern migrants had experienced a long history of violent land confrontations and forced expulsion from the South (Dowson, 1973; Aureli, 2013a). The migrants’ hatred of industrial work and ensuing contestation of the official workers movement, paradoxically, gave rise to revolutionary possibilities

¹³ The practice of autonomously self-reducing prices: see Section 3.5.2 of this thesis for a fuller definition.

according to operaismo. Unflinchingly viewed by the autonomists as a “rude pagan race”, far from the dignified worker-producer of the PCI (Aureli, 2013a, p.30), the pugnacious tactics of the mass worker were very successful in this period, helping to achieve 23.4% wage increases between 1969 and 1970 (Dowson, 2013). Yet concurrently, the northern industrial cities went through massive population growth in the 1960s, with the main State agency, GESCAL, doing nothing to address this issue at the level of housing. By the late 1960s, workers’ demands meant investment in industry was no longer producing the massive profits of the boom years. Capital thus shifted abroad or into lucrative property investment. By 1981, rents consumed up to 40% of wages, overcrowding was endemic, and the cost of living had risen dramatically (Ibid).

From the late 1960s, the autonomous movement expanded its composition. Struggles continued in the factories but also shifted to the local level in student demonstrations, occupations and squatting (Berardi, 2007). *Lotta Femminista*, a women’s branch of *Lotta Continua* (LC), was formed in 1971, and the *Wages for Housework* international movement was initiated in 1972, establishing housework, community, and social reproduction firmly on the Left agenda (Bracke, 2013). In 1973, the PCI proposed the ‘Historic Compromise’ with the conservative Christian Democrats (DC) in a move widely understood as “subordination to the will of big Capital in the name of economic revival” (Berardi, 2007, p.151). This exacerbated tension between the official labour movement and autonomous groups, who rejected the alienation and ideology of production. In the mid-1970s, *autonomia* emerged as “a true mass movement which united young workers, the unemployed, students, and others living on the margins of society” (Ibid, p.152-153), before the movement collapsed following brutal state repression, culminating in 1979. My main concern here, however, is excavating key ideas within operaismo in the 1960s, and examining their diffusion into new forms of urban struggle in the early 1970s. What is important to stress here is that these forms of struggle were immanent to the changing technical composition of capital, with the antagonistic critique of the ‘planner state’ central to forms of political composition.

3.2. The State as Planner: The Critique of Italian Productivism

At what point does the political State come to manage at least some part of the economic mechanism? When this economic mechanism can begin to use the state itself as an instrument of production - the state as we have come to understand it, that

is, as a moment of the political reproduction of the working-class (Tronti, 2007 [1966], p.32).

While there is little evidence to suggest that Lefebvre had any direct relationship with Italian operaismo, his critique of the ‘state mode of production’ (SMP) in France closely parallels the critique of the ‘planner state’ in operaismo. For many Italian workers who had seized their factories in the struggle against fascism, the future promised the advent of socialism and major improvements in the workplace. However, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the PCI, under the leadership of Palmiro Togliatti, sought a popular front programme against the group of capitalists yoked to fascism. The decisive arena for political gains, according to Togliatti, was in formal, parliamentary politics where accommodation with other groups was deemed a necessity. The quest for these political objectives led inexorably to the separation of economics and politics and the subordination of struggles for fundamental socio-economic change (Wright, 2002). Productivity was promoted as a path to salvation in the name of ‘unitary’ national economic reconstruction; the “managerial prerogative” was restored in the factories, and technology was declared *neutral*, a matter of technique, eliding antagonistic and alienating class relations at the point of production (Ibid, p.9). As one Fiat worker put it when Togliatti and the Christian Democrat leader De Gaspari visited his workplace:

...they both argued exactly the same thing; the need to save the economy... We’ve got to work hard because Italy’s on her knees, we’ve been bombarded by the Americans...but don’t worry because if we produce, if we work hard, in a year or two we’ll all be fine...So the PCI militants inside the factory set themselves the political task of producing to save the national economy, and the workers were left without a party (cited, Ibid, pp. 9-10).

Such compromise had predictable results. In 1947, the Communist Party was expelled from the De Gaspari government and an intense regime of accumulation was established based on production for international markets underpinned by low wages, low costs and high productivity. In this way, the PCI pursued the ‘Italian Road to Socialism’, stamping out insurrectionist tendencies and continuing with renovative ‘national-popular’ policies and propaganda.

It was this context in the late 1950s that led Raniero Panzieri, then Culture Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), to advocate the restoration of “permanent critique” in Marxism with the intention of freeing it “from the control of party leaderships and party

directions” (cited, *Ibid*, p.16). The much-vaunted Gramscian ‘organic intellectuals’ of the PCI, he argued, were now only organic to the party machine, having little if anything to do with working class conditions. What was required instead, he argued, was an examination of the reality of working-class experience “from *below* and in forms of *total democracy*” in order to exorcise “a belated adherence to reformism [...] or [...] a dogmatic conception of socialism” (cited, *Ibid*, p.18). For Moulier (1989), the critique of the ‘planner state’ was one of two major tendencies in operaismo alongside the notion of the determining role of the working class in the rupture of capital. Panzieri (1964; 1976 [1964]), Tronti (1962, 1966a) and Negri (2003 [1967], 2005 [1971]) produced the foundational texts in this critique. In this section I will focus primarily on Panzieri, who viewed planning as a pseudo-neutral, pseudo-objective form of capitalist domination. This position provided a fundamental point of departure for the project of autonomy in relation to the productivist Left.

Panzieri left the PSI and became co-founder and chief editor of *Quaderni Rossi* in 1961. The journal broke with the policies of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), the PCI, and associated trade unions by criticising their corporatist development strategy, which, Panzieri argued, sought to consolidate at national level the same rationality that capitalism had established at plant level. In *The Capitalist Use of Machinery: Marx Versus the Objectivists* (1964), Panzieri asserted that technological process did not stand apart from class relations as many Italian Marxists argued at the time. Positions arising from the ‘Keynesian matrix’, he argued, represented genuine ideologies, reflecting late capitalist development and the “degeneration of working-class activity and its re-absorption into capitalist development” (*Ibid*). His contributions, according to Sandro Mancini, were “the first demystifying analysis of technological rationality” produced by an Italian Marxist (cited, Wright, 2002, p.44). Reworking Marx’s critique of political economy (a theoretical victim of productivist ideology), Panzieri argued that the growth of constant capital (fixed plant, machinery, buildings, etc) is always at the expense, in the long run, of variable capital (living labour). Just as Lefebvre had used Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875) to question the reformist separation of distribution from production in contemporary French state productivism (Brenner and Elden, 2009), so Panzieri argued that granting capitalist planning and rationality a free hand in the production process in order to concentrate on ‘fair’ distribution was a strategic and political error:

Administrative rationalisation and the enormous growth of outward ‘organizational’ functions are alike viewed in ‘technical’ or ‘pure’ form. The relationship between

these developments and the processes and contradictions of contemporary capitalism (its quest for ever more complex means to accomplish and impose its planning), or the concrete historical reality in which the working-class movement finds itself living and fighting (the daily ‘capitalist use’ of machinery and organization), these are ignored in favour of a technologic-idyllic image (Panzieri, 1964).

Challenging the logic of wage gains under social democratic conditions of Fordism/Keynesianism, he showed that the rise of the wage is linked to the growth of capital, increasing the dependence of the worker ever more on capital while consolidating the power and wealth of capital over the labour power of the worker. With the development of the productive forces, he argued, the working class forges for itself “the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags it in its train” (Ibid). While Marx had grasped the “purely despotic” role of capitalist planning in the production of surplus value, Panzieri (1976 [1964]) argued that Lenin had been unable to entertain the possibility that capitalist social relations may be present in social planning (Ibid, p.6). Treating science and technique as socially neutral forces meant that “the repetition of capitalist forms in the relations of production both at the factory level and at the level of overall social production” (Ibid, p.22), proceeded apace in Italy, just as they had done in the USSR:

Capital’s planning mechanism tends to extend and perfect its despotic nature during the course of capital’s development. For it has to control a growing mass of labour-power with the concomitant increase of workers resistance while the augmented means of production require a higher degree of integration of the living raw material (Ibid, p.8).

Panzieri’s insight was developed by Antonio Negri in an influential essay on John Maynard Keynes (Hardt and Negri, 1994 [1967]). The development of capital in the 20th century, and the institutions that surround it, he stressed, are determined by working-class power and collective subjectivity. Following the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, the capitalist class was forced to recognise working class demands as a necessary feature that the state would have to accommodate. The ‘genius’ of Keynes, beginning in 1929, was to advocate the need for state intervention to mediate class conflict and guarantee economic equilibrium by including the working class in capital’s plans:

...how to recognise the political emergence of the working class, while finding new means (through a complete restructuring of the social mechanism for the extraction of surplus value) of politically controlling this new class within the workings of the

system. The admission of working class autonomy had to be accompanied by the ability to control it politically (Ibid, p.27).

The material basis of this intervention was founded on *the state as planner*, legitimising the requirements of capital through what Negri calls the “technological path of repression” (Ibid, p.26). For Negri, like Tronti (1962, 1964), grasping this class relation within the transformation of capital and state allowed for a theory of class relations as dynamic, unstable and potentially revolutionary. Integrating the antagonism of workers within the production process, capital would thenceforth have to contend with the working class as a driver of development and its recomposition at a higher level of massification and socialisation. In this sense, then, the AM view of the planner state is less pessimistic, and more dialectical, than Lefebvre’s view of the SMP, which sometimes tended to deny the possibility of differential space under the restricted rationality of spatial abstraction (Ronneberger, 2008). To understand this immanent, antagonistic perspective it is useful to examine operaismo’s dialectical conception of capitalist development, seminally developed by Mario Tronti.

3.3. Class Autonomy: The Copernican Inversion and the Refusal of Work

...the working class should materially discover itself as a part of capital if it wants to oppose the whole of capital to itself. It should recognize itself as a particular of capital if it wants to present itself as its general antagonist (Tronti, 1962).

In *Lenin in England* (1964), Mario Tronti¹⁴ developed his earlier work, in *Factory and Society* (1962), by outlining a trajectory of autonomous struggle written by and for the working class. His much-heralded ‘Copernican revolution’ inverted standard understandings of capitalist development and the class relation by arguing that the pressure of workers struggles was the catalyst for capitalist development (Boutang, 1989; Cleaver, 1979; Wright, 2002; Aureli, 2008). Tronti’s fundamental discovery, as Asor Rosa claimed, can be summed up in a formula that makes the working class “the dynamic motor of capital and which makes capital a function of the working class” (cited, Boutang, 1989, p.20). At the juncture of capitalism’s highest stages of development in Italy, Tronti (1964) argued, the new approach must start from the specific, present situation of the working class:

¹⁴ Tronti’s major work *Operai e Capitale* (‘Workers and Capital’) (1966) has not yet been translated into English in book form. However, many sections are available online (with variable qualities of translation). A good source is the *libcom* site: <https://libcom.org/library/operai-e-capitale-mario-tronti>.

We too have worked with a concept that puts capitalist development first, and workers second. This is a mistake. And now we have to turn the problem on its head, reverse the polarity, and start again from the beginning: and the beginning is the class struggle of the working class (Ibid).

For Tronti, like Panzieri, there was no neutrality in the human-machine relationship, only an antagonistic relation between working class struggles and capitalist initiative. However, he differed from Panzieri by arguing for a dialectically explosive development of this relation. On the one hand, he argued for the further acceleration of the productive forces: the more advanced capitalism became, the more the power of the working class was made evident through an accelerated socialisation within the production process. On the other hand, he argued that the capital-labour relation must be sundered via an appropriation of the highest levels of production, distinguishing between the workers' productive capacity and the capitalist process of value-creation via labour (Aureli, 2008). In industry, he argued, the person who provides the conditions of labour is the capitalist, and the workers are the providers of variable capital/labour-as-commodity: "that unique particular commodity which is the condition of all other conditions of production" (Tronti, 2007 [1966], p.30). The worker can only be labour power in relation to the capitalist, argued Tronti, and the capitalist can only exist in relation to the worker. This understanding of capital's dependence on labour-as-commodity had enormous consequences for class struggle:

If the conditions of capital are in the hands of the workers, if there is no active life in capital without the living activity of labour power, if capital is already, at its birth, a consequence of productive labour, if there is no capitalist society without the workers articulation, in other words if there is no social relationship without a class relationship, and there is no class relationship without the working class...then one can conclude that the capitalist class, from its birth, is in fact subordinate to the working class (Tronti, 2007 [1966], p.31).

If the development of capitalism is *dependent* on labour-as-commodity, Tronti argued, then the working class is the greatest threat to capitalism and 'the refusal of work' must be the primary objective (Aureli, 2008; see also, Holloway, 2010a, 2010b). The invocation of the 'dignity of work', based on the skilled craftsmen of an earlier period of capitalism, had been deeply undermined by the onset of the de-skilled mass worker in mass industry (Bologna, 1972, 1991, 1992). The conditioning of the mass worker, Tronti argued, must be seen as a means of social control to be abolished rather than upgraded:

Labor equals exploitation: This is the logical prerequisite and historical result of capitalist civilization. From here there is no point of return. Workers have no time for the dignity of labor. The ‘pride of the producer’ they leave entirely to the boss. Indeed, only the boss now remains to declaim eulogies in praise of labor (Tronti, 1972 [1966], p.22).

Following the events of ‘May 68’ in France, Massimo Cacciari stated that liberation *from* labour not liberation *of* labour had become the central aim of revolutionary politics (Wright 2002). When young Renault workers in France demanded a minimum wage of 1000 francs per month (an exorbitant and impossible demand at the time), Bologna and Daghini saw this as symptomatic of their desire to “blow up” the labour market and “negate their own figure as producers” (Ibid, p.115). The refusal of work in this milieu does not mean a refusal of creative activity, but rather the negation of abstract wage-labour within capitalist relations of production (see Holloway, 2010a, 2010b). It is not an anarchic or individualised *exodus*, but rather a strategic and collective negation of the conditions of labour (Hardt and Negri, 1996). In *Domination and Sabotage* (2005 [1977]), Negri avoids his later disavowal of empirical grounding (Wright, 2002; Caffentzis, 2003), with nuanced attention to material constraints:

The refusal of work is at one and the same time destructuring of capital and self-valorization of the class; the refusal of work is not an invention that puts its faith in development, nor is it an invention which feigns the nonexistence of the dominance of capital. It is neither a (utopian) flight of fancy, nor a (quietist) retreat into isolated consciousness: it faces foursquare that collective relationship which alone permits us to introduce a logic of (class) separation (Ibid, pp.271-2).

Tronti’s Copernican inversion helped to inaugurate arguably the most significant revolutionary challenge to the value-form in modern Western economies in the second half of the 20th century (Cleaver, 1979; Hardt and Virno, 1996; Wright, 2002; Berardi, 2007)¹⁵. Yet in the context of ‘post-Fordism’, when labour struggles often no longer appear to be a mode of modernisation but a form of imprisonment, a “bad dialectic” has developed between workers’ emancipation and capitalist development (Negri, 2005, p.xlii). In this respect, Henninger (2007) usefully contrasts Tronti’s position with that of Panzieri, who was more cautious regarding any definitive causal link between workers’ autonomy and

¹⁵ By this I mean that the ‘refusal of work’ - of abstract labour, which is the pivot on which a clear understanding of political economy turns (Marx, 1990; Holloway, 2010a, 2010b) - was perhaps nowhere more present as a *mass demand* than in the Italian Autonomous movement.

the development of the productive forces. This qualification is extremely important when discussing contemporary urban struggles in Glasgow, which are indelibly marked by long processes of political decomposition, as we will see in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Yet this does not negate the rationale behind a continuing critique of political economy and an autonomous emphasis on agency. Indeed, close attention to the changing technical and political composition of Italy in the late 1960s and early 1970s served to develop important new struggles in the wider ‘social factory’ (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Bologna S (2007 [1977]); Cleaver, 1979). What has often been absent from these discussions, however, is close attention to the role of urbanisation. The next section will thus examine Tronti’s ‘social factory thesis with reference to the planner state and its immanent, dialectical critique.

3.4. The Social Factory: The City as Production Cycle

At the highest level of capitalist development, the social relation is transformed into a moment of the relation of production, the whole of society is turned into an articulation of production, that is, the whole of society lives as a function of the factory and the factory extends its exclusive domination to the whole of society (Tronti, 1962).

As Harry Cleaver (1979) has observed, Tronti’s *Social Capital* (alternatively, *The Plan of Capital*), written for *Quaderni Rossi* in 1963, stressed the importance of Marx’s analysis of circulation and reproduction in *Capital* Vol. II. Tronti’s emphasis on “total social capital”, which includes the working class as part of capital, challenged the straightforward relationship between capital and factory then prevalent in Italian Marxist analysis (Ibid, p.57). Accumulation of capital, Cleaver explains, requires “the reserve army as well as the active army, of those who worked at reproducing the class as well as those who produced other commodities (besides labour power)” (Ibid, p.57). The factory where the working class works is thus society as a whole: a ‘social factory’. The term is generally regarded to have originated in Tronti’s *Factory and Society* (1962), where he observed the extension of real subsumption across the entirety of social relations: “...grasping all the other spheres of society, invading the whole network of social relations” (Ibid). This understanding closely parallels Lefebvre and Harvey’s conceptions of spatial production as an ‘active moment’ in accumulation strategies, and Panzieri’s understanding of the reproduction of the relations of production via planning:

The factory is busy not simply with the production of material goods, but with society at large. This is because in order to maintain, defend, and develop its power, the factory must plan itself an incessant process of integration with the whole social body. Thus the tendency to social planning is intrinsic to the new mode of production of the neocapitalist society (Aureli, 2008, p.18).

While the major theorists of operaismo opened up the concept of the ‘social factory’, in practice they typically focused on the immediate process of production in the factory (Wright, 2002). Yet the wider spatio-political implications of the social factory thesis were self-evident for many involved in community struggles beyond the industrial workplace, contributing to radical redefinitions of working class struggle (Clever, 1979). Women in the autonomous movement in particular grasped the resonance of the social factory thesis for expanded struggles around social reproduction, as I will discuss shortly. A *territorial* appropriation of the social factory thesis can also be seen in autonomous theories of planning and architecture by Manfredo Tafuri (1980 [1966], 1998 [1969], 1976), and later, Pier Vittoria Aureli (2011, 2013a, 2013b). These interventions, I argue, provide an under-discussed connection between theories of the ‘planner state’ and Lefebvre’s critique of the SMP, revealing the implicit importance of spatial composition within AM analysis.

Tafuri was one of the most influential architectural critics of the second half of the 20th century (Goodbun, 2006), and an editor for and contributor to the autonomist journal *Contropiano* (‘Counterplan’) in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Aureli, 2008). In *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (1976 [1973]), the culmination of earlier seminal interventions on the ideology of ‘The Plan’ (1980 [1968]; 1969), Tafuri questioned the meaning of architecture in two substantive areas: (1) architecture as an ideological institution; and (2) the role of architecture as a prefiguration and naturalisation of modern urban production processes in capitalism (1980 [1966], p.xv). Architecture, he argued, was reduced to ‘form as regressive utopia’ as cities were redefined as a “productive mechanism of new forms of economic accumulation” (Ibid, p.8). Architecture’s special dependence on production and finance, he contended, meant that it inevitably became subject to instrumentalisation and incorporation in the mid-19th century, ideologically and practically integrating urban design with the reorganisation of production, distribution and consumption (Ibid, p.48). Architecture’s surrender to the “*politics of things*” left only the ideological veil of utopian form in recompense (Ibid, pp.46-47).

For Tafuri, as for Panzieri and Negri, ‘The Plan’ aimed to integrate the negative (class struggle) with the positive (capital) in the dynamic of development via Fordism and Taylorism (Toscano, 2004), transforming the working class into a positive realisation (for capital) of a potentially troubling negative dialectic: “No longer Hegel, but Keynes”, as Tafuri glosses it (Tafuri, 1976, p.61). Just as Lefebvre saw the consolidation of the SMP and state productivism as the ideological thread that united all parliamentary political models from fascism to democratic socialism since the 1930s (Brenner and Elden, 2009), so Tafuri saw socialism and capitalism conjoined in industrial planning in Italy. When the ideology of productive work is part of the production and organisation of a comprehensive urban plan, he argued, the city becomes objectively structured like a “*capitalist industrial utopia*” (Ibid, p.70). With Corbusier, that great nemesis of Lefebvre and the *Situationist International*, architecture was united with production and consumption in general, giving rise to profound political implications: “Architecture (read: programming and planned reorganisation of building production and of the city as a productive organism) rather than revolution. Le Corbusier clearly enunciated this alternative” (Ibid, p.100). And, with Ludwig Hilberseimer’s notion of the “city-machine”, developed in 1927, the entire modern metropolis was defined as a unified organisational assemblage (Ibid, pp.106-107):

It was no longer a question of giving form to single elements, nor even to simple prototypes. The real unity of the production cycle having been identified in the city, the only suitable role for the architect was the organiser of that cycle (Tafuri, 1976, p.107).

For Tafuri, the crisis of architecture is its mistaken belief that it can find an ‘alternative’ to capitalist development while the gap widens between the institutions that control the dynamics of the plan and those that realise it. Architecture is thus reduced, he argues, to serving up anachronistic “hopes in design” (‘form without utopia’) while disavowing its baleful subjection to the law of profit (Tafuri, 1976, pp.179-180). Tafuri’s critique of architectural ideology is in line with a classic (operaismo-inflected) Marxist critique of social democratic reformism. His thinking is implicitly opposed to the specialised division of labour and the ‘fragmentary sciences’ (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]), and is concerned, like Lefebvre, with social, political and cultural totalities:

...just as there cannot exist a class political economy, but only a class criticism of political economy, so too there cannot be founded a class aesthetic, art, or

architecture, but only a class criticism of the aesthetic, of art, of architecture, of the city itself (Tafuri, 1976, p.179).

What is required, he argues, is not a new plan or project but a radical re-thinking of the role of the architect or planner, alongside a negative critique of bounded planning and the disavowal of wider socio-economic relations. In Chapters 6 and 7, I will pursue such a critique in the context of large-scale urban planning frameworks in the north and east of Glasgow. While Tafuri's thesis has proven largely indigestible for those who understand it as a proclamation of the 'death of architecture' (Cunningham and Goodbun, 2006), his ideas deeply influenced autonomous-influenced radical Italian architectural practices such as Archizoom and Superstudio in the 1970s (Aureli, 2013b). Following Tafuri's rebuttal of progressive reformism, Archizoom's *No-Stop City* (1969-71) questioned architecture's faith in liberation through technological development. The proposal followed *The Extruded City* (1964) where Archizoom imagined the large urban programmes outside Florence as one gigantic factory: a "transmission belt" extruding all the productive and social functions of the entire region (Ibid, p.150). Replicating Hilberseimer's unsentimental vision, *No-Stop City* exaggerated the productive city *ad absurdum*, dreaming "the city-as-fixed-capital": no longer just the architecture of the factory but that of the entire city (Ibid, p.159).

No-Stop city can be perceived as a model of 'over-identification' (BAVO, 2007), refusing prescribed reformist 'resistance'; exacerbating the contradictions of capital to show its irrationalism; demystifying the modern city; and raising consciousness about architecture's developmental function within capital. Tafuri himself thought Archizoom were playing "avant-garde games" (Aureli, 2013b, p.163), but Aureli praises their *negative critique* and their questioning of the parameters of both the commissioned task and 'capitalist realism' (cf. Fisher, 2009). However, like Lefebvre, both Archizoom and Tafuri provide a somewhat reductive version of architectural modernism, omitting a range of highly divergent class struggles, *exterior to the disciplines of architecture and planning*, that co-produced modern architecture (Gray, 2010b). In this way, they can be criticised for implicitly sustaining the roles and hierarchies that they otherwise appear to challenge in their work. Yet this operaismo-influenced strain of architectural critique undeniably confronts the deep integration of capital with space, and the limitations of progressive or avant-garde projects which fail to challenge the relations of capital as totality. This links their critique of the planner state strongly with Lefebvre's reflections on the SMP, and I will consider these related critiques in Chapter 5, when discussing Glasgow's post-war urban planning. While Tafuri and Aureli scrutinise the 'technical' side of spatial

composition through the prism of the planner state, in the next section I will examine the ‘political’ side of composition in AM, which pits situated subjects in and against the abstraction of the planner state.

3.5. Territorial Community Activism: New Grounds of Struggle

A considerable part of the political behaviour of the young proletariat during the recent struggles should be understood starting from city planning as a space of intervention in class dynamics (Bologna, 2007 [1977], p.43).

In an appraisal of the period 1968-1983, written by eleven imprisoned activists and intellectuals in Rebibbia prison in Rome (including such well-known figures as Antonio Negri and Paolo Virno), the period 1973-74 is considered the moment when the mass worker was displaced as the chief protagonist in the struggle against capital (Castellano *et al.*, 1996). Restructuring, they recall, concentrated investment outside the sphere of mass production, shifting the “terrain of confrontation” from the factory to the “overall mechanisms of the labour market, public spending, the reproduction of the proletariat and young people, and the distribution of income independent of remuneration of work” (Ibid, p.230). Women and the youth movement, they observed, were rejecting classical Marxist-Leninism; the new social subject was now concerned with “conquering and managing its own ‘spaces’” (Ibid, p.231). The ‘post-political politics’¹⁶ of autonomy, they suggest, did not seek any central source of power, but rather looked towards “the concrete and articulated exercise of power on the social terrain” (Ibid p.231). Popular slogans such as ‘Take over the City’ and ‘The Only Fair Rent is No Rent’ (Lotta Continua, 1973; Dowson, 1973) indicate the radical nature of these new spatial struggles.

Analysing the ‘new social subjects’ of *autonomia* in the seminal *The Tribe of Moles* (2007 [1977]), Bologna noted the increasing impact of urbanisation on class composition. Groups organising around “a reconquest of the city centres”, he argued, were reacting to city planning as an immanent, dialectical terrain of struggle (Ibid, p.43). The implications of Bologna’s spatial analysis in this text are under-theorised within autonomist literature, which tends to focus on logistics and student struggles, yet *The Tribe of Moles* provides a crucial entry point for territorial understandings of autonomous struggles in Italy. Here, I will concentrate on the link that Bologna makes between the emergence of the feminist

¹⁶ *Autonomia: Post-Political Politics* is the title of Lotringer and Marazzi’s (2007) influential anthology of writings from the movement of AM. The term, ‘post-political politics’ is not fleshed out in the book in any detail but is implicit in the sense that the contributions, from a revolutionary communist perspective, reject the parliamentary politics and state productivism of the PCI and PSI. See also Chapter 6.

movement in 1970-71 and the urban struggles of the wider autonomous movement. For Bologna, this was “the decisive event” that transformed the conditions of the movement:

The specific, autonomous interests of women, organised by women, not only directly challenge family relations of production, they also, by taking an autonomous political form as an independent feminist movement, involve a radical separation from the mediations of the ‘party system’, from Trade Union representation, but also, above all, from the revolutionary Left groups themselves. With women's self-discovery and their claim to control their bodies, their own needs and desires, their subjectivity, we see the beginnings of a new critique of alienated militancy - one of the key themes of the movement in the second phase - but also, and more fundamentally, the starting point for the general thematic of needs within the movement (Ibid, p.49).

The emergence of the feminist movement formed a direct challenge to the party system of the official working-class movement, which flatly rejected the creative hypotheses of operaismo. The return of traditional organisation in the ‘Togliattian’ mode (e.g. Communist Party models), opposed the decomposition of the ‘mass worker’ with a “defensive” political recomposition, which drastically reduced the area of autonomy opened up by the worker-student movements of 1968-69 (Ibid, pp.45-46). This strategy provided some gains in the workplace as Bologna acknowledged, but at the political level it served to integrate the trade union movement into the capital-state nexus, while resuscitating the party and unions as privileged vendors in the labour commodity market. The factory regime, with its mediated guarantees and protection, and its exclusion of young people, women, and students, had come to play a normative role as a “perfect social form” guaranteeing the reproduction of the classes (Ibid, p.54). But this system had ‘exploded’ under decentralisation and restructuring. Eschewing nostalgia or regret about the declining status of the mass worker, Bologna argued that this was a time to anticipate the new class composition with adequate new political strategies. Organised resistance must present itself as a social expression and tendency of a growing movement, he insisted, that is “obliged to [...] find its political programme only in the behaviour of the class, and not in some set of statutes” (Ibid, p.58).

The restructuring of capitalist command in the mid-1970s was a response to the worldwide monetary crisis, which in turn was a reaction to rising workers demands globally. There was a specific relation between monetary crisis, the planner state, and the property market in Italy which conformed to the ‘capital switching’ thesis described in Chapters 1 and 2. The property interest, Bologna argues (2007 [1977]), was dependent on the ‘party system’,

with the PCI and the Christian Democrats (DC) controlling vast tracts of land, meaning they had the capacity to force a bargaining process on the construction industry. Yet, the construction interest had more power in terms of directing the dynamics of development and class relations. Between these factors, land bargaining provided the means to diversify from the ‘productive’ economy into speculation on property: “...the construction cycle in Italy has functioned as a pump to drain away income from workers and redistribute it to the middle classes on the one hand, and to the ‘construction interest’ on the other” (Ibid, p.42). Bologna describes how real estate investment trusts, and pension funds in property and land, began to take up an increasingly important role as a refuge for the security of savings and the investment of petrodollars. With this form of surplus dumping, as Harvey (1985, 2008, 2010) would describe it, the prices of suburban areas rose significantly, making it more productive for capital to develop suburban housing. This moved certain social strata with higher incomes away from city centres, while at the same time depriving inner cities of rates and taxes, thus instigating a “fiscal crisis” (Bologna, 2007 [1977], p.42).

Preceding contemporary discussions around fixity and motion in the built environment via ‘liquid’ financial processes such as mortgage-backed securities (cf. Newman, 2009; Aalbers, 2009a, 2009b; Gotham, 2009), Bologna (2007 [1977]) observes how specific financial structures were created in the metropolitan centres to make capital more fungible. Previously, operating as zones for the “petrification of capital”, city centres were subject to “...a series of special speculative institutions, invented through the crisis, which have increased the rhythm of transfer of property deeds and have given a considerable impulse to the velocity of circulation of money, without it passing through a process of production” (Bologna (2007 [1977]), p.42). Yet Bologna does not stop at a descriptive analysis of the new technical composition of capital, he also examines the subjective, political side of spatial composition. By challenging inflationary costs at the level of social reproduction, he argues, the new wave of feminist-inspired “territorial community activism” expressed a refusal to be classified in a separate sphere merely as an “area of culture” (Bologna, 2007 [1977]), p.43).

The decomposition of the ‘mass worker’ and the inability of the party-form to provide anything but a defensive solution to a disappearing reality, he argues, was “the key point of departure for organisation” in the wider sphere of social reproduction (Ibid, p.47). Indeed, as Cleaver (1979) observes, the actions of women in *Lotta Femminista*, *Lotta Continua* and other groups influenced by operaismo “both engendered the theoretical developments and were clarified by them” (Ibid, p.58-59). In the next section, I will thus examine the

theoretical development and praxis of autonomous feminism in the early 1970s, arguing that the feminist movement had a crucial role to play in the development of a politics of space across the wider social factory. In this way, the movement reframed not only the terrain of political struggle beyond the immediate sphere of direct production, but also the range of social subjects engaged in those struggles.

3.5.1. New Social Subjects: Women and the Social Factory

Every place of struggle outside the home, precisely because every sphere of capitalist organization presupposes the home, offers a chance for attack by women; factory meetings, neighbourhood meetings, student assemblies, each of them are legitimate places for women's struggle (Dalla Costa and James, 1972, p.38).

As Patrick Cuninghame (2008) observes, issues of gender and difference were firmly subordinated to that of class in 1960s Italy, with the needs of the women's movement postponed until *after* the conquest of state power. This exclusion generated a fundamental feminist critique of the political forms and practices of both the 'New' and 'Old' Left. Following the 'Hot Autumn' of 1969, a new conception of autonomy, that took greater account of feminist agency, emerged to account for women's needs more directly in the transition from the industrial factory to the social factory. Mass mobilisation campaigns became a distinctive characteristic of Italian feminism in comparison to other European countries (Cantarow, 1976; Dalla Costa, 2002; Cuninghame, 2008), with widespread struggles taking place over the control of reproductive needs (health, housing, rent, bills, consumption). Women in 1970s Italy were forced to challenge a patriarchal state in alliance with the Catholic Church, on the one hand (Bono and Kemp, 1991; Cantarow, 1976; Bracke, 2013), and a deeply inscribed 'sexual division of labour', reinforced by the male-dominated Communist and Socialist Parties, on the other (Federici, 1975; Lumley, 1990; Fortunati, 1995), secular feminist politics was thereby squeezed between the Church and Christian Democracy and the male-dominated Communist and Socialist Parties. Yet, as Cleaver (1979) observes, the implications of the social factory thesis were immediately evident to the autonomous feminist movement:

This new autonomous movement arose through struggle against what many women saw as the dominance of the New Left organizations by men, and their overemphasis on the factory. Those women grasped not only the theoretical concept of the social factory but also the key role of the struggle of non-factory workers - most of whom were women (Ibid, p.59).

With the influential publication of *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Dalla Costa and James, 1972), an understanding emerged that the exploitation of the non-waged worker was achieved through the wage. In the sexual division of labour, autonomous feminists argued, the ‘hidden abode’ of unpaid reproductive work formed the basis on which the exploitation of waged workers was built, revealing “the secret” of its productivity (Federici 2004, p.8). As Selma James (1975) argues, this analysis offered a “material foundation” for the domestic labour debate: “the social activity, the work, which the female personality was shaped to submit to. That work was housework”. For Lumley (1990), the conceptual framework behind this epistemological break in Marxist thought was simple but novel: “It applied Marxist categories to the role of women (as housewives and mothers) in the reproduction of labour-power, and claimed that a vast amount of surplus value was being extracted by capital from the female proletariat” (Ibid, p.318-319). As James (1975) explains:

Since Marx it has been clear that capital rules and develops through the wage, that is, that the foundation of capitalist society was the wage labourer and his or her direct exploitation. What has been neither clear nor assumed by the organizations of the working class movement is that precisely through the wage has the non-wage labourer been organized. This exploitation has been even more effective because the lack of a wage hid it...*Where women are concerned their labour appears to be a personal service outside of capital* (Ibid)

Housewives, redefined as ‘houseworkers’, were now being conceived as fundamental in the production and reproduction of (predominantly male) labour power: “They service those who are daily destroyed by working for wages and who need to be daily renewed; and they care for and discipline those who are being prepared to work as they grow up” (Ibid). In Federici’s (2004) seminal re-reading of primitive accumulation, the sexual division of labour was conceived as a means to subsume women’s reproductive labour for the reproduction of the workforce, while simultaneously excluding women from the workplace and subordinating their needs to the patriarchal order. The result was that women remained trapped in the labour of social reproduction: “...giving birth to, raising, disciplining and servicing the worker for production” (Dalla Costa and James, 1972, p.28). Challenging the assumption that women outside the formal wage labour relation are outside social productivity, Dalla Costa and James (1972) argue that housework produces not merely use-values, “but is essential to the production of surplus value” (Ibid, p.33), a

thesis that was developed more systematically by Leopaldi Fortunati in *The Arcane of Reproduction* (1995).

The political importance of this understanding was fundamental for operaismo-inspired feminists. When the feminist movement raised the question of housework, Dalla Costa and James (1972) notes, the trade unions were forced to acknowledge that they dealt: “(a) only with the factory; (b) only with a measured and ‘paid’ work day; (c) only with that side of wages which is given to us and not with the side of wages which is taken back, that is inflation” (Ibid, p.34). Thus, the iconography of the workers movement and accepted forms of discourse were no longer taken as natural, and “a whole set of assumptions about trade unionism were [...] called into question” (Lumley, 1990, p.325). With reproduction understood as integral to the reproduction of labour power, Dalla Costa and James (1972) claim, then community and the home could be seen as part of the wider social factory “where the costs and nature of transport, housing, education, police, are all points of struggle” (Ibid, p.11). In this way, they argue, “...*the whole perspective for generalised struggle and revolutionary organization is re-opened*” (Ibid, p.17). Moreover, they affirm that class struggles in both direct production and the arena of social reproduction have always been dependent on the formal/informal organisation of women. In this way, they set out to dismantle “the myth of female incapacity” induced by women’s enforced isolation in the home positing women as the central figures of subversion in the community in a direct challenge to labour hierarchies (Ibid, p.30).

Based on close attention to women’s experience in everyday life, the feminist movement proposed a radical transformation of everyday relations, giving “a specific content to the rather abstract notion of prefigurative and direct action propagated by the student movement” (Lumley, 1990, p.318). As feminist activist, Mariella Gramaglia, stated in 1968, “Feminism, at least in its first political acts came into being as revolutionary education for revolutionaries, as living proof of their limitations” (cited, Ibid, p.314). Indeed, for James (1975), the working class is divided not only by the capitalist organisation of society, but by “the very institutions which claim to represent our struggle collectively as a class” (Ibid). A victory for males in relation to the wage was rarely a victory for women, she argues, as wage rises negotiated in the workplace could easily be offset by inflation at the level of consumption and social reproduction (Ibid). This understanding, as I will show, was vital for the new territorial struggles, which developed in 1970s Italy. Against a false presentation of the unity of class interest, James argues that “nothing unified and revolutionary will be formed until each section of the exploited will

have made its own autonomous power felt” (Ibid). With such statements, women established their own autonomy from *operaismo*, opening up the terrain of social reproduction and the specificity of women’s struggle, although notably without relinquishing a wider critique of capital and class relations.

Labour conditions in Italy, and elsewhere, have changed dramatically since the 1970s. However, as Federici (2012 [2008]) has more recently observed, the expansion of women in the workplace globally, in a context of degraded working conditions and the externalisation and marketisation of social services, has only increased ‘double-work’ (domestic *and* workplace labour). At the same time, much of the burden of reproductive care has been assumed by an expanding female precariat and low-wage immigrant labour force. In fact, she argues, domestic work has probably *increased* globally rather than declined since the domestic debate and Wages for Housework (WfH) campaigns were first formulated in the early 1970s (Ibid, p.108). However, *operaismo*-feminism differs from liberal feminism by rejecting the notion of ‘equality’ through access to the external workplace (Cunningham, 2008). For *Lotta Femminista* and *WfH*, the exploitation of low-paid labour outside the home was no solution to the exploitation of unpaid housework. This position mirrors *operaismo*, where the negation of workers as *producers* had become a central tenet. In much the same way, the movement to recognise reproductive work as work was an attempt by the feminist movement to negate their own figure as *reproducers*. In *Women and the Subversion of Community*, Dalla Costa and James (1972) link this negation to a wider political project of refusal:

Now it is clear that not one of us believes that emancipation, liberation, can be achieved through work. Work is still work, whether inside or outside the home [...]. Those who advocate that the liberation of the-working class woman lies in her getting a job outside the home are part of the problem, not the solution. Slavery to an assembly line is not liberation from slavery to a kitchen sink. To deny this is also to deny the slavery of the assembly line itself, proving again that if you don’t know how women are exploited, you can never really know how men are (Ibid, p.35).

At another level of abstraction, recognising housework *as work* was also central to understanding the wider role of labour and consumption in the social reproductive sphere. This is the major contribution of Italian feminism upon which I draw here, charting the ways in which the autonomist feminist movement helped to develop forms of political struggle that moved beyond the factory walls and into the wider social factory. As part of this general movement, internally related to fundamental changes in the technical

composition of Italian capital, a wave of urban struggles emerged in the early 1970s as part of a wider politics of space around the question of social reproduction. I will examine some of these struggles now to give an indication of what a politics of space meant then, and what it might mean in practice now.

3.5.2. ‘Take Over the City’: Geographies of Autonomy

For those who believe the struggle in the social factory is not political, let them note here, more than in the factory, is the State directly the organizer of the life of the worker, especially if she is a woman, and so here the worker confronts the state more directly, without the intervention of individual capitalists and the mediation of trade unions (Dalla Costa and James, 1972, p.20).

An important dimension of class composition analysis in this thesis is re-composition at a territorial level. Concrete examples of this tendency in 1970s Italy, I argue, have important heuristic value for thinking about urban politics in the present era (Lotta Continua, 1973; Cherki and Wieworka, 2007; Ramirez, 1992 [1975]). Shifts in the technical composition of capital investment during this period obliged working-class people to discover new forms of territorial community activism in the urban terrain as an immanent response to capital’s plans (Dowson, 1973). Key tactics were the rent strike, squatting, the occupation, and ‘autoreduction’, which had developed in the factories as a means to reduce the hours of work and the rate of productivity, and was later applied collectively to reduce, through direct action struggle, the costs of housing, transport, public services, utilities, leisure and cultural consumption (Cherki and Wieworka, 2007, p.72). Unified direct action in these areas helped to initiate other forms of collectivity, including voluntarily run free day-care centres, communal kitchens, and people’s health clinics, with many, if not most, of these inspired and led by women (Cantarow, 1976; Bracke, 2013).

Cherki and Wieworka (2007) have examined how the direct action tactics of the auto-reduction movement radically broke with the traditions of the Left in the early 1970s, opening up the areas of production *and* consumption. In the context of industrial decomposition and economic crisis, they argue, the struggle in the factory could not serve as the only basis for demands. During a period of overproduction, unemployment or threatened unemployment, the threat of unemployment makes it harder to enforce strikes, refuse regulated work pace, and struggle against increases in productivity. Retaining one’s job and defending salaries becomes the main thrust of factory struggles. But, attacked by strong inflation and massive increases in public service prices, workers’ salaries cannot be

successfully defended by actions taken only within the factories. Defending threatened purchasing power, they claim, requires struggling in the area of consumption (Ibid, p.74-78). Challenging the privileging of workplace struggles as the primary locus of organisation, housing became the focus for many direct action struggles in the wider sphere of social reproduction, often in massive, illegal, and sometimes violent, actions. Between 1969 and 1975 in Italy, 20,000 habitations were “squatterised” and rent reduction campaigns emerged with the political goal of limiting rents to 10% of salaries (Ibid, p.73).

These actions extended the critique of capital across the entire social factory, going well beyond Lefebvre *in praxis*. They demonstrated the possibility of coordinated struggle between production and consumption cycles, becoming in the process “the first concrete accomplishment of the theoretical and practical intuitions of extra-parliamentary groups” (p.77). The critique of state provision at the level of consumption was also a direct challenge to the role of the PCI and organised unions in ensuring adequate public services for all, showing that autonomous political struggle was not reducible to the organisations that typically represented the Italian working class. Indeed, as Bruno Ramirez (1992 [1975]) has shown, economic crisis in the early-to-mid 1970s engendered class conflict in Italy across the entirety of social relations, with ‘self-reduction’ struggles - “the refusal to comply with price increases of essential services” - widely undertaken as a means to protect wage gains from being lost in the everyday sites of social reproduction in a context of rising living costs (Ibid, p.185). Crucially, houseworkers were central to this mobilisation and to the wider question of class unity:

The role of housewives as central protagonists can only be understood by the fact that their material conditions of work are the immediate target of capital’s attack, and hence, that this struggle is in a very important sense their struggle against their increased exploitation. Only after this point has been made clear can we talk about solidarity (Ibid, p.189).

After being forced to accept higher wages in the workplace following the demands of organised labour, capital directed its attention to the working class as a whole, trying to exploit the division of labour between waged (factory) labour and unwaged (domestic) labour. In this context, seeing the struggles of women as mere support for factory workers, as the traditional Left often did, missed the point entirely. As Ramirez observes: “...the struggle to reduce substantially the monetary cost of a family’s productive consumption has become very crucial for the survival of many working class households” (Ibid, p.189). This returns us to the salience of James’s (1975) point that wage gains can easily be offset

at the level of consumption and social reproduction, unless struggles are waged across the entire social terrain. This understanding was already prevalent in Glasgow during the 1915 Rent Strikes, as will be explained in Chapter 5, but it has been remarkably absent in much of 20th century Left discourse. With the vengeful return of the rentier and the increasingly central role of urbanisation in accumulation strategies, this lacuna is no longer tenable, if it ever was. The experiences of ‘Laboratory Italy’ are highly instructive in this regard.

Ever alert to changes in class composition, the self-reduction of rents was widespread in the early 1970s. In Magliana, Rome, 2,000 families auto-reduced monthly rental payments by 50% for two years, with the practice spreading rapidly to other areas, including public transport, electricity and home heating. These struggles formed part of what Ramirez (1992 [1975]) understood as “*a struggle for the reappropriation of social wealth produced by the working class but unpaid by capital*” (Ibid, p.186). In 1974, rejecting bus fare increases of almost 30%, commuting workers near Turin set off a series of auto-reduction struggles in transport. As similar actions spread around Turin, the regional authorities interceded substantially to reduce newly introduced or proposed fare increases. The practice soon spread to other sectors. Neighbourhood committees, facilitated by an informal federation of local groups, and initially supported by the unions, were set up to reduce electricity bills by issuing substitute bills which reduced charges by 50% (Ibid, p.187). The gendered composition of these struggles was dramatically evident at the neighbourhood level, Ramirez argues, where women were forced to face off landlords, electricity officials, and hired thugs directly, revealing housewives as primary protagonists in struggle (Ibid, p.188).

Lotta Continua’s report on urban struggles in Italy: ‘*Take over the City - Community Struggle in Italy, 1973*’ (1973), for instance, shows how rent strikes developed as a “direct response to the tyranny of rent” (Ibid, p.80), with women playing an essential role in anti- eviction squads; guarding buildings from bailiffs during the day with their children; and helping organise “block by block, staircase by staircase” (Ibid, p.80). Again, there are strong parallels here with the situated struggles of women in the 1915 Glasgow Rent Strikes (Chapter 5). In Milan, struggles over municipal housing helped to prise open wider questions around social reproduction and the management of amenities and resources. In 1968, in Quarto Oggiaro, 30,000 families in municipal housing were faced with 30% rent increases with rent arrears widespread (Lotta Continua, 1973, p.83-84). The rent strikes were popularly seen as “part of the total working-class struggle”, and were linked to factory struggles and extended to other aspects of housing oppression, such as “people on rent strike, people facing eviction, squatters and homeless families” (Ibid, p.90).

The same year, a whole neighbourhood was involved in a mass occupation at Via Tibaldi in Milan, begun by squatting Southern immigrants who had been involved in prior rent strikes. Fearing that the spread of unrest at Via Tibaldi would become “a reference point and organization centre for the whole working class of Milan”, the Council finally conceded and met all demands (Ibid, p.95). Similar situations arose in Rome, where tenants occupied luxury apartments left empty by speculators, and where rent strikes and collective organisation occurred *en masse* against evictions (Ibid, p.99). Even in the South of Italy, where organisation was more difficult, widespread occupations occurred that challenged a chronic lack of amenities and services, as well as the political cronyism that saw housing allocated on the basis of party affiliation (Ibid, p.105-112).

These movements verified Dalla Costa and James’s (1972) thesis that women were becoming the centre of subversion in the community, with women “the most active” of all the militants according to Lotta Continua (1973, p.105). Their influence is apparent in both the form and location of struggle, which was primarily based in the arena of social reproduction. This brief survey verifies that somewhere between the ‘mass worker’ and the ‘socialised worker’, a wave of urban struggles involving new social subjects was undertaken across the entirety of the social factory as an immanent response to the new spatial composition in Italy. While these urban struggles have been largely under-acknowledged in both autonomous and urban geographical literature, I have argued here that examining such struggles through the lens of spatial composition might hold important heuristic value for the present era, where the traditional workplace has taken an increasingly secondary role in accumulation strategies. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will show why this understanding has great resonance for projects of political recomposition in Glasgow.

Conclusion

This chapter has opened up a dialogue between critical urban geography and AM by examining the correspondence between Lefebvre’s conceptions of abstract space and the SMP, and AM’s conception of the planner state. More generally, I have sought to articulate the relations between their shared emphasis on a politics of urban space; a politics which has received too little attention in studies of AM. The political positions of Lefebvre and AM were very similar in that they both stressed bottom-up agency, while also underlining the need for a fundamental critique of political economy. In this chapter, I have argued that AM exceeded Lefebvre’s formulations *in praxis* during the wave of urban struggles in the

1970s. Yet, I would argue, both Lefebvre and AM retain much heuristic value for contemporary urban geography, both theoretically and practically. Lefebvre's critique of everyday life and AM's conception of the 'social factory' resonate powerfully today, when the accumulation strategies of capital lie increasingly beyond the workplace in the wider sphere of social reproduction. What these critiques have in common, I want to stress, is that they were developed as an *immanent* response to the restructuring of capital, recognising that urbanisation has come to have an increasingly important role in capital accumulation strategies.

While Lefebvre's argument that urbanisation had supplanted industrialisation in the late 1960s and early 1970s was overstated, subsequent history has shown the ongoing perspicacity of his tendential thesis. Moreover, while the exceptional circumstances of Italy in the 1960s and 1970s have often been considered anomalous with respect to other Western countries, Hardt (1996) suggests that the experiments of 'Laboratory Italy' "are now experiments on the political conditions of an increasingly large part of the world" (Ibid, p.4). At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the scale of political struggle in 1960s and 1970s Italy is far removed from the situation encountered presently in Glasgow, and anywhere else in the UK for that matter. Caution is thus required in proposing the radical methodologies of AM in this context, not least because the very language of AM is not traditionally part of the lexicon of the radical left in Glasgow or the UK, and the language of Marxism or communism of which AM is a part has also become increasingly marginal. However, the method of class composition, which pays exceptionally close attention to changes in the technical composition of capital, was central to understanding the political implication of structural transformation in Italy. Drawing out this methodology, with a more specific spatial orientation, might well help to unlock new modes of political recomposition in the present era.

The notion of class composition has been implicit in this and preceding chapters, and I will now examine this methodology more thoroughly in Chapter 4. In particular, I will develop my conception of 'spatial composition', designed to give class composition analysis a specifically spatial orientation appropriate to the present conjuncture. I will also adapt the closely related method of 'workers' inquiry', which I have not yet discussed in detail, through the spatially attuned practice that I term 'territorial inquiry'. These methodologies are intended to provide a means for developing the conversation between urban and economic geography and AM in an empirically situated manner, linking a critique of commodified urban space with a situated, investigative and embodied emancipatory praxis.

In this way, I aim to augment the theoretical and practical basis of both urban geography and AM for an immanent politics of urban space.

4. Spatial Composition and Territorial Inquiry: Reconfiguring AM Methodologies for Contemporary Urban Glasgow

...of all the elements specific to *operaismo*, those relating to its thematic of class composition remain the most novel and important (Wright, 2002, p.4)

Class composition is inextricably linked with the method of ‘workers’ inquiry’, also known as ‘co-research’ or ‘militant inquiry’, which was designed to gain a closer understanding of the subjective and material conditions of workers from the point of view of the workers themselves. In this chapter, I will use the term ‘inquiry’ as shorthand for these different uses. While a spatial orientation is intimated in classical *operaismo* (Bologna, 2002 [1977]; Cleaver, 1979; Toscano, 2004; Calder Williams, 2013), it has rarely been central to analysis. Moreover, while an ‘autonomous turn’ has emerged in geography recently (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010; Chatterton, 2010; Clough and Blumberg, 2012), the theoretical and political roots of AM have rarely been explored in depth, leading to what I consider an underdeveloped application of autonomy. This chapter will thus provide a historical overview of class composition and inquiry methodologies, before developing a distinctive *spatial interpretation* of these methods through what I term ‘spatial composition’ and ‘territorial inquiry’. By spatial composition, I mean the relation between the technical and political composition of capital, emphasising the organisation and contestation of capitalist spatial production, including control of resources and technology, social and spatial planning, and discipline and biopolitical management. By territorial inquiry, I mean the use of inquiry and co-research methods in specifically spatial settings as a means for developing political subjectivity and collective organisation as a basis for counter-power. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will operationalise these methodologies in empirically situated studies of Glasgow, aiming to show how autonomous methods can contribute to geographical research and conversely how geography can contribute to a more spatially attuned autonomy.

Inquiry or co-research shares much in common with the situated feminist analyses that emerged in the late 1960s: a critique of positivist science, reflexivity about power relations, and an emphasis on situated, embodied, and experiential self-knowledge (Marta Malo de Molina, 2004). It should be noted, however, that despite increasing the composition of those excluded from traditional Marxist organisations, autonomous groups like *Potero Operaio* were often non-reflexive about the needs of women (Dalla Costa, 2002; Fortunati, 2013). Expanding inquiry methods into the sphere of social reproduction, as I wish to do

here, is one way that this problem can be mitigated (cf. Precarious a la Deriva, 2004, 2006; *Collectivo Situaciones*, 2012; Mason-Deese, 2013). The method of inquiry also bears comparison with participatory action research (PAR) (Pain, 2004; Kindon *et al*, 2007; Kinpaisby, 2008), but autonomous inquiry differs from PAR by elaborating a partisan and antagonistic conception of ‘participation’ fundamentally tied to a critique of capital and the state (Negri, 2005 [1975]; Wright, 2002; Armano *et al*, 2013). There is also more emphasis on understanding the relation between local situated praxis (political composition) and the global causes of social and economic difference (technical composition) (Toscano, 2004), a relation that is often absent or muted in PAR (Mohan, 1999). I will discuss the form of my own scholar-activist research, preceding and during this thesis, later in the chapter when I reflexively examine the intellectual and practical labour that has gone into the research and findings.

The method of class composition is concerned not with what the working class was, or what we would like it to be, but the immanent question of what it is now, and how it can be constructed politically. Autonomy, as Böhm *et al* (2010) observe, is not a “good outside” that allows an escape into pure self-determination; rather, it is an antagonistic political demand entangled in existing relations (Ibid, p.28). With each stage of class composition engendered by structural changes in production, the appropriate form of counter-organisation must change (Clever, 1979; Hardt and Negri, 2006). With the method of composition, the extra-parliamentary movements of ‘Laboratory Italy’ (Hardt, 1996) were able to understand and creatively respond to de-industrialisation and the political decomposition of the mass worker markedly quicker than did other comparable European Left organisations going through similar processes. Understanding decomposition, then, can be just as important as understanding political recomposition (Wright, 2002; Mason-Deese, 2013), and with this in mind processes of decomposition will be foregrounded in my spatial composition analysis of Glasgow in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Before then, I will describe how the methodologies of class composition and inquiry have been mobilised historically, and how I intend to adapt and develop these methodologies through spatial composition and territorial inquiry.

4.1. Class Composition: In and Against Capital

New production regimes, new forms of waged and unwaged work, new struggles: a new class composition. As always, changes to the composition of the working class demand a debate about the meaning of revolutionary politics - of what, in these

different circumstances, it actually means to abolish the capital relation and its state (Wright, 1995).

As Wright (2002) and Toscano (2004) have argued, class composition was the most important concept to be developed from operaismo in the 1960s, generating critical discourses on economic rationality, the division of labour and alienation in “terms long submerged by Marxism” (Wright, 2002, p.4). Beyond the “completely mythologised class” constructed by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) operaismo sought an immanent new political composition that responded to “the actual reality of class exploitation” (Alquati cited, *Ibid*, p.49, 51). Wright defines class composition as: “the various forms of behaviour which arise when particular forms of labour-power are inserted in specific processes of production” (*Ibid*, p.49). Composition analysis provides a partisan multi-form approach to research and practice which deftly avoids both capital-centrism and the downplaying of antagonism in class relations, emphasising instead the process of socialisation, and the extension, unification and generalisation of antagonistic tendencies in and against capital (Red Notes, 1979). As such, class composition is deemed a “necessary precondition” of effective worker organisation in the autonomous milieu (Negri, 2005, p.xxxii).

A nuanced dialectical position is underscored in the conceptual relation between ‘technical’ and ‘political’ composition. Technical composition relates to organised capitalist production, including the division of labour, technological deployment, social planning, supervision and discipline. Political composition refers to the degree that workers make collective political subjectivity and organisation a basis for counter-power (Cleaver, 1979; Wright, 2002; Midnight Notes, 2002; Dyer-Witthford, 2008). Classically, composition analysis has been located in the highest cycles of production where the organic composition of capital (the ratio between constant capital and variable capital¹⁷) makes constant capital most vulnerable. This emphasis, which developed in the period of the mass worker and classical ‘workerism’, has since been challenged by those who place the wider social factory and social reproduction more centrally in their analysis (Cleaver, 1979; Dyer-Witthford, 2008; Federici, 2004, 2012). My aim is to extend this line of analysis through the notion of spatial composition.

A central conviction in this thesis is that class composition should be as attentive to processes of technical and political decomposition as it is to processes of political

¹⁷ Constant capital is the outlay of capital on fixed assets, such as machinery, land and buildings, and raw and auxiliary materials, which maintain the same value in the production process. Variable capital is capital as labour power, which produces extra value (surplus value) to a *variable* degree (Marx, 1990, p.317).

recomposition (unification and generalisation of struggles by workers and other social subjects). As Wright (2002) argues, the problem of decomposition is “every bit as real as that of recomposition” (Ibid, p.224), yet serious studies of decomposition are too often neglected. This consideration is extremely important in relation to Glasgow, which has long been subject to savage devaluation in industry and manufacturing (cf. Chapter 5). Sergio Bologna (2007 [1977]), perhaps the most influential exponent of class composition analysis in the autonomous milieu, stresses that class decomposition is often the catalyst for new cycles of struggle. Such an observation risks a rather teleological and mechanical view that might neglect the synchronic relations of political contestation in different sectors (Mezzadra, 2013). However, Bologna’s (1972, 1991, 1992) historical accounts of the ascendancy of the ‘mass worker’ and decline of the skilled ‘professional’ worker in the 1920s show the perspicacity of such analysis in terms of understanding general hegemonic tendencies in class composition - and thus the potential for the generalisation of counter struggles. I will examine these arguments briefly now in relation to the AM method of ‘tendency’.

4.1.1. Historiography: The Mass Worker and Beyond

Individually interchangeable but collectively indispensable, lacking the bonds which had tied skilled workers to production, the mass worker personified the subsumption of concrete to abstract labour characteristic of modern capitalist society (Wright, 2002, p.107)

For Bologna, the most useful positions to emerge from operaismo were those that dealt with the relationship between technological composition and political composition (Wright, 2002). He applied class composition analysis to historical studies of the self-managed workers and factory council movements of the 1920s in Germany and Italy, surmising that these workers’ positive attitudes towards technology, and their willingness to self-manage the production process, arose because of their position as highly skilled ‘professional’ workers (Bologna, 1972). Yet, he argues, the arrival of the ‘mass worker’ and mass production decomposed these cultures of self-management just as they were being affirmed in the shape of Soviets and workers’ councils. For Bologna, the automobile industry under ‘Fordism’ was of fundamental historical importance politically because of its role in the tendential development of assembly line work and the mass worker. The industry became a paradigmatic laboratory where: “...technology was understood as an instrument which produced social classes and social relations even before it produced commodities” (Bologna, 1991, p.24).

Bologna's immanent dialectical conception of class composition holds vital political implications. While the introduction of the mass worker contributed to the decomposition of the skilled worker in industry, when operaismo politically recomposed the same subject, the mass worker became the basis for a broad socialisation and generalisation of antagonistic tendencies against mass industry (cf. Chapter 3). Yet, just as the mass worker had deposed the professional worker in the early decades of the twentieth century, Negri (1989) argues, so the 'socialised worker' had come to supplant the mass worker by the early 1970s. For Negri, the point is not to mourn the category of the mass worker, as some of his comrades have done, but to explore appropriate and immanent conceptualisations of present developments for the purpose of political recomposition. In Chapter 5, I will discuss how political decomposition in Glasgow's heavy industries, through 'dilution' or deskilling between 1915 and 1919, re-shaped political composition in the city by expanding the base of women in political struggle and opening up the terrains of social reproduction and urban space as sites of social contestation.

Crucial to Negri's thought is Marx's method of 'the tendency'; an anticipatory, immanent, materialist methodology which was very influential in operaismo (Negri, 2005 [1971]; Toscano, 2004; Mezzadra, 2013). For Negri (2005 [1971]), the tendency is not a determining schema but instead an "adventure of reason", concerned with understanding mass subjective necessity within a determinate historical epoch (Ibid, p.27). In *Multitude* (2006) Hardt and Negri provide an excursus on this method: as social reality changes, they argue, so must our praxis: "the method and the substance, the form and the content must correspond" (Hardt and Negri, 2006, p.140). When Marx conceived of the industrial proletariat as a coming revolutionary subject in the mid-19th century, industrial labour constituted only a small proportion of the major European economies, yet Marx recognised a tendency of development in industry that would become increasingly hegemonic, providing the immanent material basis of future struggles. Applying a similar tendential method, Hardt and Negri insist on the hegemony of 'immaterial labour' in the present era. This proposition has been questioned in terms of its empirical validity (Wright, 2002; Caffentzis, 2003, 2005; Federici, 2004), but the important point here is that the search for new social subjects is an ongoing and necessary process, subject to constant change at the level of class composition.

What is thus required, Bologna (2007 [1977]) argues, are self-conscious, reflexive movements which are the antagonistic social expression of general tendencies in the new class composition. Following my examination of the urbanisation of capital in Chapters 1

and 2, I assert here that an understanding the new spatial composition of capital, as a hegemonic tendency, provides the potential for grasping political recomposition in the present era. Before examining this thesis in more detail, I will discuss some of the ways in which composition analysis has been developed as a methodology since the heyday of operaismo.

4.1.2. Class Composition in the Contemporary Era

Given the exceptional scale, duration and creativity of the revolutionary experience in Italy during the 1960s and 1970s (Cleaver, 1979; Hardt, 1996; Wright, 2002), and the centrality of class composition to that experience, it is surprising that the method has been so little discussed in the UK. Much of the work that has mobilised composition theory has come from outside the academy, with two main strands in the US and Germany, where operaismo has had more traction¹⁸. Key trajectories include the US collectives of *Zerowork* (1974-1977) and *Midnight Notes*, who were formed in 1978 after a split in *Zerowork*; and the German collective *Wildcat*¹⁹, along with their small but highly committed and partisan offshoots, *Gurgaon Workers' News*²⁰ in India, *Gongchao*²¹ in China, and *Angry Workers of the World*²² in the UK. *Zerowork* and *Midnight Notes* emerged from the US 'Wages for Housework' movement, which strongly influenced their focus on social reproduction and their examination of unwaged as well as waged work (Cleaver, 1979; Dalla Costa, 2002). *Wildcat* and associated groups remain closer to classical operaismo, primarily focusing on direct production in Europe, India and China, with logistics and circulation recently emerging as key themes. In 1975, *Zerowork* (*Midnight Notes*, 2002) developed a classic schema of class composition that provides a useful pivot for discussing compositional methodology here. Like operaismo, they stress that capital's 'flaws' are not internal to it, nor is economic crisis; they are determined through antagonistic class relations. To comprehend the dynamics of these relations, they suggest a class composition model

¹⁸ It would be very interesting to trace why AM has had such little traction in the UK, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis. One possibility is that the structuralist and regulationist approaches, via Althusser and Poulantzas especially, which have been influential for Marxist geography and the New Left in the UK, have historically been bound up with the state-centred, neo-hegemonic approaches of Euro-communism, to which AM was violently opposed. The Italian Communist Party (PCI) is exemplary in this regard, with the PCI actively taking part in the violent suppression of AM during its most radical phase in the 1970s as part of the infamous 'Historic Compromise' with the Christian Democrats (Gray, 2013).

¹⁹ <http://www.wildcat-www.de/en/eindex.htm>.

²⁰ <http://gurgaonworkersnews.wordpress.com/>.

²¹ <http://www.gongchao.org/>.

²² <https://angryworkersworld.wordpress.com/>.

operating at four interconnected levels. The key points are here directly culled from a more extensive exposition:

First is the analysis of the struggles themselves: their content, their direction, how they develop and how they circulate [...] Second, we study the dynamics of the different sectors of the working class: the way these sectors affect each other and thus the relation of the working class with capital [...] Third, we consider the relation between the working class and “official” organizations that is, the trade unions, the “workers’ parties” welfare organizations, etc. [...] Fourth, all these aspects have to be related to the capitalist initiative in terms of general social planning, investment, technological innovations, employment and to the institutional setting of capitalist society (Ibid, pp, 111-112).

Certain indications can be discerned here that typify compositional analysis and these principles will be integrated into my own empirical work in Glasgow. These include: rejection of ‘objective’ sociological enquiries into occupational strata in favour of committed partisan struggles *against* capital; rejection of the division and fragmentation of labour in and beyond the workplace; emphasis on autonomous political organisation; a critical reflexive view of the official organisations that claim to represent the working class; close attention to internal differences *within* the working class; and close reading of the changing ‘technical’ composition of capital and its relation to class struggle. Dyer-Witheyford (2008) has more recently suggested expanding *Zerowork’s* model on the basis of Hardt and Negri’s conception of ‘the multitude’, arguing that the scope, nature and complexity of struggles have changed markedly since 1975. Not only labour-power, but bio-power, he argues, is now appropriated by capital under conditions of real subsumption (Ibid, pp.250-253).

While there is much validity in Dyer-Witheyford’s reasoning, the eight-fold model of composition at which he arrives is rather cumbersome, diffusing the question of composition to such an extent that the methodology risks becoming politically toothless. Furthermore, Dyer-Witheyford has little to say about the urbanisation of capital, which, as I argue, has become an increasingly hegemonic vector of accumulation strategies. The theoretical development of spatial composition and territorial inquiry makes a potentially vital contribution to composition analysis in this regard. However, there are points of convergence with the Dyer-Witheyford model that will be developed in this thesis, including an enhanced emphasis on social reproduction (especially housing, social services and social space); attention to the relation between political struggle and new forms of the

institutional Left such as the ‘third sector’ (e.g. Housing Associations, Community Councils, NGO’s, etc); mapping as a pedagogical tool; and an emphasis on decomposition as a serious issue.

Decomposition, indeed, is an eminently *socio-spatial* question, as evidenced in the dramatic decline of old industrial areas in Glasgow and the ‘deconcentration’ policies (Crump, 2002; Newman, 2004; Slater, 2013) which have demolished or privatised related workers’ housing, leading to dramatic population dispersal (cf. Chapter 5). Recent critical urban studies in the city (Helms and Cumbers, 2006; Cumbers *et al*, 2010; Gray and Mooney, 2011) have observed the erosion of mass working class organisation, while maintaining that capital’s hegemony remains contested. Some versions of autonomous Marxism have been criticised for adopting an idealist inversion of agency from capital to the working class subject, regardless of contemporary conditions (Wright, 2002). However, from the vantage point of political engagement in contemporary Glasgow, the ‘Copernican inversion’ and a related invocation of revolutionary subjectivity cannot be so easily asserted in the face of decades of political decomposition. Yet an emphasis on decomposition does not mean losing the radical orientation of compositional analysis; it means instead discovering and helping generalise the antagonistic tendencies of the new class composition in a time of palpable socio-political fragmentation (Bologna, 2007 [1977]). Inquiry methods provide one vital multi-form approach to this problem, and in the next section I will describe the emergence of inquiry in AM during the 1960s, before examining its contemporary use in the following section.

4.2. The Origins of Workers’ Inquiry

The first workers’ inquiries by Italian autonomists were conducted in the early 1960s at the Olivetti and Fiat auto-plants in Turin by Romana Alquati and others associated with *Quaderni Rossi* (Alquati, 2013 [1961], 2013 [1964]; Armano *et al*, 2013). The studies were influenced by Marx’s ‘A Workers Enquiry’ (1880), which posed 100 survey questions as a means to collate “statements of labor’s grievances” (Ibid); and from post-war Italian radical sociology and heterodox Marxist tendencies, which had broken from Leninism and Trotskysism overseas. Major influences were the *Johnson-Forest Tendency* and *Correspondence* in the US and *Socialisme ou Barbarie* (SoB) in France (Clever, 1979; Wildcat, 1995; Wright, 2002; Haider and Mohandesi, 2013). *The American Worker* (Romano and Stone, 1947), which graphically described factory life through the subjective perceptions of Paul Romano, a US autoworker, was a key text, as was *Proletarian*

Experience by Claude Lefort of SoB and the diaries of Renault militant Daniel Mothe in France (Wildcat, 1995; Haider and Mohandesi, 2013)²³. Classic inquiry methods from this period include the testimony, the diary, the interview, the census, the survey, the questionnaire, the workers paper, the pamphlet, the bulletin, workshop discussion and reading and study groups: all these activities were undertaken by workers and militants from the point of view of the workers themselves.

The method of inquiry was not an Italian invention *per se*, but it reached an advanced stage of theoretical and practical clarity there. The goal of workers' inquiry was to ascertain, with the workers themselves, "the condition in the factory, the behaviour and the political subjectivity of the workers at a particular historical moment" (Wildcat, 2003). It was an immanent, situated practice undertaken "from the viewpoint of working-class composition, needs and values, rather than from the perspective of capitalist control or academic social science" (Negri, 2005, p.xxxvi). We can see how the method was initially developed, by examining the studies that Alquati conducted with *Quaderni Rossi* and *Classe Operaia* in the 1960s. *Organic Composition of Capital and Labour-Power at Olivetti* (Alquati, 2013 [1961]) is considered the first operaismo study where the method of class composition is made explicit (Armano *et al*, 2013). The study, which was designed, according to Alquati, to reveal the division of labour as an aspect of capitalist despotism through technological planning, also provides an itemisation of inquiry methods at the moment of their inception.

Alquati stressed the need to surpass "blind empiricism" (Alquati, 2013 [1961]), or what Panzieri (1965) described as "micro-sociology": a practice whereby partial and atomised themes are isolated from the wider totality of capitalist relations (Ibid). The low level of autonomous organisation at the Olivetti auto-plant in 1961, Alquati (2013 [1961]) reports, meant that the starting point was necessarily a survey of problems via interviews in order to foment a critical circulation of experiences and initiate modes of direct encounter between workers as interviewers and subjects of study. This mode of *encounter* in inquiry processes allowed for an "eruption of subjectivity" within political categories, an "epistemological break" (Armano *et al*, 2013), which helped dissolve social and ethical barriers between subject-researcher and object-researched (Wildcat, 2003). Two comrades from *Quaderni Rossi*, alongside ten or so workers from Olivetti, interviewed over one hundred workers in every sector of the factory, allowing a deeper understanding of each worker's "part within the whole" (Alquati, 2013 [1961]). Some Olivetti workers also

²³ The transnational relation between these heterodox groups within Marxism would make a fascinating study, but this is not the place to develop that project. *Viewpoint* magazine has made a fine start with a series of new translations into English: <https://viewpointmag.com/2013/09/30/issue-3-workers-inquiry/>.

developed their own research projects following group discussions with other workers. The main objective was not “to complete an interview for inquiry” but to establish ongoing relationships through counter-research for political action (Ibid). This reflects a general tendency within operaismo for the inquiry to be used as a method for developing political relations and “political training” through theoretical discussion (Panzieri, 1965).

In available English translations of Alquati’s writing on Fiat, *Struggle at FIAT* (2013 [1964]) and *Outline of a Pamphlet on FIAT* (2013 [1967]), the rebellious nature of the inquiry process is evident. In the latter, Alquati describes class composition as “tactical surveys of class war” in and against the production process (Ibid). For Alquati, the purpose of inquiry was to generalise the process of class composition, with co-research an accomplice and aide for what was already at work in composition, not a revelation *ex-nihilo* (Calder Williams, 2013). Inquiry as a mode of investigation often reveals and detonates existing struggle before it breaks out into the open more generally (Wildcat, 1995), relating again to the method of the tendency. In *Outline of a Pamphlet on FIAT* (2013 [1967]), Alquati gives a profound sense of the inherent tumult of the production process in the 1960s, while stressing the need to continually anticipate changing tendencies:

...aggressive waves of worker struggle, capitalist response, “abrupt” leaps of socialization, mechanization, planning, and productivity; concentration and decentering, centralizations and shattering, with sectoral and territorial redistribution of the working class, and processes of proletarianization, or tertiarization, qualification and dequalification, simplification, abstraction of labor [...] attack on the levels of political organization through restructurings and subjective recomposition of class movements, and the reproposal of new terrain and a new level of capital production for new, aggressive, and potentially revolutionary battles (Ibid)

For Panzieri (1965), inquiry processes are inextricably linked to these dramatic ruptures: they are carried out “in the heat of the moment and on the spot” in situated investigations of “great transformation and conflict” (Ibid). As Moulier (1989) observes, for operaismo the working class “is a political category not a sociological term”, with ‘hot’ modes of investigation distinguishing the compositional method from ‘cold’ and detached sociological investigations (Ibid, p14). In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will argue that such moments of rupture in Glasgow in the post-war period have been related to urbanisation rather than industry as a general tendency, and that inquiry should be re-directed accordingly. Notably, Alquati’s receptivity to moments of rupture allowed him, very early

on, to acknowledge the general tendential shift in capitalist subsumption “from the factory towards ‘the social sphere’” (Armano and Sciortino, 2010). As Calder Williams (2013) observes, a spatial logic was developed in Alquati’s thought in the late 1960s related to the figure of the piazza (‘square’) as site of riot or demonstration. However, Calder Williams also notes the inability of Alquati, and operaismo in general, to extend this spatial logic systematically. In this chapter, and in my empirical studies in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I aim to address this aporia through spatial composition analysis and territorial inquiry. However, we must look beyond classical operaismo to develop this line of thought and practice. In doing so, we can also consider the potential of different inquiry methodologies.

4.2.1. Recomposing the Inquiry

Before we can make politics, we have to understand [...] class composition. This requires us to study it. Analyse it. We do this through a process of inquiry. Hence: No Politics Without Inquiry (Emery, 1995, p.2).

Ed Emery’s (1995) proposal for a class composition project in the UK sought an intercommunicating network of militants doing detailed workers’ inquiries in their local areas. How do we regroup, gather strength, and mobilise social forces “for a project of winning rather than losing?” he asked (Ibid, p.2). Like Panzieri, Emery notes how inquiries have historically been undertaken at points of crisis in the restructuring of capital-labour relations as both precursor and precondition of a re-energised politics (Ibid, p.5). He affirms the multiple methodological potentialities of inquiry, including the classic methods of survey, questionnaire and interview, but also hitherto untapped possibilities such as photography, filmmaking and archive recordings (Ibid, p.5-9). Joe Thorne (2011) also suggests the manifold possibilities of inquiry, drawing attention to Swedish militants, *Kampa Tillsammans* and their workplace blogs.

In place of somewhat “formal” interventions through extensive surveys and questionnaires, the *Kampa Tillsammans* blogs host multiple testimonies of work, communicating the way that many workers do: through humorous stories and storytelling. This practice has been popularised and generalised in workers’ inquiries by postal workers, health workers and unemployed groups across Sweden (Ibid). In the inquiry mode I propose in this chapter, I will largely eschew classical modes of inquiry, such as interviews and questionnaires, in favour of embodied and experiential urban investigation through the mode of walking and territorial inquiry. However, it should be noted here that such embodied investigation relied on considerable intellectual labour in terms of gathering and analysing data from

multiple sources, including a plethora of secondary literature items in the areas of urban planning, gentrification, housing, political theory, the creative economy and sustainability studies. Much of this information was disseminated and discussed during the walk, contributing, I hope, to a wider critical knowledge commons in the areas discussed above. This aspect of the research process will be discussed further later in this chapter.

While Emery's proposal was apparently unanswered at the time, a new wave of enquiry has been revamped for the contemporary radical Left (Dyer-Witheford, 2008). Special issues on workers inquiry have recently been published in the journal, *ephemera* (Figiel *et al.*, 2014), and in the radical magazine, *Viewpoint*²⁴. New tendencies have also re-configured composition analysis for call centre work and cognitive labour (Kolinko, 2002; Brophy, 2011; Berardi, 2009b); feminised precarious work (Precarious a la Deriva, 2004, 2006); and popular uprisings (Collectivo Situaciones, 2012; Mason-Deese, 2013). As noted previously, groups like *Wildcat*, *Gurgaon Workers News* and *Gongchao* retain the workplace inquiry perspective of operaismo, but with the terrain increasingly shifting to circulation and logistics (Wildcat, 2003). As Dyer-Witheford (2008) observes, these inquiry processes reflexively renew many features of autonomous class composition analysis and co-research: "militant, conducted in collectivities with the aim of connecting to wider collectivities, theoretically informed but empirically open, partisan but persistently reflexive, self-inoculating against vanguardism, yet aiming to expedite struggle" (Ibid, p.260).

Yet, despite this seeming development of inquiry processes, Thorne (2011) provocatively asks: 'what's the point of workers inquiry?' In particular, he questions Sergio Bologna's emphasis on 'mass objectives', and the classical autonomous emphasis on the highest cycles of struggle (Clever, 1979; Midnight Notes, 1992; Wright, 2002). Since many struggles emerge in unpredictable fashion, including the squares movement for instance, the quest for more *universal* struggles in advanced sectors of the economy, Thorne (2011) argues is "if not useless, problematic". While it is true that the heterogeneity of working life after the 'factory desert' (Revelli, 1996) should caution against generalisation, I want to retain the notion of general objectives here. As Mezzadro (2013) argues, the gap "between heterogeneity and commonality" should figure prominently in any attempt to invent new methods of co-research. Recomposition, indeed, is defined by the level of unity and homogeneity that is reached in cycles of political struggle (Midnight Notes, 1992). Unless such struggles refer to general contradictions in the lived experience of substantial

²⁴ <https://viewpointmag.com/2013/09/30/issue-3-workers-inquiry/>

amounts of people, they are very likely to have little impact against forms of capitalist abstraction, which are undoubtedly generalised (Sohn-Rothel, 1978; Toscano, 2008, 2012). In the context of a contemporary socio-political fragmentation, the question of *organising difference* is perhaps the most urgent political task presently. Compositional thought, I argue here, provides a potentially crucial methodology for that purpose, but it must be attuned to the present conjuncture. In the next section, then, I examine ‘spatial composition’ as a methodology that might provide a conceptual and practical basis for a politics that is immanent to the production of space, before briefly describing how I will operationalise the methodology through my own research and practice in Glasgow.

4.3. Spatial Composition: New Grounds for Struggle

If the urbanisation of capitalism is now foundational for the reproduction of capitalism, as Harvey (2012) argues, then forms of urban resistance must necessarily become central to challenging contemporary forms of capital accumulation. Some preliminary examples of such an analysis already exist. In 1977, Sergio Bologna saw glimpses of a ‘new social subject’ in the waves of ‘territorial community activism’ that challenged investment in the urban environment as an enclosure of the possibilities of everyday living. Deploying composition analysis within the AM method of the tendency, Toscano (2004) argues that we must be alert to the spatialisation of contemporary production. For Toscano, the social factory thesis provides a crucial entry point for this discussion even as he acknowledges, like Cleaver (1979) and Wright (2002), that the idea has more often been used conceptually rather than practically in forms of political struggle. In *Commonwealth*, Hardt and Negri (2011) argue that we have witnessed a shift from the industrial metropolis to the ‘biopolitical metropolis’, where production “spreads throughout the whole social territory” (Ibid, p.244). Indebted to the social factory thesis, they examine rent as a central mechanism of domination, noting the role of spatially embedded ‘externalities’ for rent-based accumulation strategies. Yet, they contend, the production of city life is also the production of the common, and potentially of meaningful encounter and generalised rebellion. In the language of composition, they suggest that we identify in this paradigm “the bases of the accumulation of power and the maturation of struggles” (Ibid, p.246).

As *Wildcat* (2003) have argued, composition analysis must build a productive interconnection between theoretical penetration, empirical collection, and political praxis. Liz Mason-Deese (2012, 2013), working overtly with composition theory, provides a model for such an approach in her studies of the Movements of Unemployed Workers

(MTDs) and ‘piqueteros’²⁵ in Argentina. She stresses that militant inquiry must go beyond the workplace, respond to the needs and desires of those involved, and contribute to political recomposition. The roadblocks of the piqueteros, she argues, have been central to that wider project: stopping the circulation of goods and services, making people’s demands visible, and serving as a space of encounter (Mason-Deese, 2012). Her study explicitly situates these struggles in the context of industrial decomposition, which the traditional trade unions, which generally view the formal worker as the privileged political actor, have failed to meet with an adequate political response. In this context, the working poor and unemployed have turned to multiple forms of investigation to understand their own conditions. Organisations of the unemployed have initiated surveys, research and analysis, reading and study groups, and workshops and discussions on the effects and experience of being unemployed. With no common workplace, the process of inquiry involves “identifying shared problems and experiences, needs and desires, working towards the creation of a common space and collective subject” (Ibid).

With the slogan, ‘The neighbourhood is the new factory’, territorial organisation at the neighbourhood level is central to the practice of the MTDs (Mason-Deese, 2012). Mirroring the social factory thesis and Harvey’s arguments for organising at the urban level, the MTDs realised that, since production is no longer centred in the factories, then organisation must be dispersed throughout the territory. Like the ‘Take over the City’ movement in Italy (Lotta Continua, 1973), the neighbourhood itself becomes the site for the political organisation of women and youth who have previously been excluded from the formal labour movement (Mason-Deese, 2012). Crucially, the inquiry process helped the MTDs to understand that precarity and unemployment are not temporary anomalies but axiomatic with the current form of capitalism, as the 2001 economic crisis in Argentina made abundantly clear (Mason-Deese, 2013; Colectivo Situaciones, 2012). With wage labour no longer recognised as the norm, territorial organisation implies opening up all the spaces of daily reproductive activity to counter-organisation:

...creating schools, soup kitchens, health clinics, daycares, community gardens, social centers and productive enterprises within a given territory [...] organizing around the basic needs of community residents, food, clean water, housing, education and the desire to form community in neighborhoods that are socially and ethnically fragmented (Mason-Deese, 2012)

²⁵ Piqueteros are those whose political action is characterised by static or moving ‘pickets’. In Argentina and abroad the piqueteros became widely known after blockading roads and highways with burning tyres.

Mason-Deese's work suggests a potentially productive relation between territorial organisation and movements of the unemployed and working poor that is appropriate to an era of decomposition. A more specific deployment of the term spatial composition comes from R.L. (2014) within the communitarian current associated with groups like *Theorie Communiste* in France, *Endnotes* in the UK/US, *Riff-Raff* in Sweden, and *Blaumachen* in Greece. Discussing the Ferguson riots in St. Louis, which I raised in Chapter 2 as a paradigmatic example of the 'suburbanisation of poverty', R.L. argue that, since territory has come to play such a major role in the determination and shape of struggles today: "we can perhaps attune our sensibilities to the way that struggles have come to address the problem of *spatial composition*" (Ibid, my emphasis). With the pace of urbanisation accelerating globally, especially in emerging economies, they argue, "it is sensible that urbanisation has become a significant point of conflict" (Ibid). The work of R.L draws on Paul Gilroy's (2002 [1987]) analysis of the UK inner-city riots in the 1980s. Without using the term composition, Gilroy discusses the specificity of racial exploitation and discrimination, but also the political decomposition of those working in industry and manufacturing. He argues that employment in the service sector, women's domestic labour, and 'surplus populations' linked to structural unemployment must all be taken account of in new forms of class analysis (Ibid, pp.1-40).

The examples in this section, developed from heterogeneous social, geographical and historical conditions, prefigure the possibility of a spatial composition analysis that takes the production of space seriously as a political concern. The scale at which such a politics of space should occur, I argue, must be determined by the struggles themselves. It is not the priority of this thesis to examine the question of scale in detail. However, I am in agreement with Marston (2000) when she argues that the scholarship in geography is largely driven, detrimentally, by a focus on the role of capital and the state in the production of scale. I share her emphasis on the relational production of scale across multiple domains, including, but not limited to, capitalist and state production, social reproduction and consumption. The question of scale can thus be seen as contingent and contested.

I am not convinced, however, that human geography can do without scale, as Marston *et al* (2005) have argued. While conceptualising geography without scale may well encourage progressive new forms of situated praxis, going beyond national state politics for instance, I do not believe it is possible to think scale away. Scale is not merely rhetorical or a representational trope; it is materially constructed at multiple levels of governance and

infrastructure by social agents in particular socio-economic relations. In this sense, scale can be seen as a *real abstraction* (cf. Sohn-Rothel, 1978; Toscano, 2008), not merely a “God’s Eye view” that falsely assumes hierarchies as a conceptual given (Marston *et al.*, 2005, p.422). As such, the labour of critique is still required in terms of the social and economic relations determining scale. Yet, even if such obvious, palpably material and grounded manifestations as local, regional, national governance are deeply inscribed by both powerful vested interests and popular ideology, they remain contingent, impermanent and open to contestation, as Marston *et al.* rightly insist.

In Chapter 3, I argued for the significance of the feminist ‘subversion of community’ across the social factory as pioneered by Italian autonomist feminists (cf. Dalla Costa and James, 1972). Drawing on Lefebvre and Neil Smith, Marston (2000) argues that the body and the home, and the relations of social reproduction more generally, are vital to the production of socially produced scale, and indeed the reproduction of capitalism. The subversion of community, and a related politics of social reproduction, hence has the potential to challenge the dominance of capital and state relations, while affirming new form of social relations and scale. As Chatterton and Pickerill (2010) argue, local place-based initiatives are a crucial and necessary tactic for local survival and social reproduction, serving as an essential base for potentially broader anti-capitalist social relations. While effective resistance to the real abstractions of capital and the state undoubtedly require extensive generalisation across territories and institutional boundaries, this generalisation requires an initial intensive ‘scale’ of struggle first, if it is not simply to be imposed from above. Such an understanding of the local bears comparison with Marston *et al.*’s (2005) notion of the *milieu*, a social site that is not delimited or roped off, but rather inhabits a “neighbourhood” of practices, events and orders that are folded variously into other unfolding sites (Ibid, p.426).

A limited conception of the ‘local’, as Chatterton and Pickerill stress, obscures how much local ‘militant particularisms’ are already a product of transnational, extra-local geographies of solidarity and resistance, while often being traversed by a proliferation of material and symbolic interconnections and flows (electronic and paper information exchange; conferences, meetings and stalls; speaker tours, visits and exchanges across national and international boundaries) (Ibid, p.735-736; see also, Massey, 1994; Featherstone, 2005). It also obscures how much the real abstractions of capital are experienced at the level of the household and the community, where the political economy of housing and urban ‘regeneration’ plays an increasingly profound role in both everyday

life and the national economy (Aalbers and Christophers, 2014). Compositionist methodology does not disengage from an understanding and critique of capitalist development and planning initiatives, including the inscription and codification of scales of production, circulation and consumption, yet it always affirms the struggles first as these are the motors of potential change, effectively producing the scale of spatial composition.

The methodology of spatial composition has been implicit in the first three chapters of this thesis, and more thoroughly developed in this chapter. In Chapter 5, I will operationalise spatial composition analysis in an historical study of urban Glasgow, seeking to explore the general, tendential urban development of Glasgow from the late 19th century to the present, including its contestation, and what this means for a contemporary politics of space. This methodological and spatially-inflected contextual orientation will provide a general foundation for a closer spatial composition analysis of contemporary forms of urbanisation and resistance in clustered neighbourhoods: in the north of the city in Chapter 6; and in the east of the city in Chapter 7. Closer scrutiny of these areas, and the struggles over space within them, will allow for a more specific understanding of the contemporary relation between technical and political composition in the city where very particular inflections of urbanisation, with complex, political, institutional and economic contexts, can be examined and discussed. In Chapter 6 I will also describe a ‘territorial inquiry’ that I led in North Glasgow in 2012 as a means to understand transformations in the landscape in a more situated and embodied manner. In the next section, I will unpack what I mean by territorial inquiry before describing its practice in Chapter 6.

4.4. Towards Territorial Inquiry: From Theory to Practice

Territorial inquiry is presented here as an immanent methodological response to contemporary neoliberal urbanism. It is initially proposed as an investigative collective public walk: a co-research project designed to move beyond circumscribed temporal and spatial interventions, and to inform further autonomous political activity. It is important to stress that the method is in its infancy and requires much reflexive development through praxis. However, I will formulate some basic principles here. The basis for this idea has been generated by public walks that I led in Glasgow in the recent past, including walks in the central Merchant city²⁶ and the International Financial Services District (IFSD) at Broomielaw²⁷, and on the site of the Commonwealth Games and Clyde Gateway developments in the East End of Glasgow. It should be noted that the walk I will describe

²⁶ http://arika.org.uk/uninstal/2010/events/in_the_shadow_of_shadow/

²⁷ <https://www.list.co.uk/article/28286-glasgow-walk-encourages-critical-engagement-with-centre/>

in Chapter 6 was not undertaken as a territorial inquiry in a formal sense. The term did not appear on any of the publicity, and I did not discuss it during the walk itself. However, it was implicit in my understanding of the process. By discussing the walk in terms of inquiry I aim to reflect on the merits and problems of inquiry processes with the aim of developing the idea for improved interventions in the future.

The instrumental use of large-scale regeneration projects involving ubiquitous creative destruction in the urban environment suggests that the moments of “great transformation and conflict” that Panzieri (1965) identified as primary sources for ‘hot’ inquiry processes have an increasingly urban dimension. A critical investigation of land and property markets within the general capitalist planning initiative must then be central to territorial inquiry. Urban development and planning is now routinely framed in bounded geographical terms, with the circumscribed project increasingly superseding the general plan. Territorial inquiry must therefore seek to resist the problems of ‘micro-sociology’ that Panzieri (1965) identified, whereby selected situations are isolated from their wider relational context and treated as pure facticity. Transgressing locational boundaries and their artificial divisions should thus be a priority for urban inquiry, allowing for a wider understanding of relational contexts and the potential widening and generalisation of communication and solidarity between different social groups in adjacent or nearby areas. The idea of ‘cognitive mapping’ can be usefully deployed here (Jameson, 1988b, 1991, 1992; Toscano and Kinkle, 2015), with territorial inquiry, much like cognitive mapping, helping connect “the abstractions of capital to the sense data of everyday perception” (Toscano and Kinkle, 2015, p.7). Indeed, collective walking as inquiry is an ideal situated means to examine urban space relationally. It is a slow process, allowing for rich phenomenological experience and the cultivation of collective encounter and discussion immanent to the immediate environment. In Chapters 6, I will show the importance of this method in relation to a bounded regeneration project, whose geographical and discursive specificity belies its instrumental and strategic role as a catalyst for wider area-based property development projects.

While traditional inquiry methods have typically used interviews, surveys and questionnaires - which all remain useful tools of investigation - territorial inquiry instead foregrounds an experiential, embodied intervention through the practice of walking, discussion and mapping. Obvious reference points here are the practices of the *dérive* and *pyscho*geography developed by the Situationist International (SI) (Knabb, 1981; Sadler, 1999; McDonough, 2009). As Stracey (2014) usefully observes, these singular

interventions, often seen in isolation, must be seen as part of a wider SI strategy of “constructing situations” as a practical critique of urban planning and ‘the society of the spectacle’ (Ibid, p.8). While there is a rich tradition of radical investigation in this area, SI practices have increasingly been subject to recuperation, often undertaken as de-politicised and individualised artistic projects of sensory exploration rather than as projects for the reconquest and production of differential spaces (Home, 1996). While such interventions have merit on their own terms (arguably the embodied destabilisation of urban rationality and abstract space should be central to any transformative urban project), territorial inquiry can help to re-politicise this tradition through *collective political practice*. For Lefebvre, the *dérive* revealed the ‘fragmentation of the city’, intimating the possibility of unitary urbanism through a kind of immediate synchronic history of the city (Ross, 1997). Territorial inquiry likewise aims to examine critically urban fragmentation with the aim of overcoming socio-spatial division and atomisation.

Territorial inquiry can facilitate collaborative co-production as reciprocal exchange: researchers transferring detailed knowledge in an accessible manner, and engaged community members disseminating locally specific knowledge where they have their own embedded level of memory, expertise and lived experience. It also provides a means to challenge the specialised roles in the ‘fragmentary sciences’ that Lefebvre, and the SI, wished to eviscerate. At the level of spatial composition, finding a “bridge between subjectivity and material conditions” (Wildcat, 2003), entails first of all uncovering, discussing and disseminating the experiences of those who struggle against urban inequities. As *Zerowork* advise, the struggles themselves, their content, how they circulate, must be central to class composition analysis. It is in the relationship between the urban initiatives of capital and the dynamic of urban class struggle that the potential for political recomposition emerges (*Midnight Notes*, 1992). Territorial inquiries must thus emphasise the way that the capitalist subsumption of everyday life is resisted, through which forms it is resisted, and whether these forms reach a significant level of political recomposition. To that end, those directly affected by urbanisation must be central to the inquiry process. In Chapter 6, when describing the collective walk led in and around Speirs Locks, I will discuss how this aim was somewhat undermined by the mass displacement of many residents in the area, and also because the walk was organised through a collaboration between arts organisations (though many of those involved had a working relationship with the arts premises at Speirs Locks).

A critical investigation of the power relations behind land ownership, housing tenure, and planning measures means interrogating not only the state and capital, but also the organisations which claim to represent community members subject to those processes. Regeneration and associated displacement, disruption and rent-racking are typically framed in consensual ‘post-political’ memes (Paddison, 2010; MacLeod, 2011, 2013), which mask the real class content of gentrification (Smith, 2002; MacLeod, 2013). In this context, some scepticism is required about the role of governmentalised community councils, housing associations, charities, and other ‘third sector’ organisations (Uitermark *et al*, 2007; Dyer-Witheyford, 2008), in addition to political party representatives and associated workers’ unions. While unions are clearly potential allies, it is vital not to identify class struggle with official organisations, even of the Left, but rather with its own autonomous power (*Midnight Notes*, 1992). This argument has become even more compelling in a climate characterised by union capitulation and biopolitical subsumption of a kind that could barely have been imagined in the 1970s (Uitermark *et al*, 2007; Read, 2009; Rossi, 2013).

As increasingly sophisticated discourses are routinely embedded in gentrification strategies, deconstructive work becomes ever more essential for territorial inquiry. The situated, empirical and relational investigation of actually existing sites of development and under-development is one vital way in which promotional discourses might be challenged through experiential knowledge. Overall, what is at stake in inquiry processes is an acknowledgment that social conditions cannot be understood *a-priori*, and that any political project requires continual processes of investigation if we are to grasp the immanent political possibilities in the ever-changing mutations of capital. The broad principles I have outlined in the last two sections on spatial composition and territorial inquiry provide a basis for understanding my own empirical research and practice in Glasgow in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Before summarising the arguments in the thesis thus far and flagging what is to come in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, it is worth first situating my ongoing praxis in urban Glasgow within a wider field of personal political and cultural engagement developed over several years.

4.5. Contesting Urbanisation in Glasgow: A Personal Perspective

As noted in the Introduction, much of my interest in Glasgow’s urban politics was first developed in my writing and editorial work for *Variant*²⁸, a free inter-disciplinary arts and culture magazine which provides in-depth coverage in the context of broader social,

²⁸ <http://www.variant.org.uk/pdfs/issue42/Variant42.pdf>.

cultural and political issues. *Variant*, working in a scholarly manner beyond academia, has been a significant interlocutor of cultural practices in Scotland and the UK, including the management and distribution of cultural resources and budgets by government and quasi-government agencies, since the late 1980s. One important strand of critique has developed around gentrification and spatial politics, and more specifically ‘cultural regeneration’, the creative economy, and artist-led property development strategies. Some of my own written work for *Variant* has closely examined the neoliberal privatisation of space in Glasgow (friendofzanetti, 2006); the Clyde Gateway regeneration project as a ‘new urban frontier’ (Gray, 2008); and the Merchant City district as a site of monopoly rent extraction, but also a site of cultural contestation (Gray, 2009a, 2010).

My engagement with *Variant* has involved multiple public events, talks, public walks and discussions in Glasgow. This practice has crossed many institutional boundaries, leading to the formation of *The Strickland Distribution*²⁹, an artist-run group supporting the development of independent research in art-related and non-institutional practices. *The Strickland Distribution* were invited by *Transmission Gallery* in 2012-2013, to produce a series of events entitled ‘knowledge is never neutral’ which set out to explore the circumstances surrounding cultural and knowledge production³⁰. The public walk as ‘territorial inquiry’ that I will discuss in Chapter 6 - ‘Austerity Urbanism: A Walk in the Fictional City’³¹ - was part of this series of events, following on from several public walks that I have led independently in Glasgow with cultural workers, students, community activists, and local populations.

Much of the research in Chapter 7 was developed in tandem with my involvement in *Glasgow Games Monitor 2014*³², which I co-founded in late 2008 in order to ‘unmask the myths of the Glasgow Commonwealth Games’, and work in solidarity with people negatively affected by regeneration. The 2014 Games have now passed, but in the lead up to the event in late July/early August 2014 there were five core people involved with the group, with others contributing as and when they could. We held regular open monthly meetings and met additionally to plan future actions, events, and directions in research activity. The group’s main focus was a website, an idea borrowed from the London-based *Games Monitor*³³, a network of people raising awareness about issues around the 2012

²⁹ <http://strickdistro.org/>.

³⁰ <http://strickdistro.org/2012/08/22/knowledge-is-never-neutral/>.

³¹ <http://strickdistro.org/2012/08/22/austerity-urbanism-a-walk-through-the-fictional-city/>.

³² Founded with Dr. Libby Porter, then at the University of Glasgow, and Bob Hamilton, a local activist: <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/>.

³³ <http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/>.

London Olympics. We hosted and spoke at numerous meetings and events across the city including St. Mungo's Academy, the Centre for Contemporary Arts (CCA), the People's Palace, and the Kinning Park Complex. As part of this wider dissemination process, I was interviewed for Scottish Television (STV), BBC Reporting Scotland and BBC Newsnight, amongst others. I wrote extensively on the Games and related regeneration for academic journals (Gray, 2011, 2014) and various magazines (*Variant*, *Mute*, *The Drouth*, *Dezeen*). I have also written numerous blog posts, leaflets, press releases, and letters to officials and the media, as well as designing and distributing many posters and flyers.

Politically, many of the issues addressed in this thesis were first broached through my involvement in housing and community campaigns before embarking on this PhD. I engaged with tenants' issues in Sighthill (a large housing estate adjacent to Speirs Wharf) as a community video filmmaker and housing activist in 2006 when making a film about housing stock transfer in Edinburgh, where I was also heavily involved in the campaigning work. Indeed, the experience of the stock transfer campaign was highly influential in my practical and theoretical political development. I also developed research and knowledge of the Speirs Wharf area through activism with the now defunct *Burgh Angel*³⁴, a small community activist group that distributed a local paper in the neighbouring Maryhill district. These activities reflect my conviction that academic research cannot claim a position of neutral objectivity (Chatterton *et al*, 2010, 2010; Routledge, 2009), and that militant research should be an immanent collective process of friendship and solidarity based on transforming participants and producing something in common (Colectivo Situaciones, 2012; Armano *et al*, 2013; Mason-Deese, 2013).

Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that my methodological approach had both similarities and important differences with PAR approaches. My work in this thesis comes out of long-term engagements with urban political processes from below. These engagements include: my work with the Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh (ACE) in the early-to-mid 2000s, the only active voluntary run social centre in Scotland; the Edinburgh Against Stock Transfer (EAST) group, which successfully challenged the 'stock transfer' of all public housing in the city to a special purpose Housing Association in 2006; and my long-term engagement in housing campaigns and struggles, including work with the Scottish Tenants Organisation (STO), the Glasgow Tenants and Residents Network (GTRN)³⁵, the *Burgh Angel* and GGM 2014. Some of this work preceded my doctoral thesis and some of it

³⁴ <https://burghangel.wordpress.com>.

³⁵ <https://glasgowresidents.wordpress.com>

overlapped with it, but the lessons learned through this practical engagement with an urban politics from below were assimilated into the thesis, in one way or another, regardless.

Two distinct differences with the PAR approach can be identified. Firstly, my participatory, collective work has typically *preceded* academic engagement with grass-roots groups, although the boundary between ‘scholar’ and ‘activist’ in my own ‘scholar-activist’ equation has typically been highly porous from the start. Additionally, in some cases (such as GGM 2014 and the re-launch of the GTRN), I was a co-founder and initiator of many plans, proposals and actions within the groups. In this way, my own version of PAR cannot be said to reproduce the same “expert-subject” binary between “inside” (academia) and “outside” (wider society) that the Autonomous Geographies Collective identify in many PAR approaches (Chatterton *et al*, 2010, pp.248-249). Secondly, my work with such groups has tended to concern itself not only with axiomatics of participation and grass-roots democracy, but also with how such PAR is related to the real abstractions of capital and the state. To my mind, as noted previously, the absence of an examination of precisely this relation is one of the key weaknesses of many PAR approaches.

The practical labour involved in my scholar-activist work has involved: organising regular meetings, including phone and mail round-ups, preparing agendas and writing up minutes; organising events and public meetings, including hall and equipment bookings, designing, writing and distributing flyers, posters and publicity material; online activity, including designing and writing on blogs/websites and online publicity; media work, including press releases, press and television interviews, photographing demos, actions, occupations and material contexts for activist activity (buildings, landscapes etc); and organisation and participation in occupations. The intellectual labour, connecting practical embodied engagement with the real abstractions of capital and the state, has involved ongoing investigations across a wide diversity of agencies and source materials. These include: national government (Scottish and UK) and City Council policy documents, statistical reports and promotional matter; numerous corporation and third sector websites; newspaper and television matter; a vast swathe of secondary literature across numerous disciplines; and, given that many groups challenging urban development processes are inadequately supported and funded (Moorhouse *et al*, 1972; Bradley, 1997), if at all, a wide range of flyers, posters, blogs and websites produced by various housing, welfare and community groups, challenging the production of space. Much of this work has built on sustained urban policy research for various publications that I have written for *Variant*

magazine, as well as academic journals, thus marking a continuum of engagement and research on the city since 2006.

The methods of spatial composition and territorial inquiry that I have proposed in this chapter aim to extend and develop this long-term practical and theoretical engagement with a still-deeper, ongoing focus on urbanisation and its discontents in Glasgow. Before operationalising these methods in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, though, I will summarise the argument thus far.

Conclusion

The reflections on methodology here bring to a conclusion my analysis of Italian AM and its practices as an influence on contemporary urban struggle. Given the exceptional scale, creativity and revolutionary nature of ‘Laboratory Italy’ (Hardt, 1996), there are undoubted problems in translating these methodologies to the contemporary context of ‘old industrial’ Glasgow. However, as shown in this chapter, composition analysis and inquiry methods are eminently adaptable to different contexts, defined as they are by a reflexive, investigative impulse that seeks to go beyond the old nostrums of accepted practices. In this regard, decomposition must be central to contemporary composition analysis; and in my empirical case studies of Glasgow, I aim to show how composition and inquiry methods are as useful for situations of political decomposition as they are for the highest cycles of struggle. A certain dampening of expectation is prudent in the contemporary context, but not at the expense of affirming autonomous agency and the possibility of political recomposition.

Thus far, I have focused on a politics of space around an immanent understanding of the urbanisation of capital. In Chapter 1, I drew on Henri Lefebvre’s work to provide a theoretical basis for this argument; and in Chapter 2, I drew on contemporary urban theory to show how Lefebvre’s arguments have been developed in more recent analyses of urban space. Seeking to go beyond a limited political economy of space, I then introduced the theoretical and practical work of AM in Chapter 3, which, I argued, went beyond Lefebvre in praxis, opening up the possibility of thinking through urban geography in more radical terms. In Chapter 4, I developed the key theoretical contribution of AM, class composition, and its close corollary, workers inquiry, through the original methodological conceptions of spatial composition and territorial inquiry. I will now investigate the city of Glasgow through three empirical case studies based on spatial composition analysis and territorial inquiry. In Chapter 5, I will undertake a necessarily broad overview of the socio-spatial

development of Glasgow from the mid-to-late 19th century until the present, utilising spatial composition analysis for my argument that Glasgow could more accurately be described as a city of social reproduction, rather than production, since the 1930s. This general overview in Chapter 5 will provide a basis for two more specific case studies in Chapters 6 and 7, which utilise the methods of spatial composition and territorial inquiry.

5. 'Shock City': A Brief History of Spatial Composition in Glasgow

If Manchester had been the 'shock city' of the Industrial revolution, Glasgow was the new 'shock city' of the Modern housing revolution (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994)

'Shock city' refers here to Glasgow's pivotal role in "Scotland's Housing Blitzkrieg" of the 1960s: nowhere else in the UK were so many high rise blocks, at such an early date, completed or under construction (Ibid, p.220). The term can equally be applied to Glasgow's tumultuous industrialisation and population growth in the nineteenth century, and to its 'post-industrial' nadir in the early 1970s when a negative image of the city was reinforced by a series of studies characterising Glasgow as "the most deprived city in Britain" (Damer, 1990, p.16). These differing conceptions of rapid expansion and dramatic contraction, I argue, are intimately related to current modes of urban development, which have dramatically shaped the spatial composition of the city. There is a substantial body of literature on labour struggles in Glasgow (McLean, 1983; Foster and Woolfson, 1986; Foster, 1990; Duncan and McIvor, 1992; Kenefick and McIvor, 1996), and urban development (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Horsey, 1990; Pacione, 1995; Fyfe, 1996; Reed, 1999), but this chapter makes a distinctive contribution by examining the *spatial composition* of the city since the early-19th century, focusing on urban planning, governance, and spatial contradictions. Despite Glasgow's reputation as an industrial city, I argue that in reality it can more accurately be described as a *city of social reproduction*, at least since the 1930s.

A central argument in this chapter is that 'the planned city' (Gibb, 1983; see also Negri, 2003 [1967]; Tafuri, 1976; Aureli, 2008) has had an impact on spatial composition in Glasgow that demands greater theoretical attention. Glasgow is widely recognised as an exemplar of urban restructuring given the city's necessarily interventionist post-war city planning following severe technical decomposition. But such 'crisis-generated restructuring' undoubtedly led to 'restructuring-generated crisis' (cf. Soja, 1996), and in such a context, territorial stigmatisation and discourses of blight and obsolescence (Wacquant, 2007, 2008; Smith, 1996; Weber, 2002; Beauregard, 2003) have become neoliberal alibis for contemporary accumulation strategies in the city (Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011). Such discursive strategies, I argue, are intimately related to the production of space as an increasingly central facet of capital accumulation (cf. Chapters 1 and 2), and with this in mind this chapter will examine several key periods in Glasgow's

socio-spatial development. Pivotal areas of investigation include: the 1866 City Improvement Trust (CIT) scheme; the 1915 ‘Rent Strikes’; the Bruce and Abercrombie Masters Plans of the post-war years; the Glasgow East Renewal Area (GEAR) project (1976-1987); the neoliberalisation of the city through the 1980s and 1990s; and the privatisation of the city’s public housing since 1980. Throughout this chapter, I aim to address a lacuna over housing and class relations in studies of Glasgow (Damer, 1976; Johnstone, 1992, 2000), by showing how housing and social reproduction have been central to spatial composition and political contestation in the city historically. Understanding this tendency, I argue, might help us develop an immanent politics of space in the present era. This broad overview should also help to situate more detailed empirical investigations of spatial composition in Glasgow in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.1. Haussmann in Glasgow: The 1866 City Improvement Scheme and the Birth of Housing Management in Glasgow

The dramatic relationship between rapid industrial expansion and the city’s socio-spatial development in the 19th century has been well documented (Gibb, 1983, Keating, 1988; Horsey, 1990; Damer, 1990, 2000b; Pacione, 1995; Reed, 1999). Here I will focus on the 1866 City Improvement Trust (CIT) scheme, a proto-regeneration project which responded to overcrowding and slum housing in the Old Town with a model borrowed from Baron Von Haussmann’s wholesale urban transformation of Second Empire Paris (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Edwards, 1999). The CIT scheme was an “important milestone” in municipal housing management that would strongly influence ‘the planned city’ of the 20th century (Gibb, 1983, p.143). It was also an early marker for Glasgow Labour Party’s disciplinary housing management in the inter-war and post-war years (Damer, 2000b), and for their focus on social reproduction after coming to power in 1933 (Boyle and Hughes, 1994). Before discussing the wider relevance of the CIT scheme for class composition in Glasgow, urban conditions in Glasgow during the 19th century must briefly be described. The city was still relatively small in 1800, comprising a couple of square miles centred on the Saltmarket, Bridgegate, High Street, Trongate, Stockwell Street and Gallowgate in the Old Town (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Pacione, 1995; Reed, 1999a). By 1890, however, it had undergone “the fastest population growth in the whole of Europe”, increasing by nearly one million people between 1831 and 1941 alone (Damer, 1990, p.41; Pacione, 1995). Immigration came from the Scottish Lowlands in the late-18th century, then from the Highlands and Ireland in the 19th century, after rural workers were cleared from the

land and separated from the ownership of their means of production and subsistence³⁶. These immigrants were largely concentrated in and around the Old Town following the westwards exodus of the wealthier classes to more airy climes in a classic European West End/East End socio-spatial divide (Damer, 1990, p.71-72).

With “no development control whatsoever”, the magnitude of population increase placed enormous pressure on existing infrastructure (Damer, 1989, p.61). Housing demand, especially before the 1920s, was met entirely by private housing via speculative builders and landlords, with overcrowding a great boost to rental receipts (Damer, 1976, 1990; Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990). The “movement of capital into working class housing” (Damer, 1976, p.10), resulted in two typical forms of housing: the tenement and ‘made-down houses’, which had been subdivided by the wealthy to make up several houses in one. With medieval ‘feu’³⁷ duty laws, where the owner of a piece of land was entitled to an annual payment from the purchaser calculated by acreage, there were strong financial incentives to build and tenant tenements as densely as possible (Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990; Pacione, 1995). High densities ensured these buildings were at once “money-making machines” for landlords and scandalous habitats for tenants (Damer, 1990, p.72). Much like contemporary rentiers, the rentier class in Glasgow during the 19th century was highly dependent on credit and financial liquidity (Horsey, 1990; Edwards, 1999); and, though property markets and the building industry were fragmented, they were entirely united on “an overall strategy of land speculation” (Horsey, 1990, p.3). Rent increases averaged 47% over the city from 1861 to 1911, leading to growing tenant discontent that would “eventually pose a threat to private rented housing as a whole” (Horsey, 1990, p.6). A more detailed description of this ‘discontent’ is offered in the next section.

By 1866, over 50,000 people, at over 1,000 persons per acre, were crammed into the Old Town (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Edwards, 1999). This figure was “probably not exceeded elsewhere in Europe”, according to W.T. Gairdner, the Medical Officer of Health (1863-1971) (Edwards, 1999, p.84). There were major outbreaks of typhoid and cholera throughout the first half of the 19th century, accompanied by chronic infant and adult mortality rates (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Damer, 1990; Edwards, 1999). Frederick

³⁶ The ‘clearances’ of rural land were a form of ‘primitive accumulation’ in the early development of capitalism, which presupposed “the process which divorces the worker from the ownership of the conditions of his own labour” (Marx, 1990, p874). Bonefeld (2008a, 2008b) has more recently argued that primitive accumulation was not just essential to the origins of capitalism, but that the ‘permanence of primitive accumulation’ remains the *constitutive* basis of capital-labour relations. Here is not the place to examine that argument in detail, however.

³⁷ The word feu is etymologically derived from ‘feudalism’, and from ‘fee’ in Scots.

Engels famously reproduced contemporary accounts of this situation in *The Condition of the English Working Classes* (1973 [1844]). An 1839 report by J C Symons, a Government Commissioner, is typical:

I have seen wretchedness in some of its worst phases both here and on the continent, but until I visited the wynds of Glasgow I did not believe that so much crime, misery, and disease could exist in any civilised country (Ibid, p.71).

The well-known slum problems in the Old Town need no more illustration here (see Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Pacione, 1995; Edwards, 1999), but it is important to establish that domestic control in the arena of *social reproduction* was tied to labour discipline in the *direct production* process (Damer, 1980, 1990, 2000a, 2000b; Johnstone, 2000; Boyle and Hughes, 1994). As Engels (1844) observed, the control of both the means of production and subsistence were the weapons by which “social warfare” was carried out in all the ‘great towns’ of industry (Ibid, p.60). Damer (2000b) provides a detailed examination of how housing management in Glasgow’s Old Town was designed with Foucauldian³⁸ premises “to infiltrate, gain intelligence upon, moralise and discipline the emergent working class” (Ibid, p.2010). The Police Acts of 1862 and 1866, introduced via exceptional powers of governance for the aversion of disease and control and the maintenance of building construction and maintenance (Edwards, 1999, p.85), allowed Glasgow’s landlords, whose rapacious property interests were powerfully represented on the Glasgow Corporation, to “penetrate, comprehend and destabilise the collective organisation of the poor in their slums” (Damer, 1980, p.82). The very widespread practice of ‘ticketing’³⁹ homes by size was a form of disciplinary surveillance that made homes subject to “moral policing” and raids by the “sanitary police” (Ibid, p.79), while also identifying housing as a target for compulsory purchase orders (CPO) on the basis of sanitary conditions, not just structural issues (Edwards, 1999, p.85).

The targeting of houses for CPO would have important implications in the CIT scheme where demolition was widespread and slum landlords, often with explicit ties to the scheme, expropriated large sums of compensation in relation to CPO orders (Kellet, 1969;

³⁸ A wider analysis of such premises could usefully be made here but this is beyond the remit of this chapter.

³⁹ Ticketing entailed a round tinplate disc being placed on the door of small houses, ostensibly for monitoring the level of occupation for public health purposes. In the latter half of the 19th century, 85,500 people in 23,288 homes were subject to ticketing (Damer, 1976, p.20).

Damer, 1989; Edwards, 1999)⁴⁰. As a consequence of this expropriation, land prices rapidly escalated, making it very difficult to provide affordable housing for the working class population. Between railway construction and the CIT scheme, the 1860s saw major urban renewal programmes in the Old Town. In the City of Glasgow Union Railway Act of 1864, large areas of slum housing were demolished when railway lines were driven through the Gallowgate and Saltmarket (Edwards, 1999; Damer, 1990). Investment in Glasgow's railway construction corresponds with the pattern of surplus absorption that Harvey (1985, 2008, 2010) identified in Haussmann's Paris following the rapid growth of available investment capital in the 1850s (see, Kellet, 1969; Damer, 1989). Most of the Lord Provosts between 1840 and 1870 had business interests in Glasgow railway companies, and profiteering was greatly enhanced by the CIT scheme's exemption from normal planning and development controls (Edwards, 1999). Such practices of state exceptionality remain an abiding feature of contemporary neoliberal urban projects in Glasgow, as I will show in Chapter 7. Moreover, in the original plans for the CIT scheme, there was provision for streets promoting East-West cross-city communication, but with land sold for railway-related development a barrier was created between the industrialised east and the commercial west end (Edwards, 1999, p.92), exacerbating negative consequences for the long-term development of the East End, which I will explore in Chapter 7.

In 1866, a delegation of Lord Provosts and the city's Health Inspector visited Paris to view Haussmann's integrated model of sewer and water systems, street improvement and urban property development (Edwards, 1999). Following closely the model of Haussmann as the self-described "demolition artist" (Benjamin, 1999b, p.12), the Trust undertook the largest slum clearance in Britain at the time (Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990; Damer, 1990). The demolished area was replaced by a gridded street-based plan whose benefits included slum removal, the creation of light, space, ventilation, viewpoints, service channels for water and sewerage systems, and rationalised commercial sites (Edwards, 1999, pp.87-88). Yet there were "few tangible benefits for the poor" (Damer, 1990, p.81). Between the CIT scheme (50,000) and railway clearances (20,000), a total of 70,000 people were made homeless, yet there was no mandatory provision for the CIT scheme to accept the social responsibilities involved with reference to rehousing (Ibid, p.94). While the CIT was empowered to build working class housing (Damer, 1976), the tenements constructed were

⁴⁰ Forms of railway infrastructure related expropriation were widespread in Haussmann's Paris (Benjamin, 1999b; Harvey, 2006) and Victorian Britain (Kellet, 1969) and they remain central today. In Chapter 7, I will show how similar expropriations occurred during the construction of the M74 motorway in Glasgow.

“rarely for the working classes, and certainly not for the type of people displaced twenty years earlier” (Edwards, 1999, p.101).

Housing was financially prohibitive and typically went to the best paid workers as part of their ‘social wage’ for political conformity (Damer, 1989), thus inaugurating a hierarchical allocation policy that would re-commence with Labour Party housing policy in the inter-war years (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990, 2000b; Horsey, 1990). Following Haussmann’s model, this outcome was predictable. The CIT programme paralleled the link between public health discourse and commercial expediency characteristic of Haussmann’s Paris (Edwards, 1999), transforming land from use value to exchange value whatever the social consequence. As Engels (1942 [1872]) famously argued, the bourgeoisie traditionally ‘solves’ the housing problem by ‘the method called Haussmann’, which continually reproduces it anew by *merely shifting it elsewhere*:

By ‘Haussmann’ I mean the practice which has now become general of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big towns, and particularly in those which are centrally situated [...]. No matter how different the reasons may be, the result is everywhere the same: the scandalous alleys and lanes disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-praise from the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success, but they appear again immediately somewhere else and often in the immediate neighbourhood (Ibid, pp.74-75).

The CIT scheme exemplified this process. Mass displacement to the East End of the city, and Cowcaddens in the north, only exacerbated existing slum conditions while generating new slums afresh. The fundamental import of the CIT scheme for this thesis is that it established a proto-modern precedent for urban renewal and housing management (Edwards, 1999; Damer, 2000b), which foreshadows the ‘neo-Haussmannisation’ (Merrifield, 2014) of 20th century contemporary urban restructuring in Glasgow. Gibb (1983) argues that these early forms of municipal housing management were forced on the Glasgow Corporation by the economic downturns of the late-19th century. Likewise, I argue that economic decline and working class struggle in the 20th century made the management of social reproduction a necessary and characteristic response for much of the 20th century from the point of view of state and capital. However, such urban restructuring generated an immanent response: exacerbated by CIT displacement, worsening housing conditions, and continuing population pressures, the new spatial composition would form a major, if often under-acknowledged, spatial contradiction in the 20th century, as I will show throughout this chapter (Damer, 1980, 1989; McLean, 1983; Melling, 1983;

Johnstone, 2000). This contradiction was exemplified in the 1915 Clydeside Rent Strikes, to which I will now turn.

5.2. The Rent Strikes of 1915: ‘A Mass Concern with the Facts of Everyday Life’

As Brotherstone (1992) observes, the lessons of Red Clydeside may have been obscured by ideological interpretations and “concealed assumptions” in the past (Ibid, p.74). However, through spatial composition analysis, I aim to show the ongoing relevance of the 1915 Rent Strikes by situating them within wider concerns over social reproduction; concerns which have often been obscured by the theoretical separation of productive and reproductive spheres (cf. Chapter 3; Griffin, 2015). Before proceeding, some context is required. The First World War generated a massive population influx to work in the Glasgow munitions factories, exacerbating an already acute housing crisis. By 1914, the city had the highest population densities in Britain, with “colossal” profits being extracted from slum housing by rentiers in near monopoly conditions (Damer, 1980, p.81; Melling, 1983). Even at the end of the 19th century it was self-evident to tenants that private enterprise could not or would not solve the housing problem, and agitation became widespread in Glasgow and Britain more generally (Damer, 1980; Swenarton, 1981; Glynn, 2009; Malpass, 2005).

Following the formal constitution of local and national tenant organisations from the 1890s, municipalisation of housing became a primary objective (Damer, 1980). By 1898, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) had ten members on Glasgow Town Council, while tenant grievances were expressed on a range of issues throughout the 1910s, leading to widespread rate refusal, which compelled the state to pass the House Letting and Rating Act in 1911. In the same year, the Glasgow Labour Party was founded, with housing a “central plank” of their activity (Ibid, p.90). In 1913, the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), with John MacLean prominent, formed the Scottish Federation of Tenants Associations following agitation over rent increases. The Glasgow Trades’ Council was also very active, and most importantly, the Glasgow Women’s Housing Association (GWhA) was established in 1914 through the ILP Housing committee and the Glasgow Women’s Labour Party (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Smyth, 1992). The composition of the movement was very diverse, with women leading on the ground and the ILP performing an important ‘networking’ or co-ordinating function (Brotherstone, 1992).

During the Rent Strikes, the question of social reproduction was understood for the first time as a major political concern (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983), with the rents movement becoming part of a broader class contest characterised by “a mass concern with the facts of everyday life” (Melling, 1983, p.114). Prevailing economic conditions exacerbated a cost of living crisis: between 1903 and 1910 two sharp economic recessions led to stagnating wages and rising prices (Glasgow Labour History Workshop, 1992). By 1917, the Commissioners on Industrial Unrest found that the cost of living question “overshadows and aggravates all the other causes of unrest”, with housing costs central to discontent (Cited, Melling, 1983, p.113; Damer, 1980). The key events in the Rent Strike have been discussed in depth elsewhere (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983; Smyth, 1992); I will provide here only a brief summary. The harassment and eviction of women and children while male soldiers were at war was a central rallying point for the rents movement as tenants and the labour movement associated high rents with ‘unpatriotic’ wartime profiteering (it was considered morally repugnant to evict families while men served at war). The eviction of serving soldiers’ families in Govan (April, 1915) and Shettleston (June, 1915) was thus strategically capitalised on by the rents movement to generate a popular ‘patriotic’ uproar that served as great propaganda for the movement (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Glynn, 2009). Factory and shipyard gate meetings and mass public meetings by Marxist revolutionaries such as John McLean incited workers and the public to direct action; more reformist public meetings were held throughout the city by the official Labour movement, which aimed for parliamentary reform through petitions and deputations to the City Chambers. Notably, the rents movement was marked by its heterogeneous fluidity and there was much overlap between these different strategies (Damer, 1980).

A celebrated incident occurred in Glasgow’s own ‘Hot Autumn’ in October 1915 when a group of women attacked a factor’s clerk with peasemeal, flour and whiting and chased him from the street after an eviction attempt in Govan. By November 1915, 20,000-25,000 people were on Rent Strike, including five Labour councillors (Damer, 1980, 1990; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983; Smyth, 1992). According to one account, rent strikes occurred in Govan, Partick, Parkhead, Pollokshaws, Pollok, Cowcaddens, Kelvingrove, Ibrox, Govanhill, St Rollox, Townhead, Springburn, Maryhill, Fairfield, Blackfriars (Gorbals) and Woodside (Damer, 1980, p.93), indicating the mass character of the movement and suggesting that rent was seen as a *general problematic* rather than a secondary concern in this period. Following a massive women-led demonstration on St. Enoch Square in October 1915, the decisive flashpoint came when eighteen rent striking

munitions workers were put to trial on November 17th at the Small Debts Court (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Foster, 1990). Thousands of men and women marched to the court, with a demonstration of 10,000 to 15,000 workers and tenants demanding a war time rent freeze and that all defendants be released *on threat of general strike*. The next day it was formally announced that a rent restriction bill would be passed in Parliament. On November 28th, the Rents and Mortgage Interest (War Restrictions) Bill was introduced at the House of Commons, receiving Royal Assent and becoming law on December 25th, 1915 (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Smyth, 1992). Before examining the legacy of this political victory for tenants, I will first interrogate the spatial composition of the Rent Strike struggles.

5.2.1. Spatial Composition in the Rent Strikes

The Rent Strikes were played out in an exceptional context of labour unrest during an intense period of wartime production. The issue of ‘dilution’ (the introduction of labour saving technology, and deskilling through the introduction of unskilled male and female workers in the workplace) was a central flashpoint. Dilution, which is just another name for decomposition, threatened craft hierarchies and wage levels, and was undoubtedly sectional in that it set trade against trade, skilled against unskilled, and male against female (McLean, 1983; Damer, 1990; Smyth, 1992). Yet the dilution issue helped to create a highly volatile context that threatened state management of both the workplace and the domestic sphere, contributing significantly to wider unrest around the rent issue. While it may be true that there was never a revolutionary threat in Glasgow, the supposed ‘Petrograd of the West’ (McLean, 1983), evidence from official government reports clearly indicate a deep concern over industrial unrest and the stoppage of wartime production (Foster, 1990; Swenarton, 1981; Glynn, 2009). Indeed, the threat of a general strike notice by the Govan Trades Council over increased rents, involving up to 30,000 workers, was undoubtedly one major reason why legislation over rent restrictions was hastily enacted (Foster, 1990).

However, it is important not to identify autonomous working class struggle with ‘official’ labour organisations (Midnight Notes, 1992), and Smyth (1992) cautions against subsuming the women-led direct action of tenants under ‘the forward march of labour’, as other commentators have done to varying degrees (McLean, 1983; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983). There is no *necessary* relation between industrial threat and rent concessions. While the dilution issue contributed to decomposition in the workplace from the point of view of skilled craft workers, even the liberal revisionist historian Iain McLean (1983) recognises

that the Rent Strikes were a locus of a political *recomposition*, uniting “male with female, skilled with unskilled, and not least Catholic with Protestant” (Ibid, p.xx; see also, Castells, 1983; Damer, 1980, 1990; Foster, 1990; Smyth, 1992). Because men were abroad at war, women were able to experience collective organised direct action in the production process, often for the first time, and this experience was “readily transferred” back to the community and reproductive sphere (Foster, 1990, p.41). Women-led mass resistance to rent rises and landlordism possessed its own autonomous “dynamic and significance” (Melling, 1983, p.114): it was women who first pushed for the rent strikes, and women who forced the housing issue on the ground, even if strong support from other organisations was crucial (Damer, 1980, 1990; Melling, 1983; Brotherstone, 1992; Smyth, 1992).

In wartime, even more so than usual, the defence of the home against landlordism and the task of domestic reproduction fell on women. The vast majority of rent strikers were working-class ‘housewives’ whose action was based on their everyday experience of tenement life (Damer, 1980, 1990; Smyth, 1992). Women-led struggles “forced the issue” in what may well have been “the most successful example of direct action ever undertaken by the Scottish working class” (Smyth, 1992, p.174). In part, this was because the tenement construction of much of Glasgow meant that any defence of the home was “almost bound to become a collective act”: each flat was part of a communal ‘stair’ or ‘close’ with the sharing of communal features, such as wash houses and toilets, making contact and communication a regular occurrence (Ibid, p.180). Much of the organisation for the Rent Strikes was undertaken in “close committees” - ‘two women for each close’ (Melling, 1983, p.67) - and “kitchen meetings”, with homes secured by women-led mass pickets and the forcible expulsion of factors where necessary (Smyth, 1992, p.180). The role of the Glasgow Women’s Housing Association (GWHA) was decisive (Damer, 1980; Smyth, 1992). They organised large-scale public meetings and demonstrations, many of which were aimed at obtaining solidarity from the industrial workplace. Yet the GWHA was “an autonomous women’s body both in leadership and membership”, whose regular public meetings were held on weekday afternoons at 3pm, indicating clearly that day-to-day organisation was geared towards the needs of housewives and not those in work (Smyth, 1992, p.183).

Most commentators agree that the Rent Strikes focused on collective consumption and social reproduction (Damer, 1980, 2000; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983; Smyth, 1992). Yet Castells (1983) saw the housing issue, and social reproduction more generally, as a

“secondary contradiction” behind the primary contradiction of workplace struggle (Ibid, p.36). This line seems to follow directly from Engels’s (1942 [1872]) polemic in *The Housing Question*, where he categorically states that there can be no solution to the housing problem while the capitalist mode of production continues to exist. I have challenged that ‘concealed assumption’ on the basis that the rentier economy has once again become central to capitalist accumulation strategies in ways that neither Marx nor Engels could have envisaged (cf. Chapter 2). While this argument may not have been so clear at a theoretical level in 1915 (even now it is contested), with the benefit of hindsight we can now make stronger links in a continuum of struggles between the Rent Strikes and contemporary urban contestation, challenging the diagnosis of Castells.

Castells also argued that the Rent Strikes did not challenge the dominant faction of the capitalist class, but Damer (2000a) has responded to this claim by arguing that the Rent Strikes must be theorised as a critique of a pervasive social totality of capitalist relations “in whatever form it appears” (Ibid, p.71). Tenants in the Rent Strikes fought the dominant faction in their lives, the rentier faction of capital, from a situated and embodied position through direct action. It is for this reason that the Rent Strikes are so important for our present understanding, Smyth (1992) argues, precisely because of women’s leading role, and precisely because it was in the domestic sphere that women faced capital in the form of the landlord, the factor and the sheriff officer (cf. Chapter 3). The Rent Strikes can best be seen, I argue, as a mass movement that definitively opened up the social reproduction process as a central concern for everyday political struggle. This need not deny the importance of the production process, but we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, wage gains in the workplace can easily be recuperated at the level of consumption through inflationary pricing, meaning that struggles across the entire ‘social factory’ are essential. It is notable that the areas hit hardest by escalating rent levels in the Rent Strike period were Partick and Govan, where wages were highest because of the shipbuilding and wartime munitions industries (Damer, 1980; Melling, 1983; Castells, 1983). It is also notable also, that these were the central sites of struggle in 1915.

Few historical events, as Castells (1983) observes, exhibit such a close link between urban struggle and state intervention as the 1915 Rent Strikes. Besides relieving an immediate burden for tenants, the 1915 Rent Restrictions Act made the revival of private enterprise and speculative building unprofitable for decades, thus *forcing* the issue of state housing provision: “...without the 1915 Rent Strike in Glasgow, there would have been no 1915 Rents and Mortgage Restrictions Act, and without the 1915 Act there would have been no

1919 Housing and Town Planning Act” (Damer, 1980, p.103). The “immediate historical factor” for national housing measures was undoubtedly the Rent Strikes, with the establishment of the 1919 Act making state provision of housing a right, “for the first time in history” (Castells, 1983, p.27). This legacy would be extended when John Wheatley, the former ILP Clydesider, introduced the 1924 Housing (Financial Provisions) Act as Minister for Health. The ‘Wheatley Act’ increased subsidies for the construction of high-quality, low-density council housing on a large-scale for the first time in Britain (McLean, 1983; Melling, 1983). While these measures were hardly revolutionary in terms of superseding the state-form or value-form, they led to the large-scale provision of council homes for tenants across the UK for the first time, and, alongside continuing tenant struggles, helped to shield tenants from the worst excesses of private enterprise in housing until the 1980 Housing Act (Damer, 1980, 2000a, 2000b). The Rent Strikes also made the issues of housing and social reproduction central political issues for decades in Glasgow, arguably right up until the present. However, this continuum has received remarkably little attention given its obvious importance to Glasgow citizens (though see, Damer, 1980, 1989, 2000a, 2000b; Mooney, 1988; Johnstone, 1992). The following sections aim to rectify this omission.

5.3. Industrial Decomposition and the City of Social Reproduction in the Inter-War Years

While the 1915 Rent Strikes forced substantial housing reform, the return of mass unemployment in the 1920s, after a short post-war boom, led to dramatic decomposition on Clydeside (Castells, 1983; Damer, 2000b; Smyth, 1992). The city’s (highly uneven) “Victorian summer” of industrial expansion in the 19th century (Checkland, 1976), was followed by severe industrial contraction bequeathing a devastating industrial and environmental legacy (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Keating, 1988; Pacione, 1995). Checkland’s (1976) characterisation of Glasgow’s heavy industry as a poisonous ‘Upas Tree’ smothering diversity through over-dependence on core sectors is apposite: an ossifying “industrial monoculture” had lain behind an “Imperial economy” whose ageing infrastructure was largely ignored by industrial leaders (Gibb, 1983, p.145), leaving the city subject to “creeping obsolescence on a massive scale” (Checkland, 1976, p.47). World War One (1914-1918) extended the illusion of a soundly based regional economy, but by the early 1920s industry was in serious decline, and by the 1930s the world trade upon which Glasgow was inextricably dependent had virtually collapsed.

The collapse of city, regional or national economies are often put down rather fatalistically to ‘globalisation’. Yet such narratives often obscure political and social responsibility by pointing to the seemingly inexorable logic of competition and global economic cycles (Harvey, 1995; Cox and Mair, 1988; Cox, 1993). It is worth noting here that Glasgow’s industrial expansion was not characterised by forward thinking or long-term sustainability. Instead, there was a distinct absence of regulatory intervention, with industrial employers enjoying “low taxation, a virtually free choice of industrial location, minimal restraints on pollution, and vast areas over which the Factory Acts or other legislation had no control” (Checkland, 1976, p.15). Industrial management was geared towards immediate surplus value extraction, rather than the long-term welfare of the workforce and regional stability (Checkland, 1976, Foster and Woolfson, 1986; Damer, 1990), and there was “little or no serious effort” made to learn from previous failures by industrial managers before or during the downturn (Checkland, 1976, p.49). Similarly hubristic tales could be told of other industrial regions, including South Wales (Cooke, 1983) and the North-East of England (Hudson, 1989). Areas such as the English Midlands diversified more successfully, Knox (1999) observes, but Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, remained reliant on a declining industrial base with no clear strategy to modernise. The Second World War, like the First, helped to mop up labour surpluses but this temporary boom only recapitulated short-term production strategies and defensive cartelisation while debilitating tentative moves towards diversification (Checkland, 1976; Keating, 1988; Boyle, 1990). Aligned with the global recession, the results were drastic: throughout the inter-war years, unemployment of the labour force in the city averaged 20% (Pacione, 1995), with a peak of 30% in 1930 (Boyle, 1990).

In this context, the Labour Party took charge of Glasgow in 1933, inaugurating a virtually unbroken line of Labour governance until the 2015 elections⁴¹. The radicalism of the early Labour Party in Scotland, always somewhat tenuous, was largely dissipated by governmental responsibility in the depression years. With little scope for intervention in industry, and with severe urban problems to manage, ameliorating activity was, in some ways understandably, geared towards social reproduction while industry was “largely left to generate its own salvation” (Gibb, 1983, p.147). The Labour Party was revealed as an authoritarian and statist organisation with “a reliance on the bureaucrat and the planner”

⁴¹ What is now known as Glasgow City Council was led by Progressive Leaders from 1968 to 1971, and a Conservative leader from 1977 to 1979. However, only in one year since 1933, 1969-1970, did a Party other than the Labour Party (the Progressives) have overall control in the city. The City Council was known as the Corporation of the City of Glasgow from 1895 to 1975, the City of Glasgow District Council between 1975 and 1996, and Glasgow City Council from 1996 until the present.

rather than on working people (Knox, 1999, p.187-188). Here we see the first intimations of ‘the planned city’ in Glasgow (Gibb, 1983) that would reach its zenith in the post-war era, just as it did nation-wide. But reforms at the level of housing and social reproduction did not arise in a political vacuum. Post-First World War financing of public housing was designed, to quote a Parliamentary Secretary, as an “insurance against Bolshevism and revolution” (Swenarton, 1981, p.94), and to absorb the labour of five million militarily trained demobilised workers, in case they put that training to revolutionary use (Damer, 1980; Foster, 1990; Glynn, 2009). State intervention in housing, then, directly corresponds to Negri’s (2003 [1967]) diagnostic of Keynesian state intervention as a means of mediating class conflict in the post-1929 era. However, the Rent Strikes, and the direct action that followed them, can be seen as forcing a state response at the level of social reproduction and *spatial composition*, rather than through industrial relations.

It is crucial to recognise today that spatial reform in the early-20th century was dependent on the sustained threat of working-class organisation and antagonism. The ILP continued to push for municipal housing for all workers, skilled or unskilled, throughout the 1920s (Horsey, 1990), and the under-acknowledged Clydebank Rent Strikes (1920-1927) formed a sustained campaign involving thousands⁴² against rent increases and for municipal housing (Damer, 2000a). The Clydebank campaign innovatively married direct action and legal activity with the immediate effect of no rent increases in Clydebank between 1920 and 1927. Additionally, in the long-term, the ILP councillors who fought the campaign were elected to Parliament, where they helped to formalise housing reform through the 1924 ‘Wheatley Act’. Without these Rent Strikes, Damer contends, “rent control would have been removed by the mid-1920s” (Ibid, p.94). With the private sector under rent control, the basis of the welfare state was established in the inter-war years, even if it fell well short of resolving the scale of the housing crisis in Glasgow (Damer, 1980; Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990).

As Colin Ward (1989) observes, the survival of modern cities is deeply dependent on regulation, spending and services, and in the inter-war years Glasgow Corporation was fully absorbed in a programme of “maintaining social coherence and minimising anti-social behaviour” (Checkland, 1976, p.92; Damer, 2000b). In a period when housing “absolutely dominated municipal politics” (Damer, 1990, p.159), Glasgow Corporation’s power-laden, three-tiered classification system for managing housing estates exemplified

⁴² *The Times* reported 12,000 in 1924, but this probably exaggerated the scale of unrest for politically conservative purposes (Damer, 2000a).

the “dialectic between control and conciliation” inherited from Glasgow’s Victorian bourgeoisie (Damer, 1976, p.30). Housing management policies were based on an ordered stratification of housing allocation within the working-class: (1) ‘Ordinary’ schemes, a misnomer for schemes allocated to white collar workers, ‘labour aristocrats’ and professionals; (2) ‘Intermediate’ schemes, for skilled and semi-skilled blue collar manual workers; (3) and ‘Slum Clearance’ schemes, for unskilled workers and the ‘disreputable poor’ (Ibid, p.169). Disciplinary control was also reinforced by the City Improvements Department (CID), whose inspectors, or factors, were responsible for ensuring timely rental payments and cleanliness and health (Damer, 2000b). This was combined with efforts to ensure the reproduction of the workforce through a gendered division of labour, which involved the bifurcation of compliant male industrial workers and female domestic workers (Ibid). As Damer argues, similar forms of housing management by the Labour Party were also evident in spatial planning policies in the post-war years (Damer, 2000b). While such policies were part of a broadly progressive social democratic response to urban crisis in the city, the considerations here should make us wary of celebrating post-war urban planning as an exemplar of welfare statism or identifying class struggle only with the official organisations that claim to represent class interests.

5.4. ‘Middling Modernism’: Post-War Glasgow and the Production of Abstract Space

The Second World War gave a temporary boost to industry, but manufacturing declined rapidly in the late 1950s as other European countries redeveloped capacity. In a now familiar pattern, industrial managers in Glasgow failed to innovate in management structure, withdrew investment from research and technological development, and invested abroad rather than locally (Checkland, 1976; Gibb, 1983; Keating, 1988; Damer, 1990). The resulting capital flight left a legacy of over-specialised, inflexible and hierarchical businesses whose demise the war “merely postponed” (Damer, 1990, p.185). Where industrial diversification *did* occur in the post-war period, it was largely in peripheral areas and the New Towns through the decentralising Abercrombie Plan (Gibb, 1983). Glasgow’s failure to attract industry in the new spatial distribution of industry was down to several factors: much of the space in the city was reserved for housing to replace demolished tenements; costs associated with the remediation of old industrial land; no necessary linkage between new industry and old; new firms attached greater importance to motorway access; overspill policies resulted in the emigration of skilled labour to the suburbs and New Towns (Pacione, 1995). The obsolescence of industrial fixed capital infrastructure in

Glasgow was graphically demonstrated on the River Clyde by the closure and decline of yards, docks and warehouses, by growing unemployment queues from the 1960s onwards, and by widespread urban dereliction and devalorisation.

The Second World War prevented new construction of housing, exacerbating an already potent housing crisis (Pacione, 1995; Horsey, 1990; Fyfe, 1996). The 1951 census revealed that Glasgow was “in a class of its own” as far as bad and overcrowded housing in Britain was concerned (Damer, 1990, p.187). This exceptional situation meant that council housing continued to dominate municipal politics just as it had done since the 1910s (Damer, 1990), necessitating “drastic remedies” through municipal intervention (Gibb, 1983, p.164). As Boyle and Hughes (1994) argue, the central political concern of the local state from 1933 to 1970 was not industry but housing and social reproduction. This concern was *compelled* by autonomous working class organisation, led by workers and tenants, and remaining largely outside the control of the unions (McShane, 1947, 1978; Damer, 1980, 1990, 2000a; Donaldson, 1990; Johnstone, 1992, 2000), with collective housing struggles remaining a dominant feature of the post-war era (Johnstone, 2000). In the immediate post-war period (1946), a squatter movement involving up to 1,500 families throughout the city kept the provision of municipal housing on the political agenda (Ibid), while the little-known Merrylee Housing Campaign (1951-1952) in the Southside of Glasgow played a fundamental role in retaining the principle of state-funded housing (Ibid; Donaldson, 1990).

The issue at Merrylee was the proposed sell-off of good quality municipal homes by the Progressive Party in an area valued as one of the best residential districts in the city. The houses were deemed by the Progressive Party to have too much quality for working class residents, and there was clear potential for closing a ‘rent-gap’, as discussed in Chapter 2, if the houses could be sold off. In 1951, upwards of 5,000 workers and unemployed people from building sites, factories, tenants associations, Labour Party Branches, Communist Party branches and the Trades Council, responded by going on strike for half a day and marching to George Square in the city centre (Donaldson, 1990; Johnstone, 2000). This triggered a campaign that became a Scottish-wide issue in 1952, finally forcing the Labour Party to campaign on ‘No Sale of Houses at Merrylee’ in municipal elections dominated by the issue. Crucially, the proposed sell-off was considered a threat to the very principle of state housing provision that could easily spread if successful. However, by means of direct action politics, the Merrylee estate was retained as municipal housing, “and it would be another thirty years before a serious proposal to sell-off council housing was heard again”

(Johnstone, 2000, p.153). Such examples challenge a broader narrative that housing policy in the post-war years was developed as an administrative and legislative process separate from autonomous political struggle (Johnstone, 1992, 2000). Later in this section I will discuss how other post-war housing struggles contributed to the new spatial composition in Glasgow.

Following the 1940 Barlow Report, which argued that planned decentralisation was an urgent necessity for British cities, the Scottish Office established three regional planning committees in 1943. Sir Patrick Abercrombie⁴³ was commissioned to devise a plan for the Clyde Valley region, with the full report published in 1949 as the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946* (CVRP) (Abercrombie and Matthew, 1949). Meanwhile, Glasgow Corporation commissioned Robert Bruce, the City Engineer, to draw up a rival plan in 1945, the *First Planning Report to the Highways and Planning Committee of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow*, or the ‘Bruce Plan’ (Bruce, 1947). In contrast to the Abercrombie Plan, the Bruce Plan aimed to retain the population in the urban conurbation, retain the city’s rate income and economic base, and preserve a stature and scale befitting the ‘Second City of Empire’ (Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990). In the end, the Abercrombie overspill plan guided much of Glasgow’s post-war transformation, with New Towns and expanded New Towns designated in East Kilbride, Glenrothes, Livingston, Irvine and Cumbernauld between 1947 and 1966.

Notably, both plans, and especially the Bruce Plan, are remarkably bereft of detail on industry, confirming the priority given to social reproduction and urban management in this period. Bruce argued that the problem was not size but “size without system” (Bruce, 1947, p.36) and that the scope for redevelopment was enormous precisely because of “the extent to which unplanned development has taken place” (Ibid, p.64). A new road network was conceived as central to this system, comprising a ‘rational hierarchy’ of arterial, sub-arterial, and local roads, with two concentric ring roads for the rapid circulation of people and commodities (Fyfe, 1996). Here, we can imagine Glasgow as “the city-as-fixed-capital” or a ‘transmission belt’ in the manner of Hiberseimer or Archizoom (Aureli, 2013b, p.159). Such planning, Bruce argued, would provide “a new standard of measure” for the city based on time rather than distance (cited, Ibid, p.391), an approach typifying the notion of space-time compression as an ‘active moment’ in the dynamics of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2006 [1982]). If old industrial Glasgow was symbolised by

⁴³ Notably, Abercrombie also created the County of London Plan (1943) and the Greater London Plan (1944), also commonly referred to as the *Abercrombie Plan*.

decaying fixed capital infrastructure on the River Clyde, the M8 infrastructure represented a new ‘spatial fix’ based on the *dispersal* of employment regionally and the verification of labour decomposition in the city. Bruce’s road plans were finally partially incorporated in the construction of the M8 motorway through the 1966 Highway Plan (Glasgow Corporation, 1966), which infamously *bisected* the city rather than bypassing it, laying waste to around 7,000 houses (Checkland, 1976). The motorway also severed the north of the city from the centre, blighting adjacent neighbourhoods along the route just as it cleared a passage for comprehensive redevelopment (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Fyfe, 1996). This process of creative destruction was not without contestation. Campaigns in the Gorbals over the disruption of working class communities, and in the West End over environmental and conservation concerns, prevented further road-building extensions, leading to a re-appraisal of the city’s road plans in the mid 1970s (Pacione, 1995)⁴⁴.

5.4.1. Abstract Space and the Housing Question

In a total planning project encapsulating Lefebvre’s conception of abstract space, and his “homogenization-fragmentation-hierarchy” triad (Lefebvre, 2003a, p.210), Bruce envisaged demolishing Glasgow’s inner core in its entirety and replacing it with a grid structure of rigid geometry and mono-functionality (Fyfe, 1996). The hierarchical aspect of this triad is clearly expressed in Bruce’s housing plans where 172,000 houses - 58% of the city’s housing stock - were identified as overcrowded and unfit for human habitation. In an exemplary process of ‘neo-Haussmannisation’ (Merrifield, 2014), these houses were to be demolished, dispersing 500,000 residents to large garden suburbs on the city’s periphery, while the inner-city core would be reserved for those who could afford higher rental payments in the planned civic building zone (Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990). Abercrombie’s Plan, meanwhile, proposed decanting 550,000 people from a population of 1,127,948, meaning that both plans intended the removal of half a million people from the inner city. While the Bruce Plan envisaged housing everyone within the city’s boundaries, the Abercrombie Plan argued for overspill through the construction of four new towns, allowing for the retention of the green belt around Glasgow (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Fyfe, 1996). Checkland (1976) neatly encapsulates the difference between the proposals as “going up” (high-rises, the Bruce Report) or “going out” (overspill, CVRP) (Ibid, p.74).

⁴⁴ Bruce’s plan for the inner-ring road has now been completed after a fashion by the construction of the M74 motorway extension in 2011 and the East End Regeneration Route (EERR) in 2013. The M74 was rigorously disputed (JAM74, 2005; Gray, 2008), as was the EERR, to a lesser extent. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the M74 motorway in relation to the Commonwealth Games 2014 and Clyde Gateway regeneration projects. These campaigns, along with resistance to the M77 (Routledge, 1997), form a spatially alert continuum of struggles over circulation processes in Glasgow that awaits fuller exploration.

The combined elements of these master plans, “unleashed a period of creative destruction” (Fyfe, 1996, p.387) that reached a peak in the 1957 Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) scheme. This scheme identified 29 areas in the inner city for wholesale demolition and renewal, covering one-twelfth of the city’s total area and targeting 97,000 houses for demolition at a rate of 4,500 per annum until 1980 (Gibb, 1983, p.169). By 1975, the city had reached 95,000 demolitions, contributing to massive population decline and enormous social costs (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Pacione, 1995). Planning blight, caused by a failure to redevelop after demolition and dispersal, left a legacy of urban devalorisation which to this day forms the basis of urban revalorisation and gentrification strategies (see Chapters 6 and 7). The New Town solution was significantly more costly than envisaged, and so the City of Glasgow was conceded piecemeal sites on the Green Belt. In lieu of an autonomous land strategy, these sites were eagerly developed by proponents of the ‘self-contained city’ within the Corporation into four large peripheral schemes - Pollock, Castlemilk, Drumchapel and Easterhouse - which were diametrically opposed to the garden city cottage-building programmes envisaged by the CVRP (Horsey, 1990). The schemes were soon infamous for their poor construction and environment, lack of services and amenities, spatial disconnection, and minimal work provision resulting in unemployment and alienation for large swathes of the population (Gibb, 1983; Horsey, 1990; Pacione, 1995; Johnstone, 1992; Mooney, 1988). Damer (1990) has characterised the schemes as “abominations of desolation” (Ibid, p.190). This severe assessment may seem extreme, yet it was undoubtedly shared by many residents⁴⁵.

The *1957 Report on the Clearance of Slum Houses, Redevelopment and Overspill* (Corporation of Glasgow, 1957) directed all new housing to overspill, apart from the CDAs which were under strict planning control. However, to meet immediate emergency housing demands that could not be achieved within the framework of the CDAs, the Housing Committee proposed a high-rise construction drive following a 1959 re-zoning ordinance which allowed for high-density development on a series of haphazard sites throughout Glasgow: “pockets of waste ground, corners of golf courses, redeveloped pre-fab sites” (Horsey, 1990, p.45). This refutation of contemporary planning orthodoxy was largely inspired by David Gibson, the Convener of the Housing Committee from 1961 to 1964. For Gibson, housing was “*the* local-political issue” and he concentrated on it with a fierce belief in the ‘self-contained city’ and an implacable opposition to overspill plans

⁴⁵ The conditions experienced ‘living on the periphery’ (Mooney, 1988) are savagely dissected by members of the local population in two excellent films about Easterhouse and Drumchapel respectively: *Whose Town is it Anyway? Easterhouse People and Power* (30 mins), Dir. Tony Freeth, 1984, Channel Four; and *Drumchapel: The Frustration Game* (21 mins), Dir. De-Classified Elements, 1989.

(Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994, p.221). Gibson was greatly aided by Lewis Cross, a senior engineer in the Architecture and Planning Department, who resolved problems of land assembly and virtually eliminated the planning profession by dealing directly with contractors in “package-deal” competitions that typically precluded any other solution than 100% high-rise construction (Ibid, pp.224-228).

From 1958 onwards, Gibson and Cross unleashed “the most concentrated multi-story building drive experienced by any British city” (Ibid, p.221). With an “extreme concern” for maximum production and output (Ibid, p.225), high-rise flats made up nearly 75% of completions between 1961 and 1968 (Horsey, 1990), surely exceeding even the aims of the city’s Housing Department target in the late-1940s and early-1950s: “The Maximum Number of Houses in the Shortest Possible Time” (Damer, 1990, p.189). Yet this was far from the ‘militant modernism’ that Owen Hatherley (2009) has defended against a conservative backlash. In Glasgow, the housing ‘numbers game’, tempered by economic and political constraints, emphasised quantity over quality, leaving the city with a “middling modernism” that was already running into severe problems by the mid-1960s (Fyfe, 1996, p.395). The concern for quantity over quality led to well-documented problems including broken lifts, damp, crime, alienating environments and spatial dislocation from the rest of the city. Doubts over the social and economic merits of high-rise construction, and a reduction in multi-story subsidy from 1968, led to a retreat in high-rise construction by the mid-1970s. Around the same time, recognition of the social costs and inflexibility of the CDA programme led to its termination (Pacione, 1995).

5.4.2. The New Spatial Composition in Glasgow

The scale of intervention in ‘the planned city’ created an entirely new spatial composition that has received remarkably little sustained attention in terms of an immanent spatial politics. Yet, as Johnstone (2000) shows, the collective demands of the working class were more decisive in housing policy than is typically acknowledged. The importance of urban management in the post-war era is highlighted by the fact that neither the Bruce nor Abercrombie Plans “said anything systematic” about economic and industrial regeneration in Glasgow itself (Damer, 1990, p.189). While the region was transformed through post-war planning, inter-war and post-war urban restructuring in the city largely consisted of “desperate public attempts” to mitigate the legacy of industrial decline (Gibb, 1983, p.147). If former industrial areas like Govan, Springburn and Parkhead were “practically company towns” in the late-19th century (Damer, 1990, p.65), by the mid-to-late 20th century Glasgow was a “government town”, increasingly dependent on state planning for basic

social reproduction (Middleton, 1987, p.13). We might then argue, along with Harvey (2012), that when the capitalist form of urbanisation is so inextricably bound up with the reproduction of capitalism, as it clearly has been in Glasgow, then alternative modes of urbanisation must become central to immanent forms of political composition in the city.

While many accounts of Glasgow's socio-spatial development adopt a rather capital-centric view (Checkland, 1976; Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995), some accounts have sought to reveal antagonistic modes of urban struggle in 'the planned city' (Damer, 1990; Fyfe, 1996; Mooney, 1988; Donaldson, 1990; Johnstone, 1992, 2000). Fyfe (1996) draws on Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) to show how numerous Glaswegian poets and writers, through their own spaces of representation, contested post-war representations of space by planners and technocrats. In 1972, 3,000 tenants and trade unionists marched against rent rises following the Conservative government's 1972 Housing Finance Act (Defend Council Housing, 2005), and in the years between 1975 and 1982 a rent strike in the Gorbals extracted multiple gains for tenants despite the absence of union support and the impetus of a city-wide campaign (Bryant, 1982). In an under-valued PhD thesis, Johnstone (1992) uncovers a wide range of "active social agents involved in a collective practice [...] expressed through political action around issues of social reproduction" (Ibid, p.432). Such struggles focused on issues such as quality of environment, housing, amenities; and various forms of self-directed learning, education, recreation and political organisation. Militant tenant action, including rent strikes, took place throughout Glasgow in the post-war years in places like Merrylee, Arden, Maryhill and Castlemilk (Johnstone, 1992, 2000).

Such forms of tenant organisation were *necessarily* developed in a compositional context dominated by the (de)structuring of the labour market and the abstract planning of the Labour-led Corporation of Glasgow, which was seen as part of the problem, not the solution (Johnstone, 1992). By fighting for the services that the Corporation failed to provide, such urban politics formed a "qualitatively new phenomenon" of autonomous spatial politics that was openly antagonistic to the Labour Party (Damer, 1990, p.192). For Johnstone (1992), these urban struggles intimate an image of the future based on continuing struggles over housing and social reproduction. To some extent that thesis has been borne out, but this thesis argues that more theoretical work and empirical investigation is required in order to substantiate such a necessary politics of space. While the Rent Strikes altered the dominance of free market housing provision in Glasgow, forcing the post-war planner state to adopt a managerial approach to council housing, the 1970s and 1980s would begin to see a seminal shift from 'managerialism to

entrepreneurialism’ (Harvey, 1989), or more accurately managerialism *and* entrepreneurialism in Glasgow (Boyle and Hughes, 1994). The next section will provide an overview of this process in Glasgow while discussing its relevance for a contemporary spatial politics.

5.5. From Devalorisation to Revalorisation: Neoliberal Transformation in Urban Glasgow

In the 1970s, urban policy in Glasgow was largely predicated on crisis management, following the decomposition of industry and the drastic effects of post-war urban planning. Soja’s (1996) description of the transition from “crisis-generated restructuring” to “restructuring-generated crisis” in LA (Ibid, p.426) is apposite for Glasgow in this period. The urban restructuring of the ‘Planned City’ significantly transformed urban conditions, yet by 1970 the city still had the worst housing environment in the country (Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995; Damer, 1990). Numerous reports and censuses, encapsulated by a 1971 Department of the Environment Study which characterised Glasgow as “the most deprived city in Britain” (Damer, 1990, p.16), contributed to a ‘shock city’ image that made Glasgow infamous as a city of urban decline (Gibb, 1983; Damer, 1990; Pacione, 1995). It is in this context of exceptional urban devalorisation and uneven socio-spatial development that Glasgow’s submission to neoliberal imperatives in the 1980s should be understood. Urban devalorisation, as shown in Chapter 2, presents the objective conditions for urban restructuring through capital switching into the built environment (Harvey, 1985, 2006 [1982]; Smith, 1982, 1996). To add a new cycle to Soja’s description above, ‘restructuring-generated crisis’ in Glasgow became, in turn in the 1970s and 1980s, the basis for ‘crisis-generated restructuring’ through urban regeneration, conforming to the “locational seesaw” that Smith (1982, p.151) associates with uneven development.

Glasgow’s “famous” neoliberalisation (Boyle *et al*, 2008) can be traced back to Scottish Office plans for regional restructuring beginning in 1971. These plans were followed by regional reports and structure plans compiled by Strathclyde Regional Council, which led to the multi-agency Glasgow East Area Renewal (GEAR) project (1976-1987)⁴⁶ in the East End of Glasgow (Gibb, 1983; Wannop and Leclerc, 1987; Middleton, 1987; Reed, 1999; Damer, 1990). By the mid-1970s, the area was widely seen as “the most striking example of metropolitan decline in the United Kingdom”; an exceptional context deemed to require

⁴⁶ Partners included Strathclyde Regional Council, Glasgow District Council, the Scottish Special Housing Association, Greater Glasgow Health Board, Housing Corporation, Scottish Development Agency and the Manpower Services Commission.

immediate action (Wannop and Leclerc, 1987, p.70). Thus the GEAR project was initiated as one of the first major public-private comprehensive regeneration projects in Europe (Donnison and Middleton, 1987), preceding influential inner-city urban renewal projects such as the London and Merseyside Docklands by fully six years (Wannop and Leclerc, 1987). The role of the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) was crucial, redefining political-economic planning in Glasgow by actively encouraging private sector involvement at the same time as it diminished decision-making capacity in the public sector (Boyle R, 1993; Donnison and Middleton, 1987). I will discuss GEAR in more detail in Chapter 7, but for now it is enough to observe that despite a very limited economic and employment outcome, it became a model for Glasgow's neoliberal urban transformation in the 1980s, but with the residual social objectives of the scheme radically demoted (Boyle, 1989).

5.5.1. Neoliberal Glasgow: Towards a Rentier Economy

Glasgow District Council's "turn towards the market" from the 1970s onwards situates the city as a "leading pioneer" of neoliberal experimentation in Britain (Boyle *et al*, 2008, p.314). After a brief period of Conservative rule in Glasgow between 1977 and 1980, the Glasgow Labour Party, chastened and reconstituted, began to pursue competitive city re-branding and local economic development with alacrity (Paddison, 1993; Boyle, 1989, 1990; Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Mooney, 2004). Michael Kelly, then Lord Provost (1980-1984), was heavily influenced by the New York Department of Commerce's 1977 'I Love New York' campaign (Boyle, 1990; Paddison, 1993). The campaign is known for masking New York's emergence as *the* prototypical city of neoliberal revanchism (Smith, 1996; Harvey, 2007), yet this relation is conveniently elided by Glasgow's urban boosters despite similar revanchist policies in the city (McLeod, 2002; Helms, 2008; Gray, 2010). In 1983, 'Glasgow's Miles Better' became the city's slogan, designed simultaneously to dispel negative images while advertising physical and commercial changes in the city (Boyle, 1989; Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Paddison, 1993). Other key moments in Glasgow's symbolic urban transformation include the 1988 National Garden Festival, the 1990 European City of Culture Year, the 1999 UK City of Architecture and Design, and the creation of numerous iconic buildings for entertainment, retail and leisure. The Commonwealth Games 2014 is only the latest in a long line of events designed to reposition Glasgow favourably in the "spatial division of consumption" (Harvey, 1989, p.9), with the material basis of this urban transformation premised on urban restructuring and an expanding service economy.

In 1984, the Glasgow branch of the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) commissioned an influential report by McKinsey and Company (1984) which recommended promoting a service-based economy assisted by increased support for new commercial developments, external capital and tourism (Boyle, 1989; 1990; Boyle *et al*, 2008). The report recommended that public action should be used to catalyse Glasgow's service sector and that this strategy should be led by a private organisation (Boyle, 1989, p.21). A year later, the SDA launched the influential 'Glasgow Action' group, which became "the first clearly defined public-private partnership in urban Scotland" (Ibid, p.21). Like the 'Miles Better' campaign, Glasgow Action was inspired by the US, but this time by the downtown urban renewals of similar old industrial cities in the 'rust belt' such as Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore and St Louis which had already undergone socially destructive devalorisation/revalorisation cycles (Ibid, pp.24-25). Notably, these emerging 'entrepreneurial' cities typically privileged downtown pro-growth interests while disavowing wider socio-spatial inequality (Molotch, 1976; Leitner, 1990; Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Wilson and Wouters, 2003), and similar patterns were also evident in Glasgow.

Leadership and control of Glasgow Action "was firmly located in the private sector", with membership almost exclusively composed of local business personalities with direct ties to local banks and other property related institutions (Boyle, 1989, p.21). Private initiative was supposed to support community development, but, as Boyle argues, without adequate redistributive strategies this target was always unrealistic: "Profit becomes the goal; the original, much wider, objectives covering the economic and social condition of the city begin to fade" (Ibid, p.24). This contradicts Paddison's (1993) assertion that the tools of marketing employed in the promotion of Glasgow *conflicted* with the "non-economic objectives sought by public bodies" (Ibid, p.341). Rather, the economic objectives of public and private bodies in the partnership were largely symmetrical. As Eric Clark (2014) has recently argued, it is precisely because of Sweden's large public fund of institutionalised commons that it has liberalised faster than any other country in the West over the last two decades. A similar argument could be made about Glasgow's turn towards the market in the 1980s where managerial hegemony was rapidly transformed into *viral* neoliberalism with the Labour-dominated District Council becoming an active state player in urban accumulation strategies (cf. Harvey, 1989; MacLeod, 2002). Boyle *et al* (2008) thus more accurately describe Glasgow District Council's urban policy:

Planning now aligns itself with market forces; instead of regulating and controlling the market, planning seeks to work with the market, accommodating investment and adapting to new developments (Ibid, p.318)

Glasgow's "proto-neoliberalism" in this period (Boyle *et al*, 2008, p.314) represents a radical departure from urban planning policy in the post-war years, with "partnership in practice" really entailing "private sector leadership" and the language and practice of the private entrepreneur, not the public official (Boyle, 1989, p.23). However, while the language may have been entrepreneurial, in practice the funding largely remained public. At the same time, Glasgow District Council retained managerial responsibility in relation to public service delivery (Boyle and Hughes, 1994), and these tendencies should be seen as concordant with well-documented processes of the socialisation of costs and risks and the privatisation of potential benefits (Harvey, 1989; Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002). Notably, Glasgow Action's core interest lay in city-centre property development, including retail schemes, inner-city housing, hotel development, conference centres, and site remediation. Such policies reflect the virtual collapse of manufacturing, and a compositional shift towards the rentier economy in Britain (Turner, 2008; Hudson, 2006a, 2010). There was a "coherent policy framework" of property development in Glasgow, heavily underwritten by the SDA and other government agencies⁴⁷ (Boyle, 1989, p.23), with property development targeting symbolic inner city urban projects rather than the city's numerous underfunded, fragmented and impoverished areas, exacerbating well-documented social polarities in the city (Boyle, 1990; McLay, 1990; Paddison, 1993; Mooney, 2004; Gray and Mooney, 2011). The following section will examine this city centre property strategy in more detail, emphasising in particular the question of urban rent.

5.5.2. Image Reconstruction, Cultural Regeneration and the Art of Monopoly Rent

Devalorisation is pivotal to urban revalorisation strategies (Harvey, 2006 [1982]; Smith, 1982, 2010 [1984]), yet revalorisation is also very much dependent on discursive management and the collective action of the state. A central aim in Glasgow's new urban policy was thus dealing with Glasgow's negative image through boosterist symbolic representations (Damer, 1990; Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Paddison, 1993; Mooney, 2004; Garcia, 2004b; 2005), with 'cultural regeneration', in particular, central to the city's neoliberal transformation in the 1980s (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Garcia, 2004b; 2005;

⁴⁷ Notably, the SDA merged with the Scottish Training Agency (STA) to become Scottish Enterprise in 1991, an agency dominated by the private sector, which once exerted considerable policy influence (Helms and Cumbers, 2006). This influence, however, has more recently been neutered by the SNP administration.

Mooney, 2004). John Myerscough's report, *Economic Importance of the Arts in Glasgow* (1988), and a report by Comedia, *Making the Most of Glasgow's Cultural Assets* (1991), provided economic and social legitimisation while contributing significantly to the emergence of the now ubiquitous, and widely criticised, 'creative city' thesis⁴⁸ (Florida, 2004; Landry, 2008; Peck, 2005, 2007, 2012b). Glasgow's urban strategy for the 1990 European City of Culture (ECoC), after becoming the first old industrial city to win the bid, is widely regarded as the primary influence for using ECoC status as a catalyst for urban regeneration in old industrial cities (Mooney, 2004; Garcia, 2004, 2005; Tretter, 2009).

While questions of governance and discursive representation have been widely discussed around the 'Culture Year', the question of urban rent has largely been occluded. In a recent survey of literature on urban monopoly rent, Anderson (2014) argues that Harvey's (1974, 2002) concept of 'class monopoly rent' has, surprisingly, never been substantively examined. However, Anderson must have missed Eliot Tretter's (2009) detailed examination of monopoly rent in Glasgow (see, Gray, 2010 for a commentary, and Charnock *et al*, 2014 for a more recent treatment of monopoly rent in Barcelona). Tretter's account provides a useful basis for charting the changing technical composition of Glasgow in this period. Following Harvey's (2002) analysis of monopoly rent, he argues that the cultural assets of a city almost always function as monopolies (each city can only host so many concert halls, museums, theatres, etc). But it is not just cultural institutions that have monopolistic potential. The culture of any city, its "cultural heritage" or "way of life", can be perceived as a monopoly asset because it is not easily exchangeable with the culture of another city (Ibid, p.116). As Tretter observes, local states consistently trade on their cultural resources to attract investment, while corporations siphon off revenue from "the exploitation of the popularity of the city's infrastructure or the uniqueness of a particular cultural tradition" (Tretter, 2009, p.116). For Tretter, Glasgow is "a primary example" of an industrial city "that has re-invented itself through the exploitation of its cultural infrastructure" (Ibid, p.113). To understand this process, I will now briefly summarise monopoly rent.

All forms of land ownership that are the basis for the wealth and power of landowners exist as monopolies; exclusive claims to definite portions of the surface of the earth that are not reproducible (Marx, 1993; Harvey, 2002). However, in an era of accelerated globalisation,

⁴⁸ Charles Landry's personal website once stated, now removed, that the Glasgow study inaugurated the concept of the 'creative city': <http://charleslandry.com/>.

the ‘annihilation of space by time’ has undermined individual landowners’ monopoly powers by destroying spatial barriers and generating enhanced competition with increasingly mobile global competitors. In this wider context, Harvey (2002) argues, the ubiquitous drive to obtain profit from the cultural capital of cities can be seen as an attempt to re-assert monopoly powers:

...capitalism cannot do without monopolies and craves the means to assemble them. So the question upon the agenda is how to assemble monopoly powers in a situation where the protections afforded by so-called ‘natural monopolies’ of space and location, and the political protections of national boundaries and tariffs, have been seriously diminished if not eliminated (Harvey, 2002, p.98)

While the source of land rent is derived from a monopoly on land, monopoly rent is based on the ability of a landowner to earn a higher than average rent because of pre-existing monopolies that exist independently from their monopoly on the land. This subsumption of positive externalities is described by Hardt and Negri (2011), as a “*desocialization of the common*”; a privatisation of the common wealth through rentier capitalism (Ibid, p.258). Harvey (2002) specifies location and scarcity as the two chief sources of monopoly rent: (1) *Location*: here monopoly rent is derived from spatial proximity to highly concentrated activities of economic capture such as transport, communication networks, or financial centres as an *indirect* form of monopoly rent. A premium for the land will be paid in this case for accessibility and for the commodities and services produced from the land’s use; (2) *Scarcity*: in this case, monopoly rent is derived from the scarce or inimitable qualities of a resource (for instance a vineyard, prime real-estate location, or work of art). Here the uniqueness and specificity of the asset is *directly* traded upon to form monopoly rent (Ibid, 94-95). The problem for cities in a world of collapsing spatial barriers, argues Harvey, is to commodify such assets, or “marks of distinction”, for the garnering of monopoly rents (Ibid, p.103).

5.5.3. The Rent Devours All: Extracting Value from the City

As Tretter (2009) observes, when the cultural infrastructure of the city is “subsumed by the market calculus, it functions as fixed capital” (Ibid, p.116). Such a process, he argues, was marked in the 1990 ‘Culture Year’, when Glasgow’s vast cultural infrastructure was transformed into fixed capital. This process was aided by Scottish local government reorganisation in 1973 which made art infrastructure the exclusive domain of District Councils, allowing the GDC in the 1980s to valorise Glasgow’s cultural infrastructure as

“a tool to promote economic growth” (Tretter, 2009, p.122). Commercial and retail property markets also actively traded on Glasgow’s new cultural image, as well as the city’s Victorian architectural heritage, with the building of new offices and headquarters, the construction of iconic arts and leisure venues, and conservation and refurbishment projects accelerating in the 1980s (Tretter, 2009; Boyle, 1989, 1993). As a result, in the lead up to 1990, Glasgow saw a major subsidy-driven property bubble with sharp rental increases nearly doubling rents in the city centre between 1987 and 1989 alone (Tretter, 2009).

The ‘Merchant City’ was the most heavily marketed area in Glasgow’s neoliberal renaissance; indeed the name was “a complete invention of environmental consultants” in the early 1980s (Damer, 1990, p.13). Despite its nominally entrepreneurial status, the Merchant City is a striking example of state-led urban development characteristic of this period (Boyle, 1993). Until the 1960s, the area was dedicated to warehouse storage, clothing manufacture, and the regional fruit and vegetable market. These uses were threatened by the proposed inner ring road which was ultimately shelved. Planning uncertainties led to urban blight and the relocation of the fruit and vegetable market in 1968, which precipitated a “domino effect on a range of related uses” causing up to 80 businesses to cease trading in the area (Jones and Patrick, 1992, p.129). An entrepreneurial approach in the 1980s was backed by generous public subsidy, relaxed planning controls; the release and sale of substantial public land and building holdings; and a package of grants and loans to the private sector. These measures helped to “bridge the gap between a desirable objective and a profitable opportunity” (Ibid, p.132), marking the area out as a prime example of state-funded rent-gap closure.

By the early 1990s, gentrified housing in the area was attracting “the relatively modest numbers of people who seek the lifestyle that such an arrangement offers” (Ibid, p.138), with demand primarily stemming from “young professionals on relatively high incomes” (Ibid, p.139). ‘Pump priming’ public subsidy was to be withdrawn over time but it had become integral to property development, making it very difficult for the public sector to withdraw, “without the painful acceptance that the current momentum would fall by the wayside” (Ibid, p.144). This ‘pain’ was borne by the public and has since continued in more recent strategies for valorising and maintaining urban rent and property value in the area. The Merchant City Initiative, whose key partners are Scottish Enterprise Glasgow and Glasgow City Council, has developed two five-year plans with aim of making the Merchant City “Glasgow’s foremost mixed-use, creative, cultural, business and residential

quarter” (Merchant City Initiative, 2007). This objective has been pursued through heavily funded public realm beautification works, an extensive range of proposed high-grade *private* residential, retail and office developments, and an instrumental ‘Artist Led Property Strategy’ (Glasgow City Council, 2002; Gray, 2009, 2010).

The Merchant City Five Year Action Plan: 2007-12 (Merchant City Initiative, 2007), inevitably pays homage to Richard Florida and his ubiquitous ‘creative classes’ thesis⁴⁹, despite Florida himself acknowledging that the rise of the ‘creative classes’ depends on the “supporting infrastructure” of a low-end, low-paid service class (Florida, 2002, p.76). The long term rationale for the ‘Artist Led Property Strategy’ is made perfectly clear in a report by Glasgow City Council (2002): through the consolidation of arts organisations in the new ‘arts quarter’ or ‘creative cluster’, the City Council has attempted to capitalise on the assumed ability of the arts to thrive in “edge of success” areas, while hoping the arts will catalyse “external investment confidence”. A large proportion of arts organisations have historically been housed in separate council-owned buildings leased at “below market values” in the area. By consolidating these groups, the City Council was able to “rationalise property aspirations with available space”, “freeing up other surplus property for re-use and potential conversion/sale, thus increasing Capital receipts to the Council and removing property from its portfolio *which has ceased to perform in an economic manner*” (*my emphasis*, Ibid). These measures can be seen as part of a more “flexible” approach by the City Council in terms of land disposal and leasing of Council-owned property (see, Gray, 2009), indicating very clearly the planned extraction of monopoly rent from the ‘marks of distinction’ attached to the Merchant City’s Victorian architectural heritage (Tretter, 2009; Gray, 2009), and from the common production, or positive externalities, associated with artistic production in the ‘biopolitical metropolis’ (Hardt and Negri, 2011, pp.250-251).

As numerous commentators have shown, such processes are beset with social contradictions (Zukin, 1988 [1982], 2010; Peck, 2005, 2007; Wilson and Keil, 2008; Mayer, 2013). Florida (2002) himself acknowledges that the creative classes typically merely raise rents and generate low end service jobs, and that there is a “strong correlation between inequality and creativity: the more creative a region is, the more inequality you will find there” (Ibid, p.55). Moreover, rent does not grow from the soil. The maintenance of fragile land rent and property values in the Merchant City has been highly dependent on

⁴⁹ “The well publicised Richard Florida report [...] argues that successful cities are those that embrace the diversity, tolerance and non-conformist elements of an artistic community to rise above everyday challenge and inertia” (The Merchant City Action Plan, 2007-2012, p.9).

public subsidy (Gray, 2010), and a “selective appropriation of the revanchist political repertoire” including extensive CCTV schemes, street wardens, enhanced policing, and the erasure of historic street markets (MacLeod, 2002, p.603; Helms, 2008; Gray, 2009, 2010). While the revanchist⁵⁰ framework offers a powerful heuristic tool for revealing the brutal demarcation between winners and losers in the neoliberal city (MacLeod, 2002), we should be wary of placing too much emphasis on the *regulative* aspects of urban governance. As Harvey (2002) argues, monopoly rent is a contradictory form. Within the logic of accumulation, capital has to find ways to appropriate and extract surpluses from local differences, local cultural variations and aesthetic meanings. Yet, if capital is not to destroy the particularity and uniqueness that is the basis for monopoly rents, then it must support to some degree unique, diverse, even transgressive cultural developments that may even be “antagonistic to its own smooth functioning” (Ibid, p.108). While Florida (2002) stresses that the apparently maverick creative classes will make “certain symbols of non-conformity acceptable - even conformist” (Ibid, p.82), the Workers City group, to which I will now turn, produced a significantly more antagonistic challenge to Glasgow’s neoliberal transformation around 1990.

5.6. The Workers City Group: An Image of the Future?

The Workers City group point towards the future. It is of groups like ours the future will be made (McLay, 1990, p.12).

This section will aim to untangle McLay’s statement here by arguing that the Workers City critique of the Culture Year was informed by an immanent understanding of spatial composition in the city that remains highly relevant in the present era. The group chose their name in 1988 as a response to the branding of the ‘Merchant City’ area in the lead up to the 1990 Culture Year. As James Kelman (1992), a key member of the group recounts, they wanted to challenge “the grossness of the fallacy” that Glasgow existed because of the entrepreneurial acumen of the colonial Tobacco Lords; these entrepreneurs, he reminds us, made their slavery-based wealth by “the simple expedience of not paying the price of labour” (Kelman, 1992, p.12). The name thus stresses particular relations of exploitation based on labour, challenging contemporary forms of neoliberal entrepreneurialism and city

⁵⁰ *Revanche* in French literally means ‘revenge’. Neil Smith (1996) refers to the right-wing popular Nationalist movement that enacted violent revenge against the liberalism of the Second Republic and the revolutionary Paris Commune in the infamous ‘bloody week’ (1870-1871). The term is used by Smith to describe forms of middle-class revanchism which seek to ‘take back’ from the working-classes what the former consider rightfully theirs, and more generally to designate reactionary and violent enclosures of space and the dispersal of the working class from city centre’s worldwide.

branding, by making it clear that ‘Glasgow’ does not *do* things, it is not a homogenous classless entity, but is in fact a product of uneven social and labour relations (cf. Mooney, 2004). This point was central to the Workers City polemical demystification of the 1990 Year of Culture:

There is widespread acceptance that it has nothing whatever to do with the working- or the workless-class poor of Glasgow but everything to do with big business and money: to pull in investment for inner-city developments which, in the obsessive drive to make the centre of the city attractive to tourists, can only work to the further disadvantage of the people in the poverty ghettos on the outskirts (McLay, 1988, p.1).

The group consisted of around fifteen to twenty core members with considerable outside support and solidarity. They had no formal political position but drew from socialist, anarchist and libertarian communist traditions in a “non-sectarian formation” that nevertheless expressed some commonalities: “a left-wing sensibility, an impatience with humbug and distrust of professional politicians and arts administrators” (Kelman, 2006, p13). Around them were a wider circle of radical artists, cultural producers and magazine editors⁵¹. They had weekly planning meetings and a weekly presence at demonstrations in a very active schedule (Clark, 2007). They were a cultural group as much as a political group who often met at the Transmission Gallery, which remains at the forefront of artistic and political experimentation in the city’s arts scene. They published two volumes of writing, *Workers City* (McLay, 1988) and *The Reckoning* (McLay, 1990), and between 1990 and 1993 published over twenty editions of *The Glasgow Keelie*, an irregular “scandal-mongering” newsheet⁵². Through a combination of publishing activity, media work and direct action, the group created “a record of opposition, some other history” that still resonates today (Clark, 2006, p.260). As Harvey (2002) argues, the contestation of cultural commodification requires at the minimum a resistance “to the idea that authenticity, creativity and originality are an exclusive product of bourgeois rather than working class, peasant or other non-capitalistic historical geographies” (Harvey, 2002, p, 108). Workers City provided a consummate riposte in this regard, with both the *Workers City* and *The Reckoning* containing numerous works anatomising the historical and

⁵¹ These magazines included *Variant*, *Here and Now* and the *Edinburgh Review*, all of which were then at the forefront of Scotland’s radical political and literary scenes.

⁵² The name is Scots for a disreputable town or city dweller, especially from Glasgow. With the Strickland Distribution, I have helped upload all available issues online alongside transcribed copies of the *Workers City* and *The Reckoning* anthologies: <http://www.workerscity.org/>.

contemporary struggles of the working class in Glasgow by non-professional writers and activists as much as by well-known writers and thinkers. Some members of the group were part of the Glasgow Labour History Workshop group, which published several important books and contributions to edited volumes on Glasgow's radical history, often extracting new political significance from unknown or forgotten names and struggles in an exemplary history-from-below (Kelman, 2006).

At the level of direct action, the group were very involved in the 'Save the Glasgow Green' campaign (opposing the privatisation of a third of The Green for a private housing development on the Fleshers Haugh). They distributed around forty to fifty thousand leaflets alongside numerous *Keelie* newsheets utilising their "secret weapon"; a "wee loud speaker van" which spent nine months covering Glasgow claiming that The Green was designated as common land and was not for sale (Savage, 2006, p.246). The group consistently gathered over 200 people for demonstrations on the Glasgow Green issue outside monthly Labour Party and District Council meetings at the City Chambers. Over 500 people, mainly non-aligned, were demonstrating when the Chambers was occupied in 1990, and ultimately this pressure forced the privatisation of The Green to be shelved (Ibid; Kelman, 1990). Group member, Hugh Savage, argued that the Workers City campaign was unique in its autonomy: "we are not a political party looking for votes, we are not selling literature, we are not pushing any political philosophy down anyone's throat" (Savage, 2006, p.246). Two things stand out from the campaign: first, the group mobilised with a range of different registers and tactics throughout the city; second, there were no leaders as such and the group refused to use the 'issue' as a means to build membership, focusing instead on solidarity around the issue itself.

Another locus of contestation was the public campaign to defend Elspeth King and her assistant Michael Donnelly after King was overlooked for the posts of Director of Museums and Keeper of Social History at the People's Palace on Glasgow Green. The issue became infamous as the 'Elspeth King Affair' (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Tretter, 2009). Since her appointment in 1974, King had transformed the ailing local history museum to such an extent that it won the European Museum of the Year Award in 1981 and the British Museum of the Year Award in 1983, yet she was overseen, according to the Workers City group and many others, because she incorporated working class culture and struggle centrally in her curatorial practice (Gray, 1990; Kelman, 2006; Tretter, 2009). The group organised a demonstration outside the City Chambers, which over one thousand people attended, alongside several packed public meetings which helped make the story a

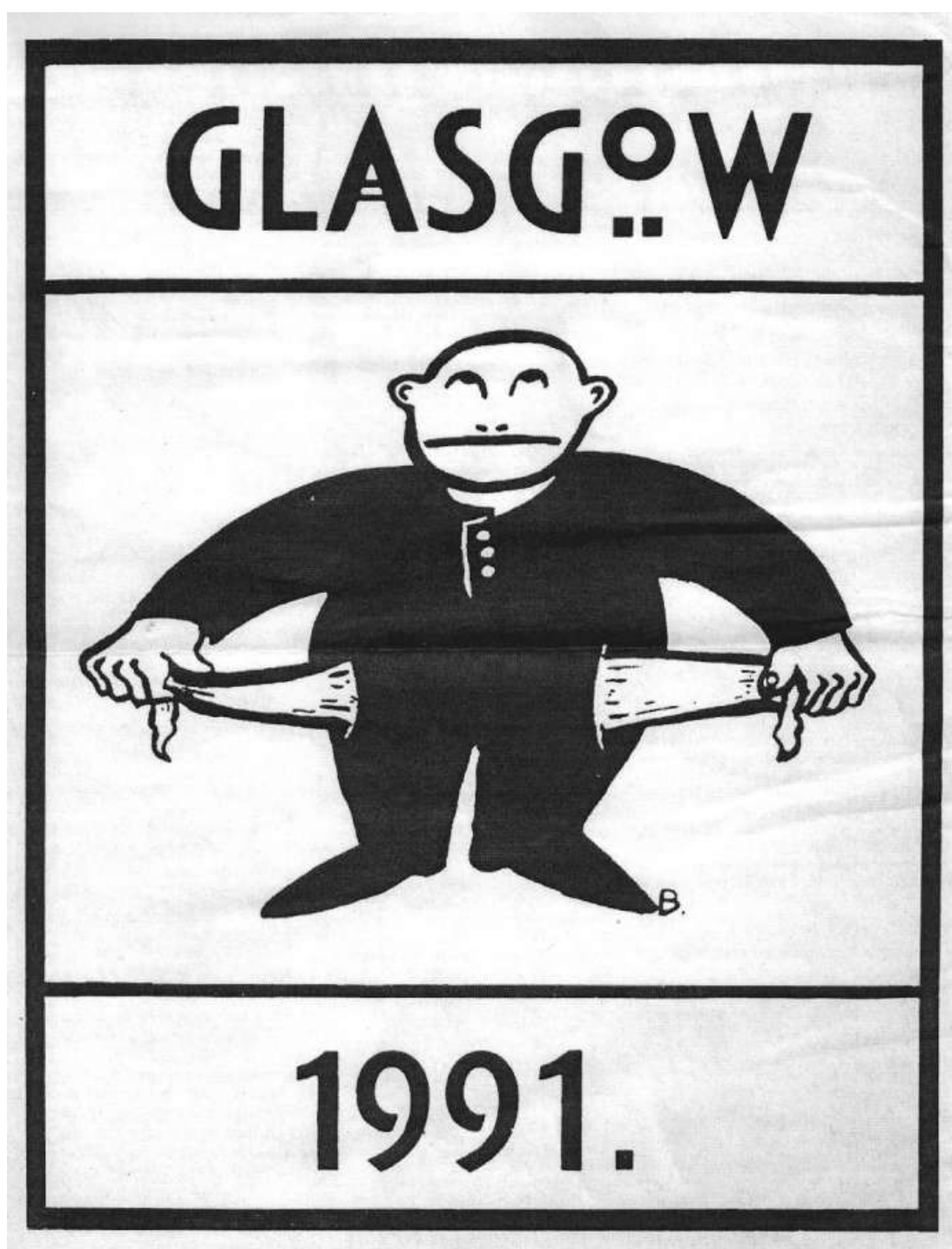
national issue in the media (Gray, 1990; Savage, 1990; Kelman, 2006). All this was extremely unfamiliar territory for an industrially-oriented Left in Glasgow which had never before seen a demonstration in support of a curator and her assistant (Savage, 1990; Kelman, 2006). The group also challenged the 'Glasgow's Glasgow' exhibition which bucked the prevailing practice of cultural governance in the city by charging admission prices for an exhibition by a private-for-profit corporation that utilised art freely available from Glasgow's museums and galleries. The exhibition was heavily criticised by the Workers City group and others for deliberately erasing Glasgow's working class history and commodifying the city's cultural assets (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Kelman, 2006; Tretter, 2009). The Council lost £4.5 million on the exhibition amidst widespread accusations of financial mismanagement (Savage, 1990; Tretter, 2009).

Tretter (2009) emphasises the group's 'emotional investment' in contesting the city's *representation*, but their critique of entrepreneurial re-branding can more productively be seen as a critique of the privatisation of public space and municipal assets, and of the increasing precarity of labour relations in the city following de-industrialisation. Overwhelmingly, this critique focused on questions of social reproduction. Members of the group wrote about and practically supported anti-pollution campaigns in Carmyle and Rutherglen and campaigns on asbestos-related disease. Issues in *The Keelie* drew attention to anti-poll tax campaigns, anti-militarism, housing campaigns, gentrification ('yuppification'), City Council corruption, the routing of the steel and oil industries, privatisation of common good assets and the deplorable health and wealth disparities of a city notorious for them to this day. The group's critical focus on the Culture Year should be seen, rather than as an end in itself, as a symbolic catalyst for expressing, much like the 1915 Rent Strikers, a 'mass concern with everyday life' (Melling, 1983). Tretter (2009) argues that a more thoroughgoing critique of economic contradictions in the city was required by the Workers City group, but he underestimates how much the group grasped the *cultural logic* of late capitalism (cf. Jameson, 1991) and the economic and social contradictions that underpinned the Culture Year (see, Figures 5.1. and 5.2):

Over the coming years the cost of this one P.R. exercise will have major repercussions for the ordinary cultural life of the city. The money had to come from somewhere. Major cuts have already taken place in these areas precisely concerned with art and culture. The public funding of libraries, art galleries and museums; swimming baths, public parks and public halls; all are being cut drastically [...]. Prime assets not to mention services to the community are being closed down and

sold off altogether, to private developers, and to big business. What has been presented as a celebration of art in all its diversity is there to behold, a quite ruthless assault on the cultural life of the city (Kelman, 1992, p.32).

Figure 5.1: *The Glasgow Keelie*, Issue 4



of ‘traditional’ work in industry and manufacturing and the fact of widespread unemployment. Farquhar McLay (1990), the editor of *Workers City* and *The Reckoning*, and the person responsible for writing the prefaces and introductions to both volumes, disputes such charges against the group while offering a radical critique of the wage-labour relation:

The traditional image of the ‘worker’ as ‘producer of wealth’ gets more problematic every day. We are now moving towards permanent non-employment of workers on a massive scale. [...] The workerist and productivist notions we were brought up on – having pride in our role as indispensable (although cruelly exploited) units of production, taking our identity from the job we did and suffering a terrible kind of shameful death with its loss – these are now much weakened, if not yet completely obsolete. People may still feel shame when out of work, but capitalism no longer demands it (Ibid, p.10)

For McLay (1988), much of the working-class social-cultural cohesion which once existed in Glasgow had long since been obliterated by “the break-up of the tenement communities and the terror of mass unemployment” (Ibid, p.2). He describes the drastic decomposition and recomposition of labour relations in the city in ways that echo the theorists of the Italian autonomous movement from the 1970s onwards:

In the era of post-industrial capitalism which is slowly beginning to envelop us, the worker in manufacturing industry is no longer at centre stage. While the manufacturing workforce grows ever smaller, output stays steady or can be easily increased as computerised production advances. On Clydeside the service sector - tourism and leisure, financial services, commerce, transport, etc - now employs about 70% of people in work. It would seem that whatever potential the manufacturing worker once had to overthrow the capitalist system is now greatly diminished (Ibid, p.9)

Others of course have described this process of technical and political decomposition, but what is striking in Farquhar’s account is the lack of nostalgia for the manufacturing era and the readiness to deal with the repercussions of political decomposition as *a political fact*. Such decomposition is ongoing, and it is worth here providing a brief summary of this context.

5.6.1. The City Recomposed: Precarity and Rent in Contemporary Glasgow

Current cultural regeneration policies take place in a context of continuing social polarisation in the city. In 1990, Damer (1990) could state a basic banality that remains without contention: service jobs, he argued, are “the worst paid, least unionised, most seasonal jobs, with the longest hours and poorest conditions of health and safety” (Ibid, p.13). As Mooney (2004) argues, Workers City scepticism about the social benefits arising from cultural regeneration and the Culture Year are: “surely borne out even by a brief discussion of the social and economic problems that have faced the City in the period since 1990” (Ibid, p.333). This trajectory has continued up until the present era. Helms and Cumbers (2006) discuss a “profound transformation” in the economic base of the city, characterised by extreme poverty levels, economic activity rates well below the UK average, and workplace conditions of “irregular and contingent work interspersed with periods of unemployment, sometimes quite long-term in nature” (Ibid, p.73). For young people leaving school, Cumbers *et al* (2009) observe, “the norm is becoming a low wage and casualised work environment or an unregulated and degrading training system” (Ibid, p.3).

In 2012, Glasgow had the highest percentage of ‘workless households’ in the UK with 30.2% against a national average of 18.1%⁵³. 33% of children in the local authority live in poverty, with 14 out of 21 wards having over 30% of child poverty (51% in the Springburn ward) (Miller, 2013). Moreover, 52% of working age adults in poverty in Scotland are burdened by *in-work poverty*⁵⁴, suggesting that Damer’s (1990) prognosis of service work remains apposite. The type of work, its duration, and who does it, has been recomposed markedly since the 1970s. In 2006, those employed in manufacturing made up only 6.1% of the workforce compared to 23% in 1981, indexing a loss of 64,000 manufacturing jobs in this period. In the same period, services, broadly defined⁵⁵, increased from 68% to 88% of the total workforce, an additional 90,000 jobs in the sector (Helms and Cumbers, 2006). The gender composition of the labour force also shifted significantly. In 2006, more women were in employment than men, but it is important to note that this growth was typically in “low paid, part-time and casual work” with many women taking on two jobs

⁵³ Defined as a household where no-one over 16 is in paid employment. For nine consecutive years Glasgow along with Liverpool, another old industrial city celebrated for its ‘cultural regeneration’, has remained in the top five of this metric: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lmac/workless-households-for-regions-across-the-uk/2012/sty-workless-households.html>.

⁵⁴ <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/07/9247/4>.

⁵⁵ The food and drink industries, finance, IT, business and service activities, tourism and public administration.

(Cumbers *et al*, 2009), thus exceeding the ‘double-work’ patterns that feminists have posited to describe both reproductive care work in the home and paid labour in the workplace. These continuing trends have significant implications for potential political recomposition that are too often elided.

In terms of spatial composition, the housing situation in Glasgow embodies fundamental transformations in the technical composition of capital investment, fuelled by the privatisation of public housing and a widespread disposal sale of state-owned land and property assets (Ginsburg, 2005; Harvey, 2007). The two key moments in Glasgow, as elsewhere in the UK, have been the introduction of the ‘right-to-buy’ in the 1980 Housing Act, and the UK-wide ‘stock transfer’ process from local authority housing to for-purpose Housing Associations⁵⁶. In Glasgow, which had been the second largest social housing landlord in the UK, the *entire* public housing stock of the city (81,000 homes) was stock-transferred to Glasgow Housing Association in 2003 (Daly *et al*, 2005; Mooney and Poole, 2005), and the transfer was described by the Scottish Social Justice Minister as “the largest public sector modernisation project in Europe”⁵⁷. It is important to note, however, that the ballot on the transfer issue was only narrowly won after a citywide anti-stock transfer campaign (Daly *et al*, 2005; Mooney and Poole, 2005). It is also important to stress that the understanding developed in the ‘No’ campaign helped to mobilise successful campaigns against stock transfer in other areas including Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Stirling, East Renfrewshire and West Dumbartonshire⁵⁸.

The combined effects of right-to-buy and stock transfer policies have contributed to a dramatic tenure switch in Scotland. In the 1981 census nearly 55% of the Scottish population lived in council (public) housing, but by 2012 only around a quarter of households did so, while 65% were owner-occupiers (Glynn, 2012). In Glasgow, in 1981, 63.2% of the population lived in council housing (Middleton, 1987), but in *City Plan 2* (Glasgow City Council, 2009), a stark shift from social rented to private sector is documented. Between 1991 and 2006, private sector stock in the City grew by over 50% (approximately 60,000 homes), while the social rented sector fell by a similar amount (approximately 57,000 homes). By 2018, it is estimated that the proportion of homes in the

⁵⁶ ‘Stock transfer’ is a national policy initiative that promotes the transfer of local authority housing to registered social landlords.

⁵⁷ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2003/03/3256>.

⁵⁸ I was an active member of the successful Edinburgh against Stock Transfer (EAST) campaign. We frequently highlighted the negative experience of transfer for Glasgow tenants. With members of the EAST group I directed and edited a film about the campaign. *Smoke and Mirrors*, Dir. Neil Gray, 2006, 45 mins: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQ7sWzXY91k>.

private sector could be approaching 70% in Glasgow (Ibid). Between 2007 and 2013, the Scottish Government social housing subsidy per house was reduced from £77,000 to £44,000. Paul Martin, the Labour MSP for Glasgow Provan, said these cuts were “putting at risk the very existence of the community based housing association movement”⁵⁹. At the same time, there has been a very significant expansion of the private rented sector (PRS) in Glasgow, from 14,900 in 1991 to an estimated 47,400 in 2011, following a general pattern in the UK that has been termed ‘Generation Rent’. According to City Lettings, a UK residential letting site, Glasgow has seen year-on-year rental increases of 8.1% between 2008-2015, with the highest rent increases in Scotland (9.2%) between the first quarters of 2014 and 2015⁶⁰. I will address Glasgow’s housing question in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7, but for now it is enough to observe that there is striking evidence for the thesis that class power is increasingly articulated through rental payments and the production of space (Harvey, 2012; Hudson, 2006a, 2010; Marazzi, 2010; Lazarrato, 2011). A politics of space, then, with housing fore-grounded as a primary locus of struggle, is more than ever necessary.

Conclusion

Spatial planning and urban investment in Glasgow has shaped the conditions for political struggle in ways that have hitherto been under-theorised and under-examined empirically (Damer, 1976; Johnstone, 1992, 2000). What is required, I have argued, is a more sustained attempt at making the urban central to an immanent politics of space, and spatial composition analysis is an ideal method for doing just that. I have also argued that taking decomposition seriously is essential if we are to uncover the lineaments of new forms of political recomposition. This chapter has thus described the often severe processes of technical and political decomposition that have occurred in old industrial Glasgow, but not at the expense of recovering and re-circulating immanent moments of political recomposition in the circuits of social reproduction.

So, returning to the question with which I began the last section: in what sense can the Workers City group be seen as an image of the future? While the spectrum of the Left in Glasgow, as elsewhere, has typically seen cultural questions as secondary to struggles in the workplace, the Workers City group, perhaps uniquely at the time, formulated an immanent and collective ‘politics of space’ in relation to forms of place-making and cultural regeneration that are now ubiquitous. The instrumental recuperation of culture; the

⁵⁹ <http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/6527254.article>.

⁶⁰ <http://www.citylets.co.uk/research/reports/pdf/Citylets-Rental-Report-Q1-15.pdf?ref=reports>.

symbolic *imagineering* of the city; the surface erasure of class and economic differentials; and the urban neoliberalisation that the group identified; all have only intensified since 1990. Public land sales, recognised by the Workers City group as an obscene disposal of common assets, are now commonplace, as is the commodification of cultural facilities and public services under the reigning rentier economy (Tretter, 2009, Gray, 2010; Anderson *et al*, 2013; Gray and Porter, 2014). At a general level, the Workers City's concerns over social reproduction, cultural regeneration, and urban space as an increasingly important vector of struggle have become widespread. A round-up of recent political struggles in Glasgow by Mitchell *et al* (forthcoming), for instance, notes the ubiquity and centrality of *place-based* contestation.

Major political struggles have emerged, for instance, over the construction of the M77 motorway (Routledge, 1997); the M74 motorway (JAM 74; Gray, 2008); housing stock transfer (Daly *et al*, 2005; Mooney and Poole, 2005); the closure of the Govanhill Baths (Mooney and Fyfe, 2006); the privatisation of Pollok Park (Paddison, 2010); and the Commonwealth Games (Gray and Mooney, 2011; Gray and Porter, 2014). These struggles have typically converged around questions of public space and public services, and rather than being directly workplace-based, often involve unemployed people, precarious workers and those with disabilities. It is among these precarious and unemployed populations, McLay (1990) presaged in 1990, that the social antagonisms of the future will develop: "individuals and small groups coming together to forge a libertarian cultural movement for themselves out of a simple hunger to bring a measure of depth and meaning into their lives" (Ibid, p.11). Numerous recent campaigns by carers, disabled people and unemployed people in Glasgow, typically developing outside political party structures, have challenged primary school closures, day care centre closures, the 'bedroom tax' and welfare restructuring. Such campaigns, along with those I have mentioned above, suggest that McLay's prediction was right. However, many of these struggles have not been sustained and few have won their demands. I argue here that such struggles require more coherent theorisation if they are to develop as generalised practical struggles in and against the contemporary relations of capital. In this chapter, I have suggested class composition and spatial composition as a means to develop this understanding historically. In Chapters 6 and 7, I will develop this position in relation to contemporary urban developments.

6. Austerity Urbanism, Post-Politics, Spatial Fixing and the Rent Gap: A Neoliberal Conjuncture at Glasgow North

The urbanisation of capital has taken on increasingly complex forms in the current neoliberal conjuncture, with apparently progressive cultural and environmental discourses profoundly complicating the immanent conditions from which new forms of political composition might arise. The Speirs Locks ‘cultural quarter’ is an exemplar of such tangled mediation, and this chapter will examine its implementation in ‘Glasgow North’, where it has been designated a key site in the development of Glasgow’s creative economy (Glasgow Canal Regeneration Project, 2008) and one of eleven ‘exemplar’ Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) sites in Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2011). These initiatives, I argue, epitomise the theme of the post-political in contemporary democratic life, which marks a consensual climate where antagonism and dissensus (disagreement) is routinely foreclosed (Žižek, 1999; Rancière, 2001, 2005, 2006; Mouffe, 2005; Paddison, 2010; McLeod, 2013). Post-politics at Speirs Locks is characterised by a double-discourse of spatial ‘fixing’, involving both a ‘creativity fix’ (Peck, 2007) and ‘sustainability fix’ (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004; Temenos and McCann, 2012). Such discourses, I contend, help legitimise a consensual growth-based planning agenda at Speirs Locks that is complicit with deeply uneven social results.

Post-political discourses at Speirs Locks take place within a wider framework of ‘austerity urbanism’ (Peck, 2012; Mayer, 2013; Hilbrandt and Richter, 2015). But rather than the ‘extreme economy’ of neoliberal revanchism that Peck (2012) has documented, it is here fashioned as a bounded ‘soft’ form of austerity urbanism that complements hard austerity urbanism rather than abrogating its terms. The cultural quarter project and related regeneration work in adjacent areas must also be seen in a context of technical and political decomposition on a massive scale, with Glasgow North one of the areas in Glasgow most severely affected by de-industrialisation. Yet devaluation, as I argued in Chapters 2 and 5, also produces the potential of possible *revaluation* through urban re-development and ‘rent-gap’ closure (Smith, 1979, 1996). Such processes are strikingly evident in North Glasgow, with creativity and sustainability fixes playing a vital role in this context.

While it is crucial to discuss the regulation of Glasgow’s neoliberal terrain, it is also vital to offer a *critique* of the political economy of space from the viewpoint of praxis. As a contribution, then, to what might be considered a *post-political politics* (Lotringer and Marazzi, 2007; Bonefeld *et al*, 2003), I will describe a ‘territorial inquiry’ (conducted as a

collective public walk) that I led in and around Speirs Locks in September 2012. The enquiry utilised collective walking as a critical practice to help foster a relational understanding of the cultural quarter in its urban context. In this way, I hoped to promote a radical re-thinking of the role of the architect or planner, alongside a critique of bounded planning and the disavowal of wider socio-economic relations (cf. Tafuri, 1976). I also hoped to show how the cultural quarter relates to a wider rent gap agenda, which, I argue, is the ultimate end of post-political spatial fixing in the area. I will start by describing the material socio-spatial context in North Glasgow, before outlining what I mean by ‘austerity urbanism’, ‘post-politics’ and creativity and sustainability ‘fixes’. I will then describe the territorial inquiry and its outcomes.

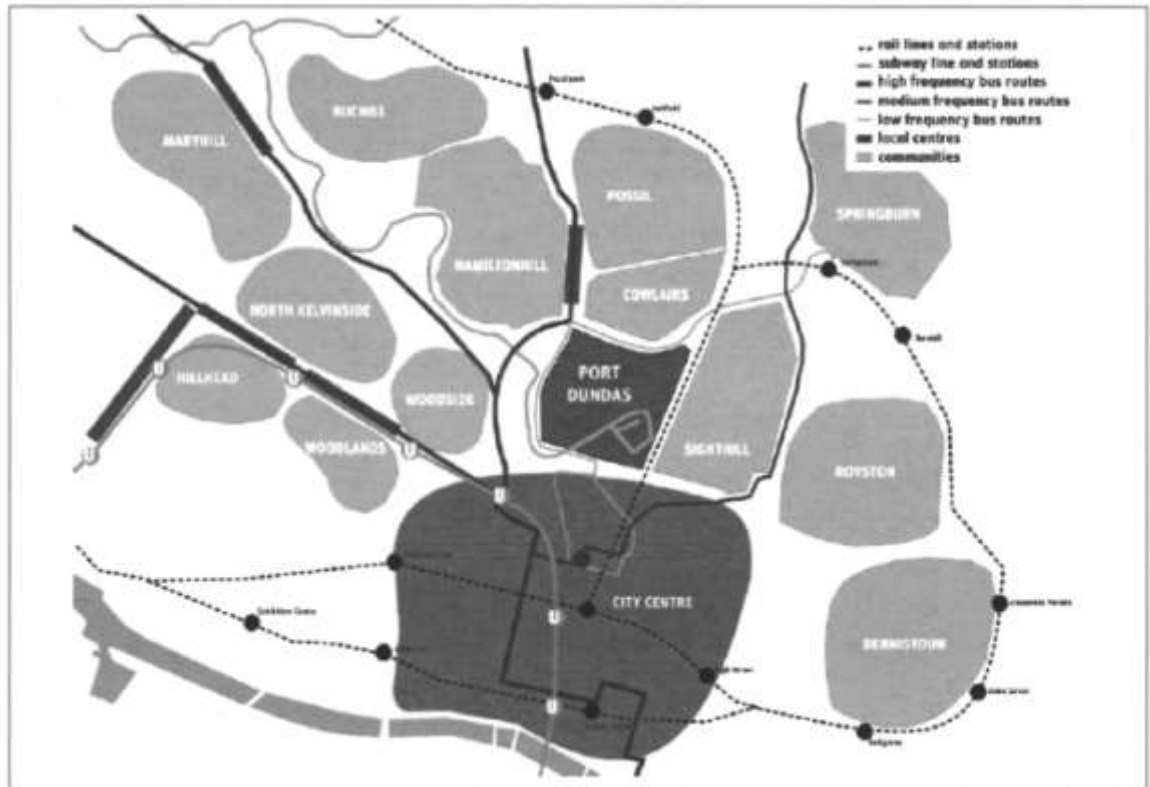
6.1. Decomposition and the Rent-Gap in North Glasgow

A Creative City cannot be founded like a cathedral in the desert; it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment. We need to appreciate complex interdependencies, and not simply use one to exploit the other (Pratt, 2008, p.35).

The Speirs Locks cultural quarter is typically discussed as a bounded creative city project, but it is precisely as a catalyst for wider urban transformation in the area that the quarter should be seen. The quarter is primarily located within a 14-hectare site in a small light industrial estate containing pockets of derelict land next to the terminus of the Forth and Clyde canal. It was a centre of industrial activity in the 19th and early 20th centuries, with textile mills, chemical works, granaries, distilleries and glassworks, whose decline in the mid-20th century was hastened by the navigational closure of the Monklands Canal in 1952 and the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1964. The construction of the M8 motorway in the 1960s compounded decline by severing the area from the city centre (Pacione, 1995; Anderson, 2010). The development is being co-ordinated by the Glasgow Canal Regeneration Partnership (GCRP), comprising Glasgow City Council (GCC), Scottish Canals, ISIS Waterside Regeneration and Igloo Regeneration. This public-private partnership combines strategic and commercial capacity, and dovetails with GCC’s (Glasgow City Council, 2009a) wider aim of developing Glasgow North as a strategic growth corridor through the *Forth and Clyde Local Development Strategy (LDS)* (2007), whose objectives include canal redevelopment and an increase in private tenure housing, and the *City Centre Action Plan* (Glasgow City Council, 2013), which aims to develop Speirs Locks and the wider Port Dundas area as a core inner-city district. The proximity of Speirs Locks and the Port

Dundas area to the city centre, and its strategic relation to Glasgow North, is clear in the map below (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Port Dundas area map (source: GCRP (2014), Forth and Clyde Canal Action Plan 2014)



The main initiatives supported by the GCRP thus far include the £6.2 million development and refurbishment of the canal basin at Port Dundas⁶¹; the £3.5 million Garscube Landscape Link between the city centre and the canal; the development of Craighall Business Park overlooking Port Dundas; the renovation of a former distillery into a new “creative factory” named The Whisky Bond⁶²; Edington Street Creative Campus, a small public realm works at the centre of Speirs Locks; and the Glasgow Paddlesports Centre at Pinkston canal basin, which aims to “kick start the wider regeneration of Port Dundas”⁶³. These plans belatedly follow the proto-typical canal-side gentrification of Speirs Wharf, a former grain and mill store converted into loft apartments and commercial units in 1989, which failed to catalyse contemporary plans for further development in the area (Anderson, 2010). More recently, plans for a £40 million student campus were approved by the City Council in May 2013, with groundwork started in May 2015.

⁶¹ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/regeneration-projects/port- Dundas>.

⁶² <http://www.thewhiskybond.co.uk/>.

⁶³ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/media/1343954/paddlesports%20fin8.pdf>;
<http://www.7Narchitects.com/projects/glasgow-paddlesports/>.

Speirs Locks lies within a wider urban context marred by industrial decomposition, poverty and geographical severance. The site is bordered by the historic working class areas of Cowcaddens and Maryhill to the South and West; Possil Park and Keppochill to the north, the second and third most deprived data zones in Scotland according to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)⁶⁴; and to the East, the parliamentary constituency of Glasgow North East, where 43% of children were living in poverty in 2012, the third highest figure in the UK (Barnardos, 2013, p.9). According to Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS), 91.1% of people in the Canal ward live within 0-500 metres of a derelict site (c.2014), with 32% income deprived (c.2005), while in the Springburn ward 87.4% people live within 0-500 metres of a derelict site, with 32% income deprived (c.2006)⁶⁵.

Yet, the area was once integral to Glasgow's reputation as the 'Second City of Empire'. The St. Rollox Chemical Works, notorious for the exploitation of an immigrant Irish labour force in noxious and dangerous working conditions (Damer, 1990), was the largest chemical works in the world in the 1830s and 1840s. At the end of the 19th century, Springburn was "the biggest locomotive building centre in Europe" (Pacione, 1995, p.65). Pinkston Power Station, at the Pinkston Basin on the Forth and Clyde Canal, generated electricity for the Glasgow Corporation Tramways network, and the Saracen Foundry in Possil was once the most significant manufacturer of ornamental ironwork in Scotland. However, these commercial entities were largely decommissioned, shut down or demolished in the 1960s (Pacione, 1995), leaving behind vast swathes of derelict, vacant and contaminated land and an impoverished 'surplus population' (Marx, 1990, pp.762-870; Endnotes, 2010, pp.20-51), largely redundant to the needs of restructured capital.

Following industrial decline, the major planning intervention in the area was the large-scale Sighthill housing estate, a key component of Glasgow's 'modernist housing revolution' (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). After decades of neglect, Sighthill has recently been subject to major demolition through the auspices of one of eight 'Transformational Regeneration Areas' (TRAs) in Glasgow. Ultimately, I argue, this programme is premised on rent-gap closure, with Glasgow North representing a potential 'new urban frontier' for urban developers (Smith, 1996). At present, the area remains in widespread poverty, with very low land and property values, and a stigmatised reputation,

⁶⁴ <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/simd-2012-results/overall-simd-results/key-findings/>.

⁶⁵ Canal: [http://www.sns.gov.uk/Reports/Report.aspx?ReportId=2&AreaTypeId=MW&AreaId=S13002656](http://www.sns.gov.uk/Reports/Report.aspx?ReportId=2&AreaTypeId=MW&AreaId=S13002656;);
Springburn:
<http://www.sns.gov.uk/Reports/Report.aspx?ReportId=2&AreaTypeId=MW&AreaId=S13002657>.

lowering the potential returns on investment in the area. In this context, I argue, the Speirs Locks cultural quarter is being mobilised as an instrumental means to shift investor perceptions of the area and raise adjacent land values, so that a rent-gap can be established to close the disparity “between the potential ground rent level, and the actual ground rent capitalised under the present use” (Ibid, p.67).

City Plan 2 (Glasgow City Council, 2009a) intimates how GCC intends to capitalise on Glasgow North’s prime locational advantage through the Forth and Clyde LDS, by promoting the canal as a “vibrant quarter of the City” (Ibid, p.97). The Glasgow North corridor includes four priority regeneration projects: the ‘Ruchill/Keppoch new neighbourhood’ (2,000 private and social rented homes); Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) TRA renewal plans for Maryhill and Sighthill; the Possil Park Town Centre Action Plan, and regeneration along the Forth and Clyde canal. The TRAs in Sighthill and Maryhill are seen as significant opportunities “to transform areas of predominantly social rented stock into new, mixed tenure” (Glasgow City Council, 2009a, p.97), with GCC’s strategic housing investment plan for the area emphasising the development of owner-occupation, shared equity, and shared ownership in the area (Glasgow City Council, 2009c, p.6). Investment opportunities have also been aided by a “rationalisation” of pre-12 education facilities, as part of the highly contested closure of 25 schools and nurseries across the city⁶⁶ (Glasgow City Council, 2009a, p.98), which was designed to bring more sites into the land supply and to increase the availability of private housing. This brief contextual background has summarised the social and physical characteristics of North Glasgow, along with recent policy directives in the area. I will now explore some of the discursive formations arising within a context of economic austerity.

6.2. ‘Soft’ Austerity Urbanism in Crisis Times

Neoliberal austerity measures [...] incapacitate the state and the public sphere through the outsourcing, marketization and privatization of governmental services and social supports; and they concentrate both costs and burdens on those at the bottom of the social hierarchy, compounding economic marginalization with state abandonment (Peck, 2012, p.650).

In an excoriating study of the ‘extreme economy’ in the US, Jamie Peck has mapped out the severity of ‘austerity urbanism’ in sobering form. Austerity urbanism comprises three

⁶⁶ Several schools were occupied by parents and community activists in these campaigns: <http://sosglasgow.wordpress.com/>.

interrelated processes: destructive creativity, deficit politics and devolved risk (Peck, 2012; Hilbrandt and Richter, 2015), with “scalar dumping” - devolved governance, downloaded responsibility and externalised austerity - both the result of neoliberal reform and the condition for its practical and ideological escalation (Peck, 2012, p.647). In the UK, such ‘roll-back neoliberalism’ (Peck and Tickell, 2002) has been implemented through ‘austerity localism’ under the ‘Big Society’ rhetoric of the Conservative Government (Featherstone *et al*, 2012). Notably, exemplars of austerity urbanism such as the old industrial cities of Michigan state have eagerly embraced ‘soft’ creativity strategies of urban renewal (Peck, 2005, 2007), and there are strong parallels between these ‘rust-belt’ cities and Glasgow, including the severity of de-industrialisation, attendant socio-spatial problems, and the turn to the ‘creative economy’ (cf. Chapter 5). As Peck (2005) observes, fiscally undemanding creativity scripts represent a “low-cost, market-friendly urban placebo” in times of austerity (Ibid, p.760) that is artfully crafted for today’s neoliberalised political-economic terrain:

The seductiveness of creativity strategies must be understood in terms of their basic complementarity with prevailing neoliberal development fixes, their compatibility with discretionary, selective, and symbolic supply-side policymaking, and their conformity with the attendant array of development interests (Peck, 2007).

As noted in the introduction, urban development in Speirs Locks is distinctively framed by a discourse of ‘soft’ austerity urbanism that is inextricably linked with creative city strategies. Core agents in the Speirs Locks development process see ‘austerity’ as a productive *opportunity* for progressive forms of urban design and creative practice and a rupture in business-as-usual urban development. Speaking for 7N Architects, the creators of the Speirs Locks Masterplan on behalf of GCRP, Ewan Anderson (2010) suggests that the global recession may paradoxically “turn out to be a good thing for the future development of our towns and cities” (Ibid). Lower value land uses that were sidelined during the property boom, he argues, might return following the global economic recession:

The seemingly endless supply of credit that fuelled speculative development and large mortgages over the last twenty years will be tightly reigned in for the foreseeable future. This will cause significant shifts in the demand profile and the kind of developments that can be created to meet it [...]. In the midst of the widespread doom and gloom, the Speirs Locks project may be an indicator of a recalibration of the rules of the development game... (Ibid)

It is notable that Anderson sees such potential in a “recalibration” of commercial forces rather than a re-appraisal of their logics, arguing rather disingenuously, considering Glasgow’s contested urban history, that commercial forces have *progressively* shaped civic forces in the city until the turn of this century, when things “swung out of equilibrium” (Ibid). The challenge now, he argues, is to “shape these commercial forces in a positive way” so that increasing land values become an “intrinsic part” of 7N Architect’s project at Speirs Locks (Ibid). This position, to my mind, turns the cause of the economic crisis into its solution, disavowing the fact that the global economic recession was largely a product of inflated land and property markets (cf. Chapter 2). Anderson’s argument is quintessentially ‘post-political’ in that it proposes an alternative means of *managing* austerity urbanism without in any way challenging its underlying premises (Žižek, 1999; Rancière, 2004; Paddison, 2010). The term ‘post-political’ has provoked much argument, not least within the Left, and this necessitates unpacking my own view of the term in relation both to the theoretical work that informs this thesis and the contemporary urban context at Speirs Locks.

6.2.1. Speirs Locks: A Post-Political Diagnostic

What post-politics tends to prevent is precisely this metaphoric universalisation of particular demands: post-politics mobilizes the vast apparatus of experts, social workers, and so on, to reduce the overall demand (complaint) of a particular group to just this demand, with its particular content...(Žižek, 1999, p.204).

The ‘post-political’ theme has developed as an interdisciplinary concern since the late 1990s (Rancière, 1995, 2001, 2004, 2006; Žižek, 1999; Mouffe, 2005), and in geography since the mid-2000s (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2009, 2010; Paddison, 2010; Allemendinger and Haughton, 2012; MacLeod, 2013; O’Callaghan *et al*, 2014; Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2014). I will focus here primarily on Rancière’s work. The post-political designation is not ‘endist’, as in ‘the end of politics’, rather it refers to the “techniques of consensual persuasion” that work to foreclose the political, prevent the politicisation of particulars, and limit what is *and what is not* the subject of debate (Paddison, 2010, p.24). As Žižek (2006) observes, depoliticisation is the “basic aim” of this post-politics, along with the unconditional demand that things should remain as they are (Ibid, p.70). Post-political foreclosure, however, is contested by what Rancière (1995, 2001, 2004, 2006) terms ‘proper politics’, which calls into question the division of common and private, visible and invisible, audible and inaudible. Proper politics is defined by disagreement or dissensus, and the refutation of a society’s given assumptions: “it is not a quarrel over which

solutions to apply to a situation but a dispute over the situation itself” (Rancière, 2004, p.6).

Post-politics, on the other hand, is characterised by the foreclosure of antagonistic and agonistic common life by the administration of ‘the police’ (Rancière, 2006), which is the name that Rancière gives to the organisational systems which establish a ‘distribution of the sensible’⁶⁷ based on two primary processes: (1) governing based on a division of the population into parts, groups, social positions, and functions, separating those who take part from those who are excluded; and (2) participation characterised by the absence of a ‘void’ or ‘part with no part’ (Ibid, p.8-9). For Rancière, the whole question of proper politics lies in an interpretation of the ‘void’ or the ‘part with no part’; those ‘beyond count’ who take the liberty of speaking. Relations of mastery, he contends, will only be negated when ‘the part with no part’ *part-takes*, making the unseen visible and the unheard audible through processes of dissensus (Swyngedouw, 2009). Rancière’s conception of democracy is characterised by an axiomatic presupposition of *equality*⁶⁸, but this axiomatic, I argue, should not obviate the pressing need for a challenge, both theoretical and practical, to the axioms of capitalist relations regulated by the state.

For Badiou (2005), proper politics is not the plurality of opinions but “the prescription of a possibility of rupture with what exists” (Ibid, p.24). Iles and Roberts (2012) affirm the potential power of Rancière’s ideas to transgress ideologies that keep everyone in their place, but suggest that an axiomatic of equality that neglects structural and material inequality “is simply another way of keeping everybody in their place”. Relatedly, for Brown (2011, 2014), Rancière’s abdication of immanent structural analysis for an axiomatic of inequality fails adequately to account for the specificity of differing historical, geographical and economic contexts. Indeed, Badiou (2005) calls attention to this question, by arguing that the state as mediator is absent from Rancière’s account, as is the problem of collective organisation. Thus, he contends, Rancière pits “phantom masses against an unnamed state”, when he should really pit political militants “against the ‘democratic’ hegemony of the Parliamentary state” (Ibid, pp.121-122).

For Žižek (1999), post-politics is marked by a “the depoliticization of economics [...] the common acceptance of Capital and market mechanisms as neutral tools/procedures to be exploited” (Ibid, p.353). In this sense, a post-political designation of contemporary

⁶⁷ Sometimes translated as ‘partition of the sensible’; see ‘glossary’ in Rancière (2006a, p.85).

⁶⁸ It should be noted that equality, in Rancière’s terms, has no a-priori foundation and no end-point. Instead it must be achieved through processes of subjectivisation in permanent rounds of contestation. The term also has nothing to do with rights and representation in the liberal democratic sense.

democratic life is nothing new for the radical Left. Lefebvre's notion of the state mode of production (SMP), unifying the diverse regimes of fascism, Stalinism, European social democracy and Western liberal democracy from the 1930s (Brenner and Elden, 2009, p.17); accounts of the productivist 'planner state' in Italy (Negri, 2003 [1967]; 2005 [1971]); and Tafuri's (1980 [1968]) related conception of modernist architectural form as 'regressive utopia'; all prefigure current discussions of the post-political. Anarchism's anti-capitalist and anti-statist position could also be seen in this light, while the milieus of AM and 'open Marxism' have long taken it as a given that any proper politics takes place as a *post-political politics* in the contemporary post-political conjuncture (Lotringer and Marazzi, 2007; Bonefeld, 2003)⁶⁹. In this broad sense, I argue, the post-political designation retains persuasive *diagnostic* power in relation both to contemporary modes of governance and the radical horizons of the Left, which have become much reduced when measured against even the basic demands of historic social democratic reformism⁷⁰.

The post-political thesis has been criticised for undermining actually existing human agency and resistance (McCarthy, 2013; Chatterton *et al*, 2013; Larner, 2014), leaving it potentially "analytically flat, totalizing, and inadequate" (McCarthy, 2013, p.19). While such positions provide an important corrective to merely contemplative or pessimistic social analyses, for this author they tend to underestimate the shortcomings of an oppositional politics de-coupled from a critique of political economy and the problems accompanying the general failure of social movements to raise particular concerns to universal concerns (Žižek, 1999, p.204). Politicisation, for Žižek, is precisely this metaphoric universalisation of seemingly singular, contingent problems as "symptomal" points of antagonism in systemic constellations (Dean, 2014, p.266). For O' Callaghan *et al* (2014), for instance, narratives of post-crash 'ghost estates' in Ireland were about the contest between depoliticising (post-political) discourses which presented them as single issues, and politicising discourses which aimed to show how the ghost estates signified systemic problems. We need not accept the post-political as an eternal condition, but generating proper politics as a "dispute over the situation itself" (Rancière, 2004, p.6) requires examining and challenging the specificity of the state-regulated economy if we are not simply to re-inscribe the distribution of the sensible in different forms. Thus, in the following sections I will show, respectively, how post-politics at Speirs Locks has been

⁶⁹ Notably both these anthologies include the sub-heading 'post-political politics' in their titles. While the theme is never fully unpacked in either book, it is implicit in both throughout.

⁷⁰ The Left in the UK, for instance, has rarely made a serious demand for public ownership of utilities, housing, transport, etc. That is, until Jeremy Corbyn of the Labour Party emerged very recently.

augmented by ‘creativity’ and ‘sustainability’ fixes, before going on to describe how these discourses have been disrupted, albeit in limited terms.

6.3. Post-Politics and the ‘Creativity Fix’

somewhere between stocks & shares

and the “commonsensical” editorial

pity the poor arts page

thinking itself alone

‘Situations Theoretical and Contemporary’, Tom Leonard (1995, p.5)

The ‘creative city’ thesis was initially developed by Charles Landry, who saw the creative city as an “ideas factory” that can harness the intellectual and creative assets of a city’s population (Landry, 2008 [1995], p.xvi). To achieve this, he argued, local government must mobilise the ‘drawing power’ of urban spectacle, city branding, and place-making in order to create a “soft infrastructure” of places for meeting, exchanging and networking (Ibid, pp.xxii-xviii). Such strategies, he contended, create the space for a “formal and informal intellectual infrastructure” which allows “maverick and unusual personalities” to operate and generate economic value (Ibid, pp.xxii). The new creative industries paradigm, defined by processes of value-capture (Evans, 2009; Berardi, 2009a, 2009b; Valentine, 2014), Landry (2008 [1995]), emphasises how “brain work” can be valorised through innovations, inventions and intellectual copyright (Ibid, p.xxvii). The paradigm was given a major boost by Richard Florida’s (2004) ‘creative class’ idea, which asserts that place is the “central organising unit” of the creative economy, providing “the ecosystems that harness human creativity and turn it into economic value” (Ibid, p.xix). Despite a proliferating body of literature calling into question the premises and promises of the creative city (Peck, 2005; Zukin, 1988 [1982], 1995, 2010; Wilson and Keil, 2008; Evans, 2009; Colomb, 2012; Mayer, 2013), the ‘creativity script’ has become standardised as a ‘meta-policy’ in cities worldwide (Peck, 2005, 2007, 2012b), including Glasgow, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Gray, 2009a).

Yet behind the hyperbole, Florida (2004) acknowledges a basic banality. The service economy, he admits, ultimately operates as the “support infrastructure” of the creative age: “Members of the Creative Class, because they are well compensated and work long and unpredictable hours, require a growing pool of low end service workers to take care of

them and do their chores” (Ibid, p.71). For all its aesthetic pretensions, the creative economy, as Florida enthuses, is underpinned by predatory venture capital: “Venture capital and the broader system that surrounds it provide a powerful catalyst to the chain of creativity and an even more powerful mechanism for bringing its fruits to the commercial market” (Ibid, pp.71-72). We might then expect that the benefits of the creative city are uneven. Indeed, in the most comprehensive ‘global scan’ of creative cities policy, Evans (2009) notes that creative clusters typically remain highly localised phenomena with little relation to existing cultural and economic environments. Creative city strategies, Peck (2005, 2012) contends, have more effect on the language of urban politics than on the substance of urban policy, invoking the promise of grassroots participation and change while in no way disrupting entrenched power-laden constituencies:

The discourses and practices of creative-cities policymaking are barely disruptive of the prevailing order of neoliberal urbanism, based inter alia on polarizing labour and housing markets, property- and market-led development, retrenched public services and social programming, and accelerating intercity competition for jobs, investment, and assets. The creative cities thesis represents a ‘soft’ policy fix for this neoliberal urban conjuncture, making the case for modest and discretionary public spending on creative assets, while raising a favoured bundle of middle-class lifestyles [...] to the status of an urban-development objective (Peck, 2007)

This description of the creativity fix, as I will show below, closely parallels the post-political urban transformation of Speirs Locks through the auspices of soft austerity urbanism.

6.3.1. ‘Growing the Place’ and ‘Growing the People’: The Birth and Life of an Inauthentic Place

First comes the discovery of cheap, plentiful space that has been overlooked, then the second wave of followers, then the bars and clubs, then the restaurants, and finally developers wake up to the opportunities and move in. At this point the original pioneers are long gone, but this can be managed and used positively (Anderson, 2010)

Ewan Anderson of 7N Architects summarises here the potential gentrification trajectory of Speirs Locks with his own post-political gloss. Following their appointment by GCRP in 2009, 7N Architects developed a regeneration framework for Speirs Locks based on a ‘Growing the Place’ strategy (Anderson, 2010). This place-making cultural regeneration

approach is based on limited “catalyst initiatives” in high visibility public realm and arts projects premised on overturning negative perceptions, and growing the social, cultural and economic “value” of the area (Ibid). The strategy, Anderson states, aims to replicate the profile of “edgy” central districts with “a distinct vibe to them” that have been transformed by “bohemian menageries of people” into cultural quarters (Ibid). He cites Camden Market, Hoxton and Greenwich Village, whose diverse fabric of uses, activities and people in central urban locations inspired the holistic approach to urban design that Jane Jacobs celebrated in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1993 [1961]). Yet the very ‘authenticity’ of place that Anderson affirms has long been gentrified, leading Zukin to détourn Jacobs most famous work in her recent book title: *Naked City: Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Zukin, 2010).

The Growing the Place strategy at Speirs Locks in fact has much more in common with GCC’s instrumentalised ‘Artist-led Property Development Strategy’ in the Merchant City (cf. Chapter 5). But the Merchant City was able to trade on the authenticity and monopoly value of its inner-city Victorian architectural heritage and its long-term cultural tenancies (Tretter, 2009; Gray, 2009a, 2010a), while the Speirs Locks light industrial estate has few historic buildings, limited aesthetic appeal, and is drastically severed from the city centre. While 7N Architect’s plans are premised on a form of “accelerated urban evolution” that develops “from the ground up” through natural patterns of inhabitation (Anderson, 2010), the reality is that the ‘existing community’ is an instrumentally imported phalanx of ‘creatives’ propped up by considerable state subsidy. The current population at Speirs Locks is mainly comprised of Speirs Wharf residents in the formerly gentrified grain mill on the canal, a few longer-term commercial tenants, and recently arrived cultural tenants. The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS) moved to Speirs Locks in 2011, the Glue Factory⁷¹ in 2010, and the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS) and Glasgow Academy of Musical Theatre Arts (GAMTA) in the late 2000s. NTS and GAMTA, as Anderson (2010) acknowledges, were “facilitated by a favourable rent” from ISIS, one of the main GCRP partners (Ibid), with NTS further incentivised by a £500,000 contribution from Glasgow City Council⁷².

The distribution of the sensible at Speirs Locks is epitomised by the ‘Growing the People’ strategy developed by David Barrie and Associates and commissioned by the Scottish Centre for Regeneration and Architecture + Design Scotland (A+DS) (Barrie, 2010).

⁷¹ An arts exhibition and studio space run as a community interest company in a former glue factory.

⁷² <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=9983>.

Supplementing the Growing the Place plan, a ‘Growing the People’ workshop was hosted at the Glue Factory in 2010, producing recommendations for property development, entrepreneurship and sustainable development⁷³. The meeting was comprised of real estate developers, designers, urbanists, business people and representatives from government. Despite SSCI emphasising the engagement of ‘the local community’ in design and regeneration processes (The Scottish Government, 2011), the lack of representation from welfare, community or tenants’ groups is starkly evident in an online video of proceedings⁷⁴. In the absence of potentially dissenting voices, a consensual post-politics has emerged which emphasises creative city rhetoric and sustainable place-making by new “networks of entrepreneurs” in a context of economic recession⁷⁵, thus encapsulating soft forms of austerity urbanism and post-political fixing in the area

Property and economic growth are central to the Growing the People strategy, with ‘sustainable community’ defined as the fostering of “social, economic, physical, ecological and emotional resources and values” that are allowed to “*to feed back into land values*” (my emphasis, Barrie, 2010). Diarmaid Lawlor (2011), a ‘key stakeholder’ from A+DS, has suggested embedding entrepreneurial values in Speirs Locks by supporting the development of a ‘Culture Improvement District’ based on the controversial Business Improvement District (BID) model, a much maligned tool of neoliberal urban development (Weber, 2002, 2010). The strategy overall, Lawlor (2011) argues, is part of the “new pragmatism” required to effect “real sustainable change” in a time of austerity (Ibid). The ideological co-ordinates of this ‘new pragmatism’ can be gauged by David Barrie’s description of his *modus operandi* on his website, which states that his projects are designed to enable “capital growth in cities” by catalysing public funding⁷⁶. Such a position is hardly a-typical in the current neoliberal climate, but accepting its tenets amounts to a post-political apology for gentrification and displacement, as we will shortly see.

6.3.2. The Cultural Wayfinding Strategy

A central component of 7N Architect’s Growing the Place approach is the ‘Cultural Wayfinding’ strategy, which is premised on connecting Speirs Locks to the cultural institutions recently branded as the ‘North Quarter’ around Renfrew Street and the city centre more generally. The plan is to develop connections through the creation of what 7N

⁷³ http://davidbarrie.typepad.com/david_barrie/2010/11/re-framing-urban-renewal-the-movie.html.

⁷⁴ <https://vimeo.com/15656958>.

⁷⁵ http://davidbarrie.typepad.com/david_barrie/2010/11/re-framing-urban-renewal-the-movie.html.

⁷⁶ <http://about.me/davidbarrie>.

Architects have termed ‘desire lines’, such as the Garscube Landscape Link, an underpass beneath the M8 motorway (7N Architects, 2010)⁷⁷, which is part of the Port Dundas Landscape Link from Garscube Road to Speirs Locks Canal Basin. The Link is integral to the Cultural Wayfinding Strategy, allegedly “healing the scar” of the M8 motorway which has long contributed to the severance of Speirs Locks from the city centre (Anderson, 2010). It is adorned by a public sculpture comprising 50, 8-metre high metal flowers cum-street-lights that have been pseudo-colloquially named as the ‘Metal Petals’ or ‘Phoenix Flowers’⁷⁸. Designating the walkway, clad in a high-visibility red resin surface, as a ‘desire line’ masks the highly instrumental strategy behind the promotion of Speirs Locks as a cultural destination. Genuine ‘desire lines’, as Farley and Roberts (2012) observe, are actually inscribed by autonomous activity *against* the prescriptions of planners, not under them:

Planners love telling us which way to walk. Our built environment [...] is carefully constructed to control footflow and footfall. But we do like to collectively, unconsciously defy them. This is why we see desire lines in our landscape. Desire paths are lines of footfall worn into the ground, tracks of use [...] they take paved paths ‘off road’ into new trajectories (Ibid, p.23).

The aim of the Landscape Link, rather, is to create an instrumentalised ‘Gateway to the North’, linking Speirs Locks with the fabricated ‘North Quarter’, where a proposed ‘Avenue of the Arts’ aims to build on the existing cultural institutions around Renfrew Street in the city centre: The Scottish Piping Centre, Cineworld, the Glasgow Film Theatre, the Pavilion Theatre, Theatre Royal, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS), Glasgow Royal Concert Halls, The Glasgow School of Art, and the nearby Centre of Contemporary Arts (CCA). The area is currently considered a “hidden asset”, due to “back street” perceptions caused by environmental constraints such as inactive street frontages, lack of signage, street clutter and traffic congestion (7N Architects, 2010). However, the Cultural Wayfinding Strategy aims to establish the area in the “mind map” of city dwellers and tourists by enhancing its accessibility, connectivity and profile through landscape interventions and the development of a series of cultural events, festivals and performances in the area (Ibid). With a “flexible” regeneration framework responding to development opportunities “as they arise”, the strategy sits very much within 7N Architects’ strategy of

⁷⁷ <http://www.7Narchitects.com/projects/cultural-wayfinding/>.

⁷⁸ In the now familiar regeneration trope of naming new uses after those they have destroyed, the ‘Phoenix Flowers’ are named after Phoenix Park, a local public park demolished when the M8 was first constructed: <http://www.7Narchitects.com/projects/garscube-link/>.

incremental austerity planning (Ibid). Since the plan was made public in 2010, however, no significant urban interventions have been undertaken.

Aside from the Garscube Landscape Link, the most significant intervention by 7N Architects is the Pinkston Watersports centre, completed in May 2014 on the Pinkston Basin at the terminus of the Forth and Clyde Canal, and the Whisky Bond, a studio and office space for arts and creative businesses at Speirs Wharf, both of which I will soon discuss. Before then, however, I want to examine closely the ‘Stalled Spaces’ initiative, run by Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Housing Association, which facilitates temporary uses on sites earmarked for development. The Stalled Spaces site is external to the Growing the Place strategy, but it is an emblematic example of the general tendency towards soft austerity urbanism and post-political fixing in the area.

6.3.3. Stalled Spaces: A Community Fit for a Wee Bit?

A small walled site (see Figure 6.2), forming part of a ribbon of derelict land between the canal towpath and the Speirs Locks industrial estate, has been used as one of many ‘Stalled Spaces’ sites in the city⁷⁹. Stalled Spaces is a city-wide initiative by Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Housing Association which facilitates temporary uses on sites that have been earmarked for development but have ‘stalled’ due to the economic downturn. From 2014, the project has been led by A+DS nationwide as part of the Commonwealth Games 2014 Legacy programme⁸⁰. A sign at the Speirs Locks site reads ‘Stalled Spaces: A community fit...for a wee bit’ (see Figure 6.3), and I want to unpack this leitmotif of temporality here. The ‘seductions of temporary urbanism’, as Ferreri (2015) observes, go back to the early-2000s at least, breaking out to the mainstream in urban planning circles in the mid-2000s. A vast swathe of research has now been conducted on ‘pop-up’, ‘interim’, ‘makeshift’, ‘meanwhile’ and other spaces marked by government intervention for temporary use, with Berlin and London the principal laboratories of such practice in Europe (Rosol, 2010, 2012; Colomb, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013; Hilbrandt and Richter, 2015; Ferreri, 2015). The context of austerity is central to such mediations (Tonkiss, 2013; Hilbrandt and Richter, 2015; Ferreri, 2015), and in this sense 7N Architects’ “limited public realm and arts based initiatives” (Anderson, 2010) are concordant with a wider practice of temporary urbanism that is exemplified in the Stalled Spaces initiative.

⁷⁹ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/stalledspaces>.

⁸⁰ Like many other projects, the Stalled Spaces initiative was extant long before being recuperated as part of the 2014 Legacy programme: <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=12347>.

Figure 6.2: Stalled Spaces site, Speirs Locks (source: Neil Gray)



Figure 6.3: Stalled Spaces sign, Speirs Locks (source: Neil Gray)



The scheme focuses on the temporary use of vacant and derelict land, with the supposed intention of promoting health and wellbeing through arts, education and environmental

initiatives, bringing, according to GCC, over 22 hectares of “unproductive” land and 75 ‘stalled spaces’ into temporary use since 2011⁸¹. Bailie Liz Cameron, GCC’s Executive Member for Regeneration and Development, says that the Stalled Spaces project showcases Glasgow’s Green Year 2015: “supporting the city’s aspirations of becoming a European role model for sustainability”⁸². Local Government and Planning Minister, Derek Mackay, states that the project “will give communities a sense of ownership”, while allowing them to show off their local areas in new and imaginative ways⁸³. This public-facing side of the project is aimed at the creative sector and local communities, stressing community empowerment, creativity, participation, and partnership working in urban renewal. But the Stalled Spaces project is Janus-faced. On the one hand, Stalled Spaces represents a temporary creativity and sustainability fix; on the other, an instrumental strategy for land revaluation. Indeed, the guide for landowners and developers stresses the economic benefits to landowners of stalled spaces: the potential of leasing the land for temporary use; savings on security costs; improving land for eventual development objectives; improving public image; positive economic externalities associated with land improvement⁸⁴. The temporal nature of the project takes on a new meaning here. With Stalled Space projects having a legal term of only six months, it is argued, temporary landscaping can improve site attractiveness *without jeopardising future development plans*. In this way, Stalled Spaces epitomises the “not-so-implicit ultimate aim of urban development” that is so characteristic of temporary urbanism (Ferreri, 2015, p.184).

As Colomb (2012) observes, ‘interim spaces’, defined by planned temporality, are always caught between market estimations of current use-value and potential exchange-value. Thus, she argues, we have to analyse interim spaces within the wider context of economic restructuring and urban transformation, an understanding which directly parallels the ‘rent gap’ thesis: the difference between “the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present use” (Smith, 1996, p.67). Glasgow has a plethora of vacant and derelict land, and finding creativity or sustainability fixes for this problem has an important material and discursive role to play in the restructuring of old industrial cities in times of austerity (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004; Colomb, 2012). The link between the ‘makeshift city’ and ‘austerity urbanism’ is also explored by Tonkiss (2013). While recognising the fine line between the “pop-up” intervention and “tear down” land grab, she

⁸¹ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=10691>.

⁸² <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=12347>.

⁸³ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=12347>.

⁸⁴ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=5352>.

argues that the temporary may not always lead to recuperation and that grappling with the present or near future may be an immediate and useful bulwark against utopian wishful thinking (Ibid, p.315). Approvingly citing Lefebvre's call for 'experimental utopias' and ephemeral, moveable cities (Lefebvre, 1996, p.151), she advocates an urbanism of "minor practices, small acts, ordinary audacities and little anti-utopias" (Tonkiss, 2013, p.323). Tonkiss presents an important corrective to over-determined treatments of creative city policies (cf. Mclean, 2014a, 2014b; Larner, 2014); but, without expressing an antagonistic relation between progressive creative practices and creative city strategies, such arguments risk maintaining the hegemony of capitalist value production, while leaving unprofitable social reproduction to co-implicated actors in creative and sustainability fixes (Frenzel and Beverungen, 2014).

The position outlined by Tonkiss, and in different ways by Larner, tends to present creative practices in bounded ways, neglecting a relational critique of the 'fragmentary sciences' within a wider totality of social relations (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]; Tafuri, 1976). It is important to stress, as Colomb (2012) does, that the possibility for creativity, participation and leisure on interim spaces is typically based fundamentally on private property relations and the permission of landowners. In this sense, the 'community ownership' proselytised in the Stalled Spaces initiative is oxymoronic. The 'Stalled Spaces' site at Speirs Locks, which was home to a series of minor arts events and green growing practices, is currently being flattened and replaced by a private 235-room, £40 million student campus⁸⁵. The contradiction here between current use-value and potential exchange-value calls into question the long-terms social benefits of temporary uses, and this question is emblematic of other small-scale catalyst interventions in Glasgow North based on sustainability and creativity fixes.

6.4. Post-Politics and the Sustainability Fix

As 21st-century economies search for ways to reinvent themselves in the face of mounting evidence of global environmental change, environmental theory has, in large part, fallen into line with capitalist hegemony (Keil, 2007, p.41).

While Lefebvre (1976) argued in the 1970s that urbanisation was becoming integral to the 'survival of capitalism', Keil suggests here that green capitalism is now a precondition for the survival of capitalism from the point of view of its defenders. Sustainability has

⁸⁵ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-23055399>.

become a “dominant master signifier” in planning and environmental circles (Temenos and McCann, 2012, p.1390), and is increasingly ubiquitous in mobile policy scripts (Krueger and Gibbs, 2007; Swyngedouw E, 2007, 2009, 2010; Raco, 2007, 2014). In this context, the ‘sustainability fix’ (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004; Temenos and McCann, 2012) has become integral to spatial fixing in Western Europe and North America. The term can be defined as a political discourse that allows two apparently antithetical aims to proceed: (1) the continuance of growth-based urban entrepreneurialism; (2) the accommodation of environmental concerns within and alongside urban entrepreneurialism (While, Jonas and Gibbs (2004). It draws on Harvey’s (1981, 1982, 1989) conception of the ‘spatial fix’ (cf. Chapter 2) which holds that the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production by dominant factions is reliant on geographical expansion, and more pertinently for this argument the resolution of internal contradictions between growth-based accumulation and social reproduction in times of economic crisis:

Although nature and its production has always been a necessary precondition for capital accumulation, sustainable development is itself interpreted as part of the search for a spatio-institutional fix to safeguard growth trajectories in the wake of industrial capitalism’s long downturn, the global ‘ecological crisis’ and the rise of popular environmentalism (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004, p.551).

Many commentators stress the contradictory objectives of sustainability and entrepreneurial urbanism, emphasising the destructive power of capitalism over the environment and social relations (Harvey, 1996; Swyngedouw, 2007; Keil, 2007; Krueger and Gibbs, 2007; Chatterton *et al*, 2012). *In practice*, sustainable policy discourses typically relegate questions of social justice and equity (Agyeman, Bullard and Evans, 2003); create privileged bounded islands of sustainability in affluent communities (Lake, 2000); and preserve institutions that prioritise capital accumulation at the expense of the environment more generally (Drummond and Marsden, 1995). Yet the symbolic power of sustainability discourses has been particularly potent in old industrial areas (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004), providing myriad possibilities for symbolic re-branding and economic gain, including:

...drawing down public funding, finding appropriate languages and policies for reconciling potential conflicts between growth and quality of life, and seeing in positive urban environmentalism opportunities for revalorising urban space or mitigating further devaluations (Ibid, p.565).

Planning reform in England now reflects and reproduces a wider set of post-political agendas promoting ‘localism’ and ‘sustainability’, just as structural changes in governance have left such initiatives with very little power to effect change (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012; Raco, 2014). Such de-politicising concepts and practices are evident in the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) at Speirs Locks, which draws on the seemingly progressive and sustainable urban design principles of ‘New Urbanism’ and ‘Smart Growth’, which have also been characterised as post-political (MacLeod, 2013).

6.4.1. The Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative

Our own particular interest [...] is whether the aspirational discourses of the smart growth and new urban imaginaries compete with, or are complementary to, neoliberal urban discourses (Gibbs *et al.*, 2013, p.2).

The Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) is a Scottish Government-led programme that was launched in June 2008 (The Scottish Government, 2008, 2011). The initiative supports planning approaches that consider the interplay of environmental, social and economic issues in the framework of sustainable place-making strategies. Eleven ‘exemplar’ projects have been identified throughout Scotland, with two of these located in the ‘Glasgow North’ strategic growth corridor along the Forth and Clyde canal: Maryhill Locks and Speirs Locks. Three main commercial imperatives are outlined in the SSCI business model: (1) attracting businesses and residents; (2) increasing the perceived value of exemplar areas; and (3) the provision of employment opportunities. In exemplary post-political fashion these commercial imperatives are aligned with GCC’s *City Plan 2* and the *Forth and Clyde Canal LDS*, both of which aim to marry “sustainable regeneration” with the “delivery of economic development potential” (Glasgow Canal Regeneration Partnership, 2008, p.11).

The SSCI initiative overall is heavily influenced by the ‘New Urbanism’ (Duany *et al.*, 2000) and ‘Smart Growth’ (Duany *et al.*, 2010) principles advocated by urbanists such as Andres Duany and the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU, 2001)⁸⁶. New Urbanism and Smart Growth theorists and planners advocate place-centred, high-density, mixed-use, mixed tenure, pedestrian-friendly neo-traditional neighbourhoods, with integrated transport systems, and all essential services within five minutes walking distance (Duany *et al.*, 2000; Duany *et al.*, 2010; MacLeod, 2013). As critics concede, the principles of New Urbanism

⁸⁶ These movements, in turn, have been influenced by a critique of modernist planning, including suburban sprawl, motorway construction, single-use zoning, and uniform mass housing projects, with Jane Jacobs’ *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1993 [1961]) a major influence.

and Smart Growth in many ways hold out some progressive potential (Harvey, 1997; MacLeod, 2013). Yet, in an era defined by ‘market triumphalism’ (Gibbs *et al*, 2013), the “urban-design-can-save-us-all” cult of New Urbanism has been questioned by a range of authors on the basis of affordability, spatial determinism, non-integration with other neighbourhoods, and complicity with urban accumulation processes (Harvey, 1997; Krueger and Gibbs, 2007; Gibbs *et al*, 2013; Slater, 2014). Nevertheless, perhaps the most explicit translations of New Urbanism and Smart Growth principles in the UK have occurred in the SSCI programme, with Andres Duany’s “distinctive imprint” registered in a series of three charrettes that he led in 2006 (MacLeod, 2013, p.4; Scottish Government, 2010a).

Macleod (2013) analyses the convergence between New Urbanism, Smart Growth and the SSCI, with a particular focus on Tornagrain, Inverness, posing questions with great relevance to the Speirs Locks SSCI. Firstly, he argues that the charrette in Inverness was seen as a *fait accompli* for growth-based development against the objections of many local people. Secondly, the allocation of a design team, as with Speirs Locks, *pre-dated* local consultation, thus dramatically circumscribing participation in the design process. Thirdly, the charrette process tended to validate the “persuasive guru” status of Duany and New Urbanist ideology, perpetuating his own tenets while obviating dissent (Ibid, p.16). These considerations reflect typical concerns in the post-political literature about democratic deficits, but MacLeod augments them with explicit reference to the socio-economic relations of land and property ownership. In the case of the Tornagrain SSCI, he observes, it is difficult to ignore “the land-renting aspirations” of the Moray family, who are significantly placed within the Scottish aristocracy, and on whose land the Tornagrain SSCI proceeds (MacLeod, 2013, p.18). The issue of land-ownership is a central locus of contestation in all SSCI projects in Scotland, Macleod contends, and this, I argue, is as much the case with public land as it is with private land.

6.4.2. The SSCI Sustainability Fix in Glasgow North

GCC’s Strategic Housing Investment Plan for Maryhill, Kelvin and Canal states that 85% of available sites in the area are owned by GCC or Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), with good potential for land development (Glasgow City Council, 2009c). Both the Speirs Locks and Maryhill Locks SSCI sites are under city council ownership, but as yet Speirs Locks has only seen partial development. Significant changes have occurred at Maryhill Locks, however, and a brief examination of this development, with a focus on housing, is instructive with regard to Speirs Locks. Plans at Maryhill Locks include the development

of 800 residential units, public realm improvements with shops, cafes, community uses and business space, and the promotion of a sustainable low-carbon community⁸⁷. These changes should not be separated from the wider structural transformation of housing in the area. *City Plan 2* proposes the seemingly progressive policies of ‘mixed communities’ and ‘social mix’ in its sustainable housing policy for ‘Glasgow North’. ‘Sustainability’ discourses in the housing sector are increasingly linked with ‘housing mix’ (Lees, 2008), yet there is significant evidence to suggest that housing mix contributes to the deepening of social segregation rather than its mitigation, typically through the demolition and privatisation of social rented housing and unaffordable private tenure bias (Lees, 2008; Glynn, 2009; Bridge, Butler and Lees, 2012; Slater, 2013; Kallin and Slater, 2014).

Moreover, examining the Maryhill Locks SSCI, alongside its designation as one of eight Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs) in the city, allows for a relational view of Maryhill Locks that challenges bounded discourses of sustainability. A Maryhill TRA Steering Group was established as a public-private partnership in March 2010, comprising Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Housing Association, ISIS Waterside Regeneration Ltd (the property wing of GCRP), and three local Housing Associations (HAs). Despite the high level of HA involvement, or perhaps *because* of it, the Maryhill Locks TRA programme has very limited social housing provision despite the recent demolitions of hundreds of homes on the site. From a total of 800 homes, only 146, or 17%, are designated for social rent, with the rest for outright sale or shared equity ownership⁸⁸. *The Burgh Angel*⁸⁹, a now-defunct local community newspaper, with which I have worked⁹⁰, questioned the overall logic of development at Maryhill Locks:

Pressure on social housing has increased because tens of thousands of social homes have been demolished across the city, which have not been replaced. Despite spiralling poverty in Maryhill we have the slimy spectacle of the social home swick at Maryhill Locks. Hundreds and hundreds of almost 100% social homes have been demolished. The land (worth £100 million) has been given away for free by the council to private developers. Worst of all, the plan to replace the hundreds of homes

⁸⁷ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/03/16100049/9>.

⁸⁸ <https://burghangel.wordpress.com/2012/02/09/maryhill-locks-social-housing-deficit/>.

⁸⁹ <https://burghangel.wordpress.com/>.

⁹⁰ In the interest of transparency, it is worth saying that I first investigated the social housing deficit at Speirs Locks with *The Burgh Angel*. This initial salvo, see Note. 27, was then taken on and politicised by other members of the group.

razed to the ground now insists that just 17% of the new houses are to be built for social rent⁹¹.

While *The Burgh Angel* was an active forum for dissent in the area, it did not have the capacity to interrupt development processes at Maryhill Locks, which are now near completion. However, as Raco suggests (2014), challenging post-political forms of sustainability requires re-imagining political processes in a way that recognises shifting modalities of institutional power (cf. Midnight Notes, 2002; Dyer-Witheford, 2008). By voicing concerns publicly, *The Burgh Angel* at least interrupted the discursive logic of development at Maryhill Locks and challenged the image of progressive community ownership presented by the HAs. As noted in Chapter 5, the TRA programme is responsible for a massive reduction of social housing in the city in the name of ‘regeneration’. Maryhill Locks TRA gives an indication of this process, but it is even more marked at Sighthill TRA, to which I will turn shortly. A salient means of challenging post-political discourses, I argue, is to open up such projects and plans to a wider relational examination, rather than accepting them in bounded terms. Territorial inquiry provides one important means for such analysis, and I will now bring the discussion in this chapter together by describing the public walk that I led in Glasgow North in 2012.

6.5. Territorial Inquiry in ‘Glasgow North’

In this chapter, I have examined how culture is routinely instrumentalised for the purposes of land and property development. But seeing culture as a mere cipher for the ‘art of rent’ (Frenzel and Beverungen, 2015) risks neglecting how creative practices and bottom-up politics might resist such totalising plans. Mayer (2013) suggests that a ‘first world urban activism’ fit for the present era should be about bridging the gap between ‘alienated’ subjects (co-opted within creative city branding strategies) and ‘excluded’ subjects (those at the sharp end of ‘austerity urbanism’). Yet Mayer’s account tends to reify a schism between privileged cultural workers and authentic austerity victims, masking the increasingly precarious labour conditions of the cultural workforce, while shortcutting immanent practices of resistance by arts and cultural workers (cf. McLean, 2014a, 2014b; Frenzel and Beverungen, 2015). As Harvey (2002) observes, it is more productive to think of the instrumentalisation of cultural labour dialectically:

⁹¹ <https://burghangel.wordpress.com/2012/03/01/leaked-document-exposes-labours-sleazy-plan-to-take-away-homeless-rights/>.

By seeking to trade on values of authenticity, locality, history, culture, collective memories and tradition they [capitalists in search of monopoly rents] open a space for political thought and action within which socialist alternatives can be both devised and pursued. That space deserves intense exploration and cultivation by oppositional movements (Ibid, p.109).

My concern here is about fostering a *post-political politics* that might challenge the foreclosure of proper politics. Walking as critical inquiry - territorial inquiry - provides one means for doing proper politics via an embodied, empirical examination of the 'technical composition' of capitalist development, while simultaneously attempting to cultivate new forms of 'political composition'. Territorial inquiry, I have suggested, can be considered a form of relational 'cognitive mapping' that might help to orient the subject in and against wider social structures that often remain hidden in everyday experience. My initial hypothesis started from a viewpoint that the Speirs Locks 'cultural quarter', despite its seemingly bounded status, is very much an *active player* for wider urban development in Glasgow North. This position was made clear in the publicity material for the collective walk:

The new urbanism is a separate, privileged spatial project with limited boundaries. This walk will cross those boundaries exploring the wider spatial relations of the area, revealing the planning blight and social contradictions that are a direct result of an underlying ideology of growth which the new urbanism not only leaves unchallenged but actively supports⁹².

The walk was publicised through online mailing lists and personal contacts. The target audience was primarily cultural workers, researchers, activists and community groups. The starting point was Cowcaddens subway, to the north of the city centre, and the walk was scheduled between 1.00-5.00pm on Saturday 15th September 2012. Around fifty people started the walk, with some dropping off as we went along. The composition of the group was fairly even in terms of gender, with most participants working in the culture and education sectors (meaning that most could be described as middle class). Despite my efforts, there were unfortunately less local people involved than I would have liked, though many participants had worked in local venues, the Glue Factory in particular. It is important to stress that many of the cultural and education workers were, and are, also involved in community-based organising. I devised and led the walk, sharing my research

⁹² <http://strickdistro.org/2012/08/22/austerity-urbanism-a-walk-through-the-fictional-city/>

at various points, with seven other people invited to make contributions at pre-designated assembly points along the route⁹³. The following description will not attempt a comprehensive survey of the entire walk and every contribution, but will instead focus on land and property relations in the area, with a particular focus on housing. The description is structured around the designated assembly points *en route*. Some of the presentations were recorded, and I will utilise those recordings below, but unfortunately group discussions were not, so I will have to give a sense of those myself, acknowledging the problematic nature of doing so.

(1) Speirs Locks: A Brief History of Contestation

Standing on the south-western periphery of the ‘cultural quarter’, adjacent to the offices of the National Theatre of Scotland, amid wild growth and fly-tipped litter, walk participants were bemused that such an unlikely site had become so hyped. At this point Nick Durie, a local community activist and former co-editor of *The Burgh Angel*, was invited to discuss previous regeneration plans in the area. His contribution, referenced here with written documents that he and other activists have produced, raised the spectre of post-politics, but also questions of dissensus and ‘proper politics’. Pointing to a GCRP sign nearby, he described as “wonky” the fact that the public bodies advertised were committed primarily to private development. He recalled how proposals in 2005 for a signature £15 million high-rise housing tower at Speirs Locks were withdrawn in 2007 after organised community campaigning. Woodside Community Council, Speirs Wharf Residents’ Committee and Cedar Tenants’ Association, the latter suffering from very poor housing management in Woodside, called for a public local enquiry about the development as noted in Issue 3 of *The Burgh Angel*:

Masterplans have been drawn up for some time but local residents groups say they don’t feel they have been listened to...If the kind of sums of public money that are being spent on developments at the canal were to be shared out through areas like Hamiltonhill the level of disrepair and neglect that we see throughout the Burgh would be a thing of the past⁹⁴

⁹³ Nick Durie, local community activist; Dr. Sarah Glynn, housing scholar; Dr. Anna McLauchlan, Teaching Associate, Strathclyde University; Dr. Susan Fitzpatrick, faculty member, Strathclyde University; Emily Roff, researcher and welfare rights activist; Leigh French, editor, *Variant* magazine; Dr. Gesa Helms, Honorary Research Fellow (*Urban Studies*).

⁹⁴ <https://burghangel.files.wordpress.com/2007/07/theburghangel-issue3-finaldraft.pdf>.

Durie described how campaigners from Cedar Tenants' Association rejected the canal proposals as unaffordable for the local population, lacking in social housing provision and beset with conflicts of interest. In response to such campaigning, the plans were finally shelved, thus overturning what *The Burgh Angel* described as: "...a multi-million pound project to build a skyscraper for yuppies"⁹⁵. Durie stressed the importance of this campaign, but he also observed that GCRP's decision to shelve the plans was probably an attempt to avoid a public inquiry and unwanted scrutiny for future plans. This claim is backed up by comments from the Chief executive of ISIS at the time:

We think that it is in the best interests of the long-term regeneration vision to review our design approach to the development and to work with the community to look in detail at how all our plans tie in with the bigger vision for the canal corridor (*The Scotsman*, 2006).

Regarding the community consultation that followed in the Canal Local Development Strategy (LDS) (Glasgow City Council, 2007), members of the now defunct Glasgow Residents Network, closely related to *The Burgh Angel* group, compiled critical notes for public dissemination, with Durie again centrally involved. These notes describe "a degree of scepticism" in relation to the canal development, "especially among community members", with the consultation process described as "purely a public relations exercise"⁹⁶. Durie's presentation provided an important historical corrective to a narrative of consensual decision-making at Speirs Locks, underscoring similar conclusions from my own research. We would return later to the Speirs Locks 'cultural quarter' via a long circular route, but an integral part of relational inquiry processes is challenging bounded geographical studies and discourses, and thus we moved on with the aim of attaining a wider understanding of the urban context around Speirs Locks.

(2) Port Dundas and Dundashill: A New City Quarter?

We climbed the new path to the Speirs Locks basin, where the view opened up to the city centre in the South and Speirs Wharf and the Whisky Bond along the canal to the north. At the point where the Forth and Clyde canal was reconnected at Port Dundas, with Cowcaddens housing scheme and the M8 motorway in the background, Dr. Anna Maclauchlan gave a short presentation (Figure 6.4). She discussed the shifting commercial orientation of British Waterways (known as Scottish Canals in Scotland), pointing out the

⁹⁵ https://burghangel.files.wordpress.com/2006/11/issue4_final-edit.pdf.

⁹⁶ <http://glasgowresidents.files.wordpress.com/2007/03/notesonforthandclydelds.pdf>.

duplicitous nature of calls for community participation when “all of the assets that were once publicly owned are now in private hands”. Scottish Canals remains a nationalised public corporation, she noted, but they have increasingly engaged with public-private partnerships such as GCRP, who see the canal as an asset for housing development, leisure and business regeneration in the area:

Port Dundas has the potential to create a new city quarter that will attract people and investment to the area as well as support existing communities and businesses within the locality⁹⁷

Figure 6.4: Territorial Inquiry: Port Dundas (source: Neil Gray)



The ‘new city quarter’ mentioned here is proposed for Dundashill, just behind Speirs Wharf and the canal basin at Port Dundas. Dundashill is an extensive piece of brownfield land site, comprising 27 acres, owned by GVA James Barr property consultancy. Following McLauchlan’s presentation, I led the group along to this site, explaining how it represents a potentially enormous development opportunity that is inextricably linked to the Speirs Locks ‘cultural quarter’. From our vantage point on North Canal Bank Street, I

⁹⁷ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/regeneration-projects/new-canal-basin>.

argued, we could begin to see more clearly the rent gap rationale behind Speirs Locks development. For GCRP, I observed, the closure of the Dundashill Distillery in 2010, with a loss of 200 jobs, presents an opportunity for “transforming and revitalising one of the original hill towns of Glasgow” through mixed-use re-zoning⁹⁸. I relayed GCRP’s take on the site, which they conceive as a “truly sustainable” ‘New City Quarter’, with an “On the Edge” concept design that plies a familiar trope of ‘edginess’ in cultural regeneration strategies while simultaneously marking out the edge of the proposed ‘North Quarter’⁹⁹.

GVA James Barr stress how Dundashill occupies a “strategic” position in the ‘Glasgow North’ development framework, with close proximity to the cultural quarter and GCC approval for mixed-use development on site, including: “city living, business, leisure, commercial and extension of existing cultural industries and canal related activities”¹⁰⁰. There are no detailed plans for the New City Quarter, but the GCRP *Draft Canal Action Plan* (2014) suggests a short-term plan of increasing recreational facilities and footfall so that Port Dundas can be transformed into “Glasgow’s urban playground” (Ibid, p.24), with a longer-term objective of building new housing and mixed-use development. The intention, I argued, follows 7N Architects’ template for small-scale catalyst initiatives that might eventually lead to higher land values and uses. The scale of potential brownfield development in the surrounding area is fully apparent from North Canal Bank Street; and following this road east, we headed towards Pinkston Basin and the remaining high-rise blocks of the Sighthill housing scheme, currently undergoing a phased demolition process.

(3) Pinkston Basin: From Paddlesports to Land and Property Valorisation - The Play of Rent

Now that it has been reconnected with Speirs Locks Basin, Pinkston Basin is the terminus point of the Forth and Clyde canal. We clambered through a gap in the fence to gather on a large broken surface below Sighthill housing scheme. The area was largely derelict, fenced off and unused (Figure 6.5). At this point, I discussed how this unlikely scene obscures the site’s strategic location for regeneration strategies in Glasgow North. 7N Architects were commissioned by GCRP to develop a Paddlesports Centre proposal, which has since been approved and completed as Pinkston Watersports¹⁰¹. Utilising recycled shipping containers in its construction, the scheme is an exemplar of ‘soft’ austerity place-making pop-up

⁹⁸ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/regeneration-projects/port-dundas>.

⁹⁹ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/regeneration-projects/port-dundas>.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.showcase.co.uk/property/North-Canal-Bank-Street/Scotland/Glasgow/8362075>.

¹⁰¹ <http://www.pinkston.co.uk/>.

urbanism: “a high profile, low-cost landmark facility” that remains flexible enough for future expansion¹⁰². The centre was established to create footfall, shift perceptions, and “kick start the wider regeneration of Port Dundas”¹⁰³. I argued that the construction of Pinkston Watersports - which might be seen as the first part of Glasgow’s new ‘urban playground’ - helps to legitimise an extraordinary shift from social to private housing in the area as part an instrumental rent gap strategy. This thesis became much clearer when I outlined what is happening in Sighthill. Before then, however, Emily Roff, a researcher and welfare rights worker, was introduced to discuss recent changes in the management of the city’s property assets, very usefully opening our localised discussion of land and property revalorisation to a wider context in Glasgow.

Figure 6.5: Territorial Inquiry: Pinkston Basin (source: Bechaela Walker)



Roff described how GCC created City Property (Glasgow) LLP (henceforth, City Property) as an Arms Length External Organisation (ALEO) in 2009. City Property, she explained, are responsible for the management, development and “disposal” of the Council’s “Non Operational Surplus Land and Property Assets”, and they also provide services for valuation, asbestos assessment, demolition and insurance of all Council properties¹⁰⁴. In March 2010, they took out a £120 million loan from Barclays Bank to purchase the entirety

¹⁰² <http://www.7Narchitects.com/projects/glasgow-paddlesports/>.

¹⁰³ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/media/1343954/paddlesports%20fin8.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.citypropertyglasgow.co.uk/about-us/>.

of the Council's commercial portfolio: 1,500 properties, including all the buildings rented from the Council. This portfolio now consists of 2,500 assets, including shops, offices, and 'community managed facilities' such as halls, neighbourhood centres, and sports centres. City Property, Roff explained, are answerable first and foremost to Barclays Bank, and the contractual obligation to pay off what is effectively a mortgage agreement has serious implications for City Property tenants: "...organisations across the city discovered that their landlord was no longer Glasgow City Council, but City Property - a company with a cast iron profit imperative".

Rents have been reviewed across the board, and peppercorn rates have been abolished, she observed: "which is really bad news for third sector organisations across the city, including the one I work for, a community centre in Kinning Park" (see Nolan, 2015). She described GCC's relationship with Serco, a huge multinational corporation trading in the outsourcing of public services and winning government contracts worth billions of pounds worldwide. Serco, she noted, are involved in everything from healthcare to defence and policing, and are particularly notorious for their role in the detention and deportation of asylum seekers¹⁰⁵. She explained how Serco were awarded a 10-year £265million contract to provide ICT support for the Council in 2008. In the same year, Serco set up a company called ACCESS, another ALEO, as a joint venture limited liability partnership with the City Council. ACCESS describe themselves as the Council's Corporate Landlord, and have been tasked with delivering £73million in savings by 2018 through the rationalisation of the Council's operational property portfolio, including offices, schools, libraries and community centres. ACCESS, as Roff has observed elsewhere, has already "cut the Council's footprint in the City Centre by two thirds" (Anderson, Gray and Roff, 2013). Her summary was sobering:

So what we have is one arms-length organisation, City Property, set up to attract expensive private finance that the Council is legally barred from accessing directly; and another, ACCESS, that puts direct influence over profound and irreversible decisions regarding the core functions of the Council into the hands of a massive multinational corporation that profits from the dismantling of public services all over the world.

"Genuine urban planning", she argued: "is being replaced by a tendering process". Roff's

¹⁰⁵ Serco won the outsourced contract to house asylum seekers in Glasgow. They have been responsible for forcing 'failed asylum seekers' into destitution by evicting them from their homes including the Red Road and Sighthill estates, both visible from our congregation point.

intervention very usefully moved the discussion onto a level of abstraction that illuminated the wider property stratagems of GCC governance. This process has been rapidly systemised since Glasgow's public assets were strategically transformed from use value to exchange value in the 1980's (cf. Chapter 5). A central component of this long-term strategy has been the 'modernisation' (read privatisation) of public and social housing in the city. From our assembly point at Pinkston Basin, we were in a good position to discuss the fate of the remaining high-rise blocks at Sighthill, which exemplify, *in extremis*, recent social housing policy in Glasgow. A photograph taken the year after, with the Paddlesports Centre under construction in the foreground, shows the close relation between the two (see Figure 6.6). Sighthill, I argue here, represents the obscene underside of the GCRP and 7N Architects' Cultural Wayfinding strategy.

Figure 6.6: Pinkston Basin, Sighthill in Background (source: Neil Gray)



(4) Sighthill: Transformational Regeneration as Neo-Haussmanisation

Still standing on the point where the lorry is in Figure 6.4, before the construction of the watersports centre, I shared my research on recent transformations in Sighthill. For the purpose of this description I will step outside the walk somewhat as the detail here requires extensive exposition. When Sighthill was constructed on the 'soda waste' dumping grounds of St. Rollox Works between 1963 and 1969, ten massive 20-storey slab blocks along with several lower buildings provided nearly 2,500 public housing homes

(Glendinning and Muthesious, 1994). The scheme was split into two main areas: Fountainwell in the North and Pinkston in the South. In 2006, a 20-year plan was envisaged to demolish all the blocks and replace them with 1,200 new private homes and 800 homes for social rent. All five Fountainwell blocks were demolished in 2008 and 2009. After a local campaign to retain the five Pinkston blocks in 2009, a further three blocks were targeted for demolition, with two due to be retained. Of the four blocks still visible in Figure 6.4, only two remain, and these are due to be demolished in late 2015. In late 2009, Sighthill was designated by GCC as the largest of eight citywide TRAs, and scheduled as one of the last to be developed. However, in 2012 Sighthill was selected as the preferred site for the Athletes' Village in the GCC's bid to host the 2018 Youth Olympic Games. This information was greeted with much surprise by those on the walk, especially in the context of widespread dereliction within which we stood. The bid was unsuccessful, but the impetus behind it led the Council to declare that the Sighthill TRA would proceed earlier than planned. City Council Leader, Gordon Matheson, explained:

The bid gives us the impetus to work with the local community and our partners, and to lever in private money, to rebuild Sighthill as a popular and vibrant community. It will [...] help unlock the development potential of other areas to the north of the city centre (Lach, 2012b).

Regeneration plans include 800+ housing units, a new education and community campus including a nursery and primary school, a village square, public realm works, new shops, land decontamination, a network of green spaces linking the area to the city centre, and a new bridge over the M8 motorway providing better pedestrian links to the city centre. All this has been hailed as “a legacy of the Games bid”¹⁰⁶, but who will benefit from this transformation? The social housing component in the new regeneration plan is miniscule: 141 homes, provided by Glasgow Housing Association, will be for social rent, with 650 homes for private sale, including market and mid-market rent. As noted in Chapter 5, public housing in the TRA programme citywide will be reduced from 11,000 homes to 600. In Sighthill, taking a long-term view, social rented homes are being reduced from approximately 2,500 homes in the 1960s to 141 homes presently. This is a transformation from public to private tenure of staggering proportions, which, I argue here, has been legitimised, at least in part, by processes of ‘territorial stigmatisation’ (cf. Wacquant, 2007, 2008). Notably, very few people on the walk were aware of the extent of the programme, though Nick Durie and I were involved in challenging the Maryhill TRA.

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=13789>.

In the initial TRA studies, Sighthill was designated as an area with a “high profile negative media image”¹⁰⁷. Promoting regeneration plans in September 2012, Councillor Matheson said that the area had been “going downhill for many years” (Lach, 2012a). The reporter in the same article, meanwhile, stated that high-rise living “went out of fashion” in the 1970s and became “tarred with a stigma” that made it undesirable to occupy (Ibid). A briefing paper, by Go Well: Glasgow Community Health and Well-Being Research and Learning programme, found two peaks in 2001 and 2005 in a survey of stigmatising discourses in newspaper coverage from 1998-2009 (Go Well, 2010). The first peak in 2001 related to the stabbing of Firsit Darg, a Kurdish asylum seeker, near Sighthill in what was widely reported as a racially motivated attack, although no evidence exists for that accusation (Coole, 2002). As Coole observes, media coverage at the time typically, and carelessly, conflated stigmatising discourses about asylum seekers with Sighthill itself, which was routinely characterised as a run-down racist “ghetto” (Ibid, p.845). In fact, many white Sighthill residents marched in solidarity with asylum groups after the incident to disrupt stigmatising narratives about both asylum seekers and local residents. The second peak in 2005 related to plans for demolition and regeneration by GHA; Sighthill being shortlisted as the Athlete’s Village site for the Commonwealth Games 2014; and a murder near the estate (Go Well, 2010).

As Weber (2002) observes, giving an important urban rent perspective on stigma literature, such negative discourses provide a “convenient incantation” for the devaluation and disposal of *unprofitable* properties and land (Weber, 2002, p.181). Such discourses in Sighthill also helped to deflect attention away from “the inequality of local authority provisions” in the area (Coole, 2002, p.844). Under the alias, ‘friendofzanetti’ (2006), I drew attention to these stigmatising discourses, following the proposal that Sighthill be designated as the site for the Commonwealth Games Athlete’s Village¹⁰⁸:

2,000 tenants in the Fountainwell high-rises at Sighthill await demolition in deteriorating homes without capital investment since 2003. While they consider their fate, they have to listen to place-marketing cheerleaders offering Sighthill’s environment up for sale to provide temporary quarters for athletes as part of the city’s Commonwealth Games bid. The houses would then be put up for sale, rather than offered back to the community at affordable rents. The rent gap between current

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=6055&p=0>.

¹⁰⁸ In the end, Dalmarnock, to which I will turn in Chapter 7, was chosen to host the Games Village.

land values and post demolition new build on the back of the Games is likely to be considerable (Ibid, p.20).

Councillor Matheson stated in 2012 that he was sensitive to the fact that disruption is often difficult for residents, but argued that this change is “demonstrably good” (Lach, 2012a), yet such arguments have long been challenged by residents. Sighthill Save our Homes (SSoH), a tenant action group, conducted their own tenant survey in 2005 following dissatisfaction with GHA’s consultation process. In a survey of 262 residents, 76% of those surveyed wanted to stay in Sighthill, 84% wanted immediate investment in the blocks, 51% had no confidence in GHA, and 67% felt that GHA consultation could have been better. Graham Campbell, of the SSoH campaign, said: “These detailed findings show that people want to stay in their current homes and do not want to see the tower blocks demolished” (*Kirkintilloch Herald*, 2005). The survey represented a break in post-political discourse: the ‘part with no part’ making visible and heard what was previously invisible and unheard, retaining two blocks for residents in the process. Nevertheless, a war of attrition has been the order of the day since then. Elaine MacKenzie Ellis, secretary of the local Community Council, recently accused GCC and GHA of “an appalling betrayal” regarding the planned demolition of the remaining blocks (Lach, 2012b). In an open letter to fellow residents, she said that GHA chief executive Martin Armstrong had given an assurance that the blocks had “a long-term future” (Ibid). She also challenged the claim that current tenants will be re-housed in the TRA:

They will demolish the 400 homes in the high flats to build 600 new builds. Only around a third of these will be social housing, the rest private. That means even if tenants did want alternative housing, but also to stay in Sighthill, this would not be possible. Never mind the fact that most people do not want to leave their high flats which have been their homes for up to 44 years¹⁰⁹.

The final figures, it transpired, meant more private tenure and less social rented homes than Ellis cited then, thus underscoring the point. The ultimate objective, according to Councillor Matheson, is to “unlock the development potential” of other areas in Glasgow North by transforming the image of Sighthill (Lach, 2012b). But the “popular and vibrant community” that Councillor Matheson expects in Sighthill (Ibid) will include very few of the residents who currently live there, despite being subject to decades of disinvestment

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-19517338>.

and neglect. One of the other areas targeted for urban development in Glasgow North is Cowlairs Park, which I will now examine.

(5) Cowlairs Park: Planning the Sustainability Fix

After crossing an industrial and warehousing zone, an outcome of previous zonal policies in the area, we headed north up Pinkston Road, crossing Keppochhill Road before climbing an overgrown path up a small hill to Cowlairs Park. The path to the park, which remains in Council ownership, albeit almost entirely unmanaged, exemplifies the limited visual and practical connections to the surrounding area (see, Figure 6.7). However, as we climbed through the trees at the top of the hill, the vast scale of the park was revealed, along with expansive vistas to the north, east and south of the city. From this vantage point, we could clearly see the ongoing demolition of Glasgow's modernist housing revolution at Sighthill and Red Road (Barmulloch), two of the signature developments of the 1960s. Very few people on the walk knew of this site, suggesting both the pedagogical merit of relational territorial inquiry, and, less positively, the shortage of local participants on the walk. Occasional dog walkers were evident, as were young people scrambling on motorbikes, etching their own inimitable 'desires lines' around the park. The area was once a major industrial centre, containing a railway station and iron works within a wider manufacturing environment. Housing occupied the northern half from 1938, with the majority of the southern half designated 'Cowlairs Park'. In the 1990s, the housing was demolished, leaving an extended area of vacant land (Collective Architecture, 2011). Cowlairs Park itself covers around 30 hectares. Combined with the vacant northern half, there is enormous potential for urban development (see Figure 6.8).

At this point, I discussed my research in this area. I noted that Glasgow City Council own most of the land, with small pockets of private and partial council ownership at the fringes. I explained that the site is currently managed by City Property, a point given added resonance following Emily Roff's discussion. Notably, at no point has it been suggested that this public park might be renovated for leisure purposes. My research had found that the park was subject to a Design Study by Collective Architecture (2011), which outlines two potential models promoting "sustainable community placemaking" (Ibid, p.4). I explained that these models encompass an 'Urban Village' containing 750 housing units, and an 'Eco-Village' containing 605 units (see Figure 6.9). Plans for the Urban Village include stepped housing on the south-facing hillside, from which we entered the park, and a new urban farm and self-build eco-plots in the Eco Village design (see Figure 6.9). 'Housing mix' incorporates different architectural *forms* of housing (terrace, tenement,

semi-detached, hill-side), but notably no figures are given for *tenure mix*. The Design Study references a host of national and city-based policy documents, including the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI), *City Plan 2*, and the Ruchill/Keppoch New Neighbourhood (LDS) (Glasgow City Council, 2005).

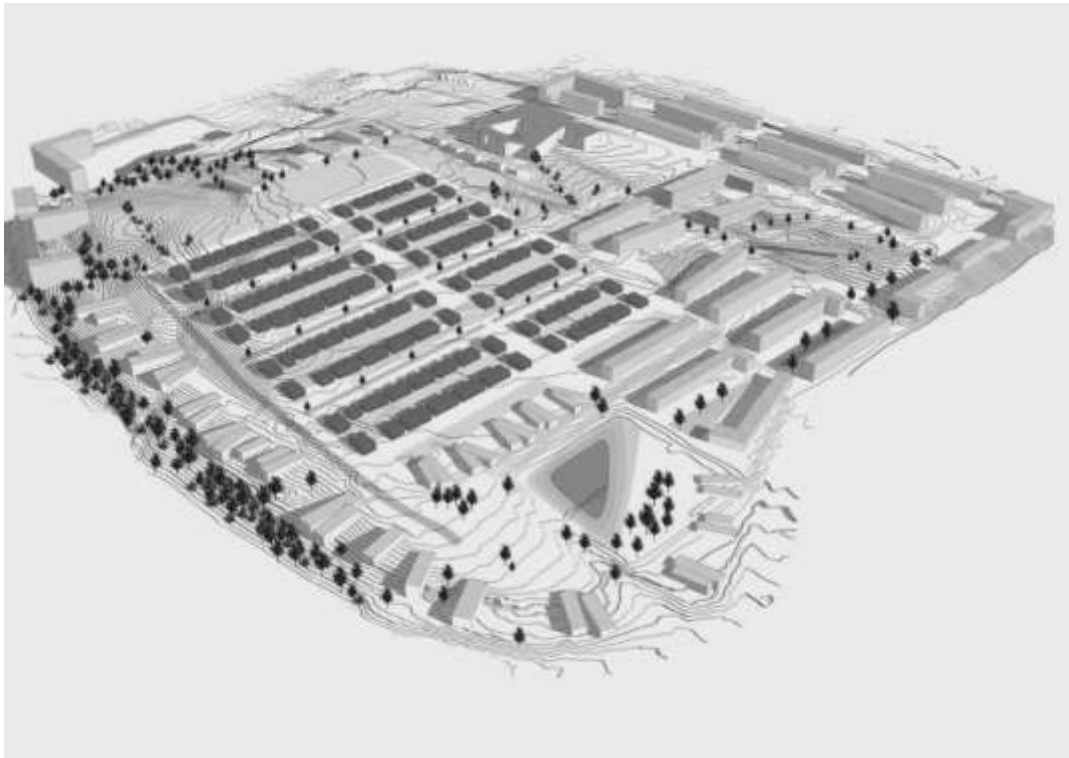
Figure 6.7: View from Keppochhill Road (source: Neil Gray)



Figure 6.8: Territorial Inquiry: Cowlairs Park (source: Bechaela Walker)



Figure 6.9: Cowlairs Masterplan Model (source: Collective Architecture)



Key directives from the LDS mirror the wider ‘Glasgow North’ strategy: development of vacant land, integration with the Forth and Clyde Canal, and development of ‘mixed communities’ - comprising mainly private sector housing. I quoted from the LDS strategy:

The development of New Neighbourhoods, with significant numbers of houses for owner occupation, will increase the choice of house type and size, reverse localised population loss, tackle deprivation and encourage social inclusion in line with joint Structure Plan Targets (Ibid).

The likelihood of either the ‘Urban Village’ or ‘Eco-Village’ meeting these objectives was treated with much scepticism by those on the walk. In their recommendations for Cowlairs Park, Collective Architecture (2011) suggest that City Property should explore all suitable delivery mechanisms to ensure the regeneration of the site, including potentially “entering into a Joint Venture with an agreed developer or consortium over the period of the project” (Ibid, p.84). Whatever the merit of Collective Architecture’s attractive looking designs, it is highly unlikely that they will accommodate much, if any, of the extremely impoverished population in the surrounding area. Instead, the plans can be seen as another example of the post-political sustainability fix, accommodating environmental concerns without in any way disrupting an overall logic of urban accumulation. However, like many proposed

projects in this area, construction is in abeyance. In this context of widespread poverty, low land values and economic recession, I argued, the role of the Speirs Locks development can more easily be discerned as a project designed to shift investor perceptions through pump-priming public funding, in order to ‘unlock’ rent-gap opportunities at Cowlairs Park and other areas in Glasgow North. Following my presentation, we made our way through overgrown paths back down the hill towards Hamiltonhill housing estate.

(6) Hamiltonhill: ‘Blight’ and Redevelopment

Hamiltonhill housing scheme is only a few hundred metres from the Whisky Bond and the ‘cultural quarter’. We entered the scheme through a street of boarded up and shuttered social housing homes, being prepared for demolition (Figure 6.10). They have since been demolished (Figure 6.11). Built in 1923, the scheme was Glasgow’s first ‘Rehousing’ scheme, the lowest category in the three-tier public housing classification system of the inter-war years (Damer, 2000b). The scheme suffered badly in socio-spatial terms in the post-war years, like most other areas in Glasgow North. The walk made apparent how close the scheme lies to the Speirs Locks cultural quarter, with many people expressing surprise at the scheme’s peaceful and potentially desirable location near the canal and the city centre. With the development of the canal, the area represents another potentially profitable rent-gap opportunity for developers and regeneration plans are currently being developed by GCRP (2014).

Figure 6.10: Territorial Inquiry: Hamiltonhill Road, Hamiltonhill (source: Bechaela Walker)



Figure 6.11: Hamiltonhill Road, post-demolition (source: Neil Gray)



Under a mature tree, facing out onto an open public space beside the shuttered houses, Nick Durie, a former resident and housing campaigner in the area, spoke again. He argued that long-term processes of disinvestment in Hamiltonhill were part of a deliberate blighting process by GCC; “so that the whole hill could be handed over to the developers”:

The contempt that the Council, The Housing Associations, and all of the authorities feel for people...that they can say this is an area of containment, this street we’re going to move drug dealers in, this street we’re going to ignore fires that are going on, because it’s all for the benefit of the real estate agenda.

He recounted how the spectre of toxic contamination had been mobilised to clear residents for the purpose of regeneration, making reference to the economic crisis begun in 2007:

Round about 2009, 2010, when we were doing the tenants organisation thing we got a missive through. Now obviously, the crash had happened by then. So if you think about all this money that was going to go into private housing, wasn’t there to the same extent. We got this missive through, everyone in the estate, saying they were going to investigate toxic waste. So the toxic waste problem that had affected the allotments, then subsequently ceased to affect the allotments, perhaps was now affecting the estate. Right, these houses have been up since the 1930’s so they’ve

taken a long time to get round to this. And it was from, I think quite significantly, from Steve Inch at the Council who was the Director of Development and Regeneration Services. So he had nothing to do with the environment or public safety. His job was regeneration you know.

For Durie, such discourses typically have very negative effects on resident populations, often leading to political decomposition and population dispersal:

...people have went, you know, sod this, I'm not fighting, I'm going to leave. They've got the message. So it's not natural that things happen like this, it's the result of deliberate processes

Here, Durie follows Smith (1996) and Weber (2002) in grasping the instrumental nature of naturalising discourses of blight for strategies of political management and urban land revaluation. I will return to this important question shortly in relation to wider rent gap agendas after concluding my description of the territorial inquiry and our return to the cultural quarter via the canal.

(7) The Canal and Speirs Locks Cultural Quarter: Closing the Circle

Just a couple of minutes down the hill we paused at the Whisky Bond, an arts studio complex portrayed in hyperbolic fashion by GCRP as a “creative factory”: “a place for renegades, optimists & game-changers to succeed”¹¹⁰. Leigh French, the former editor, now co-editor, of *Variant* magazine, here described the background to the opening of Whisky Bond in 2012 as a £2.5 million conversion of a former whisky warehouse for Glasgow Sculpture Studios. It is owned by British Waterways (Scottish Canals), he observed, and was funded by Glasgow City Council, Creative Scotland and a mixture of trusts and other sources. It was originally built in 1957, and had lain empty for more than ten years before 2012. The building now comprises a public gallery, temporary workspaces, a café and over 40 studios. The top four floors are rented by small companies, artists, and businesses; the bottom three floors by Glasgow Sculpture Studios. According to GCRP’s website, the premises will provide a place for “like minded entrepreneurs to run a business” in ways that are “fully aligned with emerging 21st century culture”¹¹¹. As French observed, floor plan rates are accordingly very expensive, and the pronounced

¹¹⁰ <http://www.glasgowcanal.co.uk/regeneration-projects/whisky-bond>.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

entrepreneurial ideology and exclusive rents of the Whisky Bond can be seen as an emblematic symbol of GCC and Creative Scotland’s current cultural vision.

He argued that the Whisky Bond must be seen in the context of a policy push towards “creative industries”; an economy where “ownership over resources in rent-seeking procedures”, such as property and intellectual property rights (IPR), helps to divert revenues to the financial sector. In this sense, the Whisky Bond conforms very much to the entrepreneurial model outlined in the ‘Growing the People’ approach (Barrie, 2010; Lawlor, 2011). French questioned positivist assumptions around cultural regeneration, the reification of the so-called ‘creative classes’, and the effacement of any significant debate around state wealth redistribution in cultural policy. In the pleasant surroundings of the canal-side location, we could not forget so quickly that we had just passed through some of the poorest and most neglected areas in Scotland. We moved towards Speirs Wharf along the canal, before heading down a steep incline of steps past the Stalled Spaces initiative, which I described earlier, and on to our final assembly point within the Speirs Locks cultural quarter. The vaingloriously entitled ‘Edington Street Creative Campus’, a small set of wooden steps on a grassy bank between two minor streets, became our impromptu agora (see Figure 6.12), with concluding remarks by Dr. Gesa Helms and Dr. Susan Fitzpatrick re-affirming an implicit critique of the co-implication and instrumentalisation of cultural labour within urban entrepreneurialism. From this point, we moved on to the convivial setting of a nearby pub for food, refreshments and further discussion.

Figure 6.12: Territorial Inquiry: Edingston Street (source: Bechaela Walker)



(8) Walk Summary

In Chapter 4, I proposed territorial inquiry as an immanent investigative response to neoliberal urbanism, comprising a situated phenomenological approach based on collective encounter and discussion. The response to the inquiry by participants told me that this approach was useful for those on the walk. In particular, the relational method allowed for a deeper experiential understanding of the Speirs Locks cultural quarter within a wider urban context of which very few people were aware before the walk. In terms of reciprocal exchange and making links between subjective experience and the wider abstractions of land and property strategies, the inquiry was also successful. However, the composition of the group was skewed by the fact that it was organised with *Transmission Gallery*, a contemporary art gallery with a tradition of critical cultural work. In other walks that I have conducted, for instance in the East End of Glasgow where the cultural aspect was less prominent, the class composition of participants has been much more focused on working class and unemployed residents.

The inquiry undoubtedly helped cultural workers become more self-reflexive and aware of a context that many had worked within, but where engagement and exchange with directly affected communities in the surrounding context was more limited, even if many community activists from other areas in Glasgow were present. Personal local contacts in the area, especially through *The Burgh Angel*, were apparently not keen to engage in a project that I assume may have seemed too ‘arty’ for some, with no obvious immediate political leverage. The question of class is an obvious problem here, as the ability to work in the arts at all is often highly dependent on social and economic capital, which is clearly unevenly distributed. Moreover, manners of speech, dress and comportment have clear impact in designating a distribution of the sensible that leaves certain people feeling othered and excluded. Yet it remains important to stress that many ‘artists’ on the walk were also community activists, care workers, or precarious workers in the service sector, thus holding out the possibility for potential forms of political recomposition between ‘alienated’ and ‘excluded’ subjects (cf. Mayer, 2013). Nevertheless, in lieu of more local presence, Nick Durie’s interventions were very important, as he was able to communicate years of experience with local community and housing struggles very persuasively through his actual presence in situ.

The inquiry certainly helped to illustrate the point that large-scale regeneration in North Glasgow involves moments of “great transformation and conflict”, requiring urgent

political attention (cf. Panzieri, 1965). Yet it was not able to move beyond its own circumscribed temporal and spatial co-ordinates to inform further political activity. The lack of wider participation from directly affected communities is one reason for that. But there also seemed to be very little existing political organisation in the area that might catalyse further activity. SSoH, for instance, was no longer extant after years of phased demolition and displacement. Nick Durie intimated on the walk how long-term processes of blight, disinvestment, poverty and stigma had sapped the fight from many local communities, leading to political decomposition in my terms. In an independent report that he produced seven years ago (Durie, 2008), a class composition analysis in all but name, he expanded on this problematic. The report notes the vital importance of housing for collective political organisation, but also the “fragmentation of communities” following de-industrialisation, including the hazards of widespread poverty, and the poor condition of housing stock: “mismanaged by housing officers for decades” (Ibid). In the face of tenant incorporation by HA structures, he also notes the difficulty of maintaining independent tenants groups.

These problems of decomposition are very hard to surmount, especially in an area of socio-spatial fragmentation undergoing perennial rounds of demolition. Yet, in such a context, the investigation of contemporary conditions is vital. As Alquati (2013 [1961]) stresses, a low level of autonomous organisation necessitates a survey of conditions that might help create a critical circulation of experiences while initiating fresh modes of direct encounter between interested parties. Such modes of encounter were established in the inquiry process, albeit with the demographic limitations expressed above. The inquiry also constituted a sustained examination of the power relations behind land and property ownership, housing tenure, and planning frameworks that had resonance in and beyond the route of the walk. Critical discussions of HAs, and wider scrutiny of cultural agencies and public bodies, also challenged the legitimacy of public and third sector organisations who claim to represent a range of community members in seemingly progressive and equitable ways. In this sense, the walk challenged many post-political narratives in and around Speirs Locks. At the same time, the inquiry provided a sustained investigation of socio-spatial conditions in the area that can provide a knowledge base for collective investigation and organisation in the future.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the urbanisation of capital is mediated in increasingly complex ways, involving a range of seemingly progressive and equitable agencies. Soft austerity urbanism and creativity and sustainability fixes, I have argued, represent post-political discourses that do not in any way challenge the fundamental axioms of neoliberal capital accumulation strategies. The discourses and practices of these new mediations require ongoing scrutiny and investigation (Raco, 2014), and this chapter has undertaken that project with specific reference to the Speirs Locks cultural quarter and its wider environs through spatial composition analysis and a process of territorial inquiry. Surveying the wider landscape and policy orientation, a picture has emerged of sustained disinvestment and technical and political decomposition of a very pronounced nature. Much of the population has left, or been forced to leave, through lack of jobs, poverty, and demolition of social housing. Yet Glasgow North is very close to the city centre, and vacant and derelict land, comprising over a hundred acres, now represents a potentially vast ‘new urban frontier’ and rent gap opportunity (Smith, 1996) for government, quasi-government and private development agencies.

Rent gap theory is a political economic theory of uneven development (Smith, 1982; Clark, 1995) and closing the rent gap is highly dependent on the relation between suitably high land and property values and suitably low land and property values in adjacent neighbourhoods. No developer expects to create an island of wealth in a sea of poverty and large profits are hard to squeeze from areas with high land and property values (Smith, 1996). Yet, the M8 has created a barrier to rent gap closure in the south, and values remain persistently low to the north and east. However, to the west, land values in Woodside and Maryhill are rising due to their proximity to the West End, which contains some of the highest land and property values in Glasgow. In an article in *The Herald* from the late 1990s, MacCalman (1999) discusses how Ruchill and Keppoch were being targeted for “gentrification” under a plan to “pull” the West End market eastwards. In an almost direct translation of Smith’s new urban frontier thesis, North Kelvin councillor James Mackechnie said at the time:

You could almost draw a parallel with the Mid-West of the USA in the mid 19th century and the Transvaal at the turn of the century [...] What you’ve basically got here is settlers coming into Ruchill and forgetting that there’s actually a population there already - just like the native Americans or native South Africans. Ruchill is not

some empty wilderness awaiting colonisation. It's a resilient community battling to retain its identity and improve its environment and local amenities (Ibid).

This reading of the situation indicates that plans to gentrify the area have been afoot for some time, and that some members of the local population had a very good idea of what that might mean. Yet this still leaves the problem, for developers and speculators, of a wider context of low urban land values. Where the rent gap does not exist, I argue here, *it must be invented*, and with this understanding we can better grasp the instrumental development at Speirs Locks and the canal. Long-term processes of disinvestment and devaluation have been ongoing for decades until recent highly selective processes of pump priming have been undertaken. The rent gap thesis (Smith, 1979, 1996) cautions us to view these seemingly contradictory processes of devalorisation and revalorisation as part of a wider totality of social and economic relations with higher land and property values as the ultimate aim. Spatial composition analysis, however, is not merely a political economy of space, but a critique of the political economy of space. To go beyond a merely contemplative position, however valuable in itself, requires a mode of praxis, and territorial inquiry provides one key method for such praxis. In the conclusion to the thesis overall, I will discuss the merits and limits of territorial inquiry, both in relation to its use at Speirs Locks and in a wider sense for future practice.

7. Mega-Event Regeneration and Spatial Composition in Glasgow's East End

This chapter applies spatial composition analysis to the East End of Glasgow in relation to the Commonwealth Games 2014 (CWGs 2014), held between July 23rd and August 3rd 2014, and the Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC)¹¹² urban renewal project, described as the “biggest and most ambitious regeneration programme” in Scotland (Clyde Gateway, 2013). These projects are considered here as parallel, inter-related processes, with the Games acting as a catalyst for a wider urban reconfiguration of the area through the longer-term Clyde Gateway project (2007-2027). The scale and impact of these developments provide precisely the kind of ‘hot’ process of transformation and conflict that Panzieri (1965) identified as fertile ground for composition analysis, and, given the decidedly urban nature of such changes, spatial composition analysis in particular.

A central argument in this thesis is that processes of decomposition must be taken more seriously, and this need is particularly acute in the East End of Glasgow. Like other recent sporting mega-events in the UK, such as the Manchester Commonwealth Games 2002 (Ward, 2003; Smith and Fox, 2007) and the London Olympics 2012 (Gold and Gold, 2008; Short, 2008 Watt, 2013), urban regeneration has been legitimised by a perceived need to tackle long-term processes of urban decline in old industrial areas. Indeed, Clyde Gateway URC was primarily set up to address issues related to the legacy of old industries, including land conditions, pollution and contamination. This chapter will examine the social and economic relations behind these processes, paying close attention to related discursive frameworks, public costs, and the contradictions and contestation arising from regeneration plans.

Swyngedouw *et al* (2002) have identified five chief characteristics of urban regeneration in a comprehensive survey of thirteen large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) in twelve European Union countries. UDPs, they argue, are typically used as vehicles to establish exceptionality measures in planning and policy procedures; local democratic participation mechanisms are rarely respected or applied; projects are poorly integrated into the wider urban process or planning system; socioeconomic polarisation is accentuated through the working of real estate markets; and governance reflects, embodies and produces new elite-driven geometries of power (Ibid, p.195). Such patterns are evident in

¹¹² URC's are special purpose vehicles set up to attract and co-ordinate public and private sector investment.

the East End of Glasgow, but composition analysis is not only concerned with how capitalism regulates the relations of production and reproduction, it also concerns how and where these processes are challenged.

This chapter will thus draw on my work with the *Glasgow Games Monitor 2014* (GGM 2014) from late 2007 to 2015, and my partisan engagement with local struggles in the East End, to demonstrate how contestation has been very much in evidence in Glasgow East. This chapter will illustrate historical tendencies of decomposition in the area, focusing in particular on the Glasgow East Area Renewal (GEAR) project (1976-1987), before scrutinising the regeneration plans of CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway, and their related ‘Legacy’ discourse. I will discuss the revalorisation of land and property relations in the East End, concentrating on state-led land remediation and infrastructural fixes, before investigating the type of developments undertaken by Clyde Gateway, including their public costs and likely (private) beneficiaries. I will discuss how these projects have led to local contestation, with a particular focus on the housing question and the Games Athletes ‘Village, one of the major legacy projects associated with CWGs 2014.

7.1. *Glasgow Games Monitor 2014* and Struggles from Below

Class composition analysis starts with the struggles themselves (Cleaver, 1979; Midnight Notes, 1999; Wright, 2002). In my work with GGM 2014, discussed in Chapter 4, I engaged in active processes of investigation, inquiry and solidarity with those negatively affected by regeneration since 2008. A great deal of literature on mega-events and regeneration assumes a position of ‘objectivity’, based on weighing up and rationalising cost-benefit analyses (Gratton *et al*, 2005; Smith and Fox, 2007; Short, 2008; Matheson, 2010). In contrast, my approach with GGM 2014 is avowedly critical, arguing that ‘regeneration’ equals ‘gentrification’, and that urbanisation has become a central capital accumulation strategy with deeply uneven social and economic results (Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011; Gray and Porter, 2014). I did not assume, as Smith and Fox (2007) do, that effective co-ordination between Games organisers, government and regeneration agencies and businesses would ensure positive outcomes for the local community. Instead, I saw such actors as agents of ‘state-led’ gentrification strategies (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Lees, 2008; Watt, 2009, 2013) and post-political governance structures that typically suppress the possibility of dissent and counter-organisation through active processes of bio-political consensus-formation (Uitermark *et al*, 2007; Schinkel and van der Berg, 2011; Rossi, 2013; Raco, 2015). Indeed, the independent media work of GGM 2014 was in part a

response to structural complicity in the mainstream media: *The Herald*, Glasgow's principal broadsheet newspaper, was an official media partner for CWGs 2014, along with its related papers, *The Sunday Herald* and *The Evening Times*.

GGM 2014 played an active part in several cases of high-profile resistance, which I will briefly summarise here. The main case study in this chapter focuses on the Jaconelli family, who remained in their tenement home in Dalmarnock, which lay on the path of the proposed Athletes' Village site after all the other tenants were cleared from the site in 2002. Following a long campaign for adequate compensation, a compulsory purchase order (CPO) was announced, with the family forcibly evicted in an operation involving over 100 police officers in March 2011 (Gray and Porter, 2014) (see Figure 7.1). I will discuss this campaign in more detail later.

Figure 7.1: Jaconelli family and friends (source: Neil Gray)



Across the road from the Athletes' Village, the Accord Day Care Centre for adults with severe learning disabilities was demolished to create a bus park for CWGs 2014 after a protracted campaign by carers to save the facility and service. In March, 2011, three mothers/carers visited the eviction blockade at the Jaconelli home, where GGM 2014, among many others, provided support. I interviewed them about their 'Save the Accord'

campaign¹¹³, posting the interview and photographs on our blog (see Figure 7.2)¹¹⁴, helping to bring attention to the campaign, which later became widely supported in Glasgow. Carers and users of the Accord Centre were involved in a wider campaign against the introduction of the highly contested ‘personalisation’ or self-directed support (SDS) approach in social care services, which places the emphasis on carers to ‘choose’ and budget for their own services whether they want to or not¹¹⁵. They were also involved in a campaign against the planned closure of day care centres across the city.

Figure 7.2: Accord Centre Carers (source: Neil Gray)



Another key campaign was based on resistance to ATOS, a French IT and healthcare company who were responsible for the widely despised disability work assessments on behalf of the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). The same company were a major sponsor of CWGs 2014, while also overseeing the Games accreditation, volunteer and information systems. CWGs 2014 thus became a prime target for disability and benefits rights activists, with a series of ‘flash occupations’ taking place at prestige venues such as the Chris Hoy Velodrome, one of the major new CWGs 2014 venues, and the headquarters

¹¹³ ‘Save the Accord’ Facebook campaign: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Save-the-Accord-centre/192446497459688>.

¹¹⁴ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/no-legacy-for-learning-disabilities-in-dalmarnock/>.

¹¹⁵ The arguments against personalisation are numerous, but key arguments include insufficient financial support, the extra time and labour involved in *managing* care, and the loss of day care centres as key sites in the development and support of social relations.

of Glasgow 2014 Ltd, the organising committee for the Games. GGM 2014 were involved in several of these flash occupations, taking photographs and circulating the stories online through the GGM 2014 blog (see, Figure 7.3)¹¹⁶.

Figure 7.3: Anti-ATOS campaign, Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome (source: Neil Gray)



In the end, negative publicity, including that related to actions targeting CWGs 2014, led to ATOS being dropped by the DWP. What is distinctive in terms of the composition of these different campaigns, which often overlapped in terms of solidarity and support, is that they were primarily focused on issues of social reproduction - housing, care, welfare - rather than the workplace. It is notable that women played a leading role in these campaigns and that overall the ‘new social subjects’ of urban struggle in the East End comprised a high proportion of women and disabled people. This, I would argue, is a consequence of the current composition of capital, with the traditionally primary role of the male wage earner in manufacturing or industry now no longer so prominent or politically relevant.

While the Save the Accord and anti-ATOS campaigns provide a powerful lens with which to analyse urban development and welfare reform in the East End, I will focus here on the Jaconelli family, whose resistance to displacement through the Athletes’ Village illuminates the contradictory relation between urbanisation and local needs acutely. I will

¹¹⁶ Extensive coverage of ATOS and the Games can be found on the GGM 2014 blog: <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/what-now-for-atos-and-the-dwp/>.

also describe a housing meeting that GGM 2014 arranged as a catalyst for wider discussion around the housing question and the possibilities for political recomposition around this issue. Before then, some context is required. Marx (1852) famously observed in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that we make our own histories, but also that we do not do so under conditions of our own making. The same can also be said for geographies (Soja, 1989; Harvey, 1984). Thus, before proceeding to a closer analysis of the CWGs 2014 and the Clyde Gateway project, I will examine the recent history of decomposition in Glasgow's East End, which has been extreme even by Glasgow's standards (Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Damer, 1990; Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011). The enormous scale of urban development in the East End necessitates a close focus on the technical composition of capital in the next few sections, as understanding this context is vital for grasping the possibilities of political re-composition.

7.1. The Legacy of the GEAR Project (1976-1987)

GEAR was packaged very cleverly. It was billed as the first effort at 'comprehensive regeneration' of a whole inner-city area utilising a 'multi-agency' approach. In this sense, it was a prototype of the subsequent inner-city partnerships in England (Damer, 1990, p.17).

In Chapter 5, I noted how Glasgow's neoliberal turn in the 1980s, can be traced back to the multi-agency Glasgow East Area Renewal (GEAR) project (1976-1987)¹¹⁷. I will expand on that discussion here with a specific focus on the East End. As Middleton (1987) observes, the East End is an exemplary victim of uneven development and the "unplanned, unregulated operation of free enterprise" in the industrial era (Ibid, p.13), following a similar trajectory to the city overall (Checkland, 1976; Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995). The Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946, which encouraged new regional centres of growth and the creation of New Towns in the post-war era, only exacerbated socio-spatial problems in the East End, vastly reducing the spatial concentration of industry and people in the area. This culminated in massive technical and political decomposition and a major reduction in the bargaining power of workers. Following the demise of most manufacturing industries in the 1960s, Bridgeton/Dalmarnock, Tollcross, Parkhead and Shettleston were all designated for population overspill and redevelopment. Vast tracts of tenement housing were demolished in the "surgical operations" of the CDA programme

¹¹⁷ Partners included Strathclyde Regional Council, Glasgow District Council, the Scottish Special Housing Association, Greater Glasgow Health Board, Housing Corporation, Scottish Development Agency and the Manpower Services Commission.

(Gibb, 1983, p.175), leaving communities that were once tightly woven together as factory and housing settlements stranded in increasingly substandard environmental conditions (Reed, 1999; Rich, 1981). Crucially, large-scale demolition and displacement occurred but redevelopment did not:

The waste areas were the visible evidence of failure to keep the various parts of the programme [CDA redevelopment] in phase: decentralisation [...] was meant to be accompanied by redevelopment, but was not. Population declined more rapidly than anyone expected: the outflow of people to new towns, suburbs and further afield was massive. Industrial change meant that unwieldy factories were vacated and left to decay (McDonald, 1987, p.152).

It was in this context that GEAR was developed, replacing the defunct CDA programme with the urgent aim of tackling “the most devastated and derelict quarter of the city” (Middleton, 1987, p.4). The total GEAR area was vast, covering 1,600 hectares, or 8% of the city, and comprising seven former CDA areas (Pacione, 1993). The project area was bound to the west by the High Street; to the north and south by Duke Street and the River Clyde respectively; and to the east by Carmyle and Sandyhills. Looking in turn now at population decline, employment, housing and the environment, before during and after GEAR, the extent of social, urban and political decomposition in the area is readily apparent:

(1) *Population Decline*: In the period 1971-1981, overall population decline in Glasgow was greater than any other UK city, and in the GEAR area it was even more striking (Wannop and Leclerc, 1987; Middleton, 1987). In 1951, the population stood at 145,000, but by 1981 this figure had been reduced dramatically to 41,000. Between 1971 and 1977 alone there was a 45% loss of population, with Bridgeton and Dalmarnock losing over 50% and Calton losing over 70% of its residents (Ibid, pp.28-29). Much of the out-migration involved working age people and families, leaving large numbers of elderly, disabled and unemployed people, many of whom had been casualties of hazardous working conditions in heavy industry (Ibid, p.29). Population decrease was never rectified in the intervening years, and thus a population increase of 20,000 people was a key objective for Clyde Gateway over the duration of the project. What *type* of population is a question I will attempt to answer in this chapter.

(2) *Employment*: The contraction or closure of manufacturing firms such as the Clyde Iron Works, Templeton’s Carpet Factory, and Beardmore’s Forge, saw 24,000 manufacturing

jobs lost in the GEAR area between 1961 and 1987 (McCarthur, 1987, p.73). The Scottish Development Agency (SDA) expected that up to 4,865 jobs would be created in the area by 1983 (Ibid, p.77), yet by 1987 the net increase was only 39 after subtracting job *losses* created by the initiative (Ibid, p.82). GEAR tended to be treated in isolation, ignoring related job losses in other areas of the city. Most GEAR businesses were not new, and a large proportion of the very limited employment benefits of the scheme were transferred from other areas (Ibid, p.87). Surveying the entire scheme, the consultancy firm *Pieda*, in collaboration with the Centre for Housing Research at the University of Glasgow (Richie, 1998), found that the project had largely failed in its employment objectives: employment loss post-GEAR was worse than before the scheme started and worse than in any other part of the city. Between 1976 and 1984, overall unemployment in the area almost doubled, with male unemployment in Bridgeton-Dalmarnock higher than anywhere else in the Strathclyde region by 1984 (McCarthur, 1987, p.88). Whatever the merits of the GEAR project, Damer (1990) observed: “making inroads into local unemployment [was] not one of them” (Ibid, p.13).

(3) *Housing and Environment*: GEAR is generally seen as being relatively successful regarding housing: 4,000 tenements rehabilitated, 8,000 inter-war houses modernised, 2,000 council houses and 2,000 private houses newly constructed (Reed, 1999; Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Richie, 1999). A 1982 household survey showed a general level of satisfaction, with most people living in public housing keen to stay in the East End (Clapham and Kintrea, 1987). This is perhaps indicative of Glasgow District Council’s important social reproductive role following capital flight from the city (cf. Chapter 5). But the local population was not passive in this process: tenants fought hard for the provision of “public housing and the creation of many welfare services” (Middleton, 1987, p.14). In 1984, public housing represented 76% of all housing in the GEAR area, a figure only exceeded in the UK by Tower Hamlets (Clapham and Kintrea, 1987, p.94). This meant that housing was a major political issue for competing parties in this period (Middleton, 1987, p.4).

But more positive accounts of housing in the East End must be seen within the context of CDA demolition programmes, with housing reduced in the area overall from 28,500 in 1971 to 15,049 in 1981 (Adams, 1990, p.43). Public housing has since been further fragmented by the stock-transfer process, yet social renting remains the norm. In terms of the environment overall, the GEAR project, under pressure to relieve exceptional urban circumstances, proceeded “without the agency of a grand plan”, adopting instead an “ad-

hoc” response to opportunities which resulted in “an unstructured patchwork of housing, industrial and recreational activities” amid acres of derelict land (Reed, 1999, pp.212-213). This fragmented urban landscape remains a significant problem for political recomposition in the area. The GEAR project also serves as a forewarning regarding public-private partnerships, with substantial public funding largely failing to stimulate private investment and generate employment. For such a high cost, there was little evidence of private sector investment overall:

After the huge amount of money poured into Glasgow’s East End by way of an incentive to private industry, it is disappointing that private investors have shown so little commitment - and it suggests, too, that the Government’s starry-eyed faith in the private sector leading the way in the urban renewal of other British inner cities is naïve to the point of being deceitful (Richie, 1988).

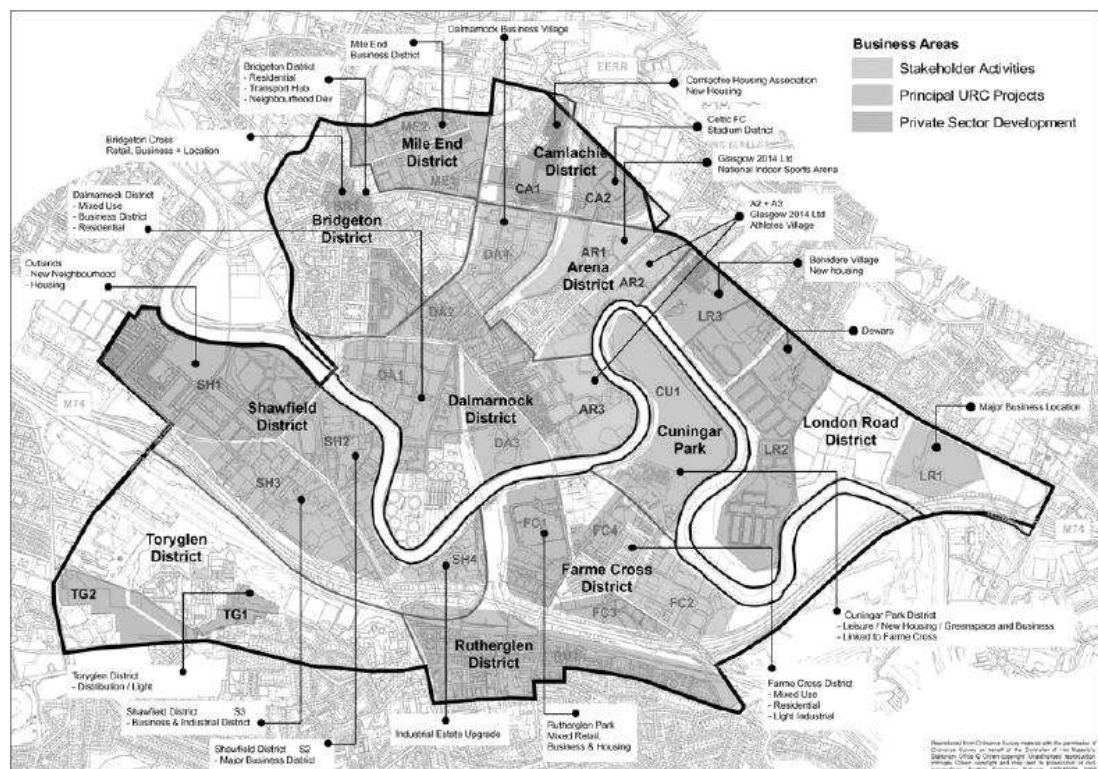
This analysis remains highly pertinent in relation to CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway, with public subsidy largely driving current urban regeneration projects despite the pervasive entrepreneurial rhetoric of urban boosters. These projects, the inheritors of GEAR, have been cast as placebos for long-term urban decline in the East End, and the next section will examine their claims alongside a related ‘Legacy’ discourse that has come to represent a discursive guarantee against a perception of previous failures in large-scale UDPs and mega-events

7.2. CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway: Contemporary Regeneration Plans in the East End of Glasgow

Glasgow won the bid to host CWGs 2014 in 2007, and the Clyde Gateway URC, much larger in scale and longer in duration, was also established as a two-decade project running until 2027. Glasgow 2014 Ltd, comprising the Scottish Government, Glasgow City Council and the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, oversaw the management of the CWGs 2014. Twelve venues were used across the city, with 70% of the infrastructure pre-existing, including stadiums such as Hampden Park, Celtic Park, Ibrox and Scotstoun. This means that financial and logistical risks associated with potential ‘white elephants’ were comparably less than other mega-events. The major venue construction took place between Dalmarnock and Parkhead, including the Emirates National Indoor Stadium (incorporating the Chris Hoy Velodrome), and the Athletes’ Village. It was initially claimed that the event would stimulate the building of 1,000-1,400 new retrofitted homes on the site of the Athlete’s Village, and create 1,000 permanent new jobs (Gray, 2009b).

The Clyde Gateway project manages one of six major regeneration areas in the city outlined in *City Plan 2*. It is a partnership between Glasgow City Council, South Lanarkshire Council, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire, and Communities Scotland, and one of many controversial arms-length external organisations (ALEOs) calved off from GCC, which have been criticised for lowering wages and conditions, tax-dodging, fragmenting the delivery of public service, and political patronage (French and Gray, 2010). The Clyde Gateway URC covers 2,070 acres, more or less the same area as GEAR, overlapping with sites of key venues and facilities for the 2014 Commonwealth Games (see Figure 7.4). The stated objectives are to create 21,000 new jobs, 10,000 new housing units, a population increase of 20,000, and 400,000 square metres of business space. The main areas affected are Shawfield, Rutherglen, Bridgeton, Dalmarnock and Parkhead. Initially, £62 million from the Scottish Government was allocated to the project from 2008-2011, and it was claimed that this would catalyse £1.5 billion of private sector investment. The Games organisers claim that the event will create a lasting legacy “in the form of a regenerated community in the east end of Glasgow” (The Scottish Government, 2009, p.33), with Clyde Gateway making similar claims (Clyde Gateway, 2013). The concept of ‘Legacy’ was the discursive means by which the legitimising discourse of ‘public interest’ was perpetuated by CWGs 2014, and thus deserves some scrutiny.

Figure 7.4: Clyde Gateway Area Map (source: Clyde Gateway URC)



7.2.1. Legacy: Whose Public Interest?

Positive claims about Games impacts have been formulated and expressed through a ‘Legacy’ framework that first came to prominence in the Sydney Olympics 2000 (The Scottish Government, 2014), since becoming a constituent feature of all sporting mega-events (Gratton *et al*, 2005; Smith and Fox, 2007; Matheson, 2010; Gray and Porter, 2014). The rationale for national and city governments is clear: encouragement of community and stakeholder support for events, legitimisation of public expenditure, and motivation for other potential host cities, which is pertinent for organising bodies (Matheson, 2010). The legacy framework for CWGs 2014 is predicated on delivering lasting benefits not only for every person in Glasgow, but for Scotland overall (Glasgow City Council, 2009; The Scottish Government, 2009), with urban regeneration central to this claim (Matheson, 2010; Gray and Porter, 2014). Yet there is frequently a marked disjuncture between public benefit claims and reality in large-scale regeneration projects (Molotch, 1976; Harvey, 1989; Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002), as there is in large-scale sporting mega-events (Lenskyj, 2002; Short, 2008; Davies, 2011).

Poorly defined legacy frameworks are increasingly bound up with expensive and competitive bidding processes and thus must necessarily be premised on the idea of copious social, symbolic and economic rewards (Matheson, 2010). In this context, legacy becomes a primary discursive means for legitimising massive public expenditure - especially when over-runs are often severe (Short, 2008; Gold and Gold, 2008; Shin, 2012). The initial budget for the London Olympics 2012, for instance, was £2.4 billion in 2007, but this eventually more than quadrupled to £11 billion (Peck, 2012). The Manchester Commonwealth Games 2002 ran 120% over budget, and the Delhi Commonwealth Games 2010 went 280% over budget (Gordon, 2014). In such a context, it is not surprising that legacy claims have become somewhat hyperbolic. As a senior planning officer from Manchester Local Authority explained of Manchester’s Commonwealth Games: “Once you adopt a strategy of pursuing sports-led urban regeneration, politically it is very difficult for it to be allowed to fail, so what happens is that it gets declared a success, really irrespective of what happens on the ground” (cited, Davies, 2008, p.45).

Premised on generating a citywide feel-good factor, the bid process exerts a kind of local hegemonic discipline that frames critical questioning as disruptive or treacherous (Cochrane *et al*, 1996). In this sense it exemplifies post-political consensus formation. Yet

there is much evidence to suggest that the impact of Games events is often negative (Lenskyj, 2002; Matheson, 2010; Watt, 2013; Shin, 2012), and that the evidence base required for a proper evaluation of regeneration legacy and expenditure from major sporting events is either absent or inadequate (Gratton *et al*, 2005; Short, 2008; McCartney *et al*, 2010; Davies, 2011). While there is some evidence to suggest that Games events can have positive impacts (Smith and Fox, 2007; Davies, 2011), legacy studies that have taken account of ‘opportunity costs’ (alternative possibilities of action foregone) and dis-benefits, have shown “relative economic decline rather than growth” (McCartney, 2012, p.12; Davies, 2011; Gratton *et al*, 2005). Summarising the impact of Summer Olympics events in the modern era, Short (2008) concludes that evaluation is a “fiscal mystery” made more complex by the partisan nature of those promoting and supporting Games events and the funding streams behind cost-benefit analyses (Ibid, p.331-332).

The main beneficiaries of mega-event strategies are seldom those positioned as the targets of regeneration (Raco, 2004), as most of the costs are borne locally while “most of the benefits accrue to local elites and a global media market” (Short 2008, p.332). In this context, legacy discourses can be seen as: “little more than a chimera augmented by suspect political agendas and research methodologies” (Matheson, 2010, p.20). This uneven outcome should come as no surprise in the absence of systemic redistributive mechanisms (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002; Short, 2008). Despite repeated claims that CWGs 2014 was on time and on budget, projected public expenditure sat at £563 million in 2014, a 50% increase on the initial budget estimate of £373 million (Gordon, 2014). Whilst this is a relatively modest increase in comparison to other host cities, viewing CWGs 2014 in isolation neglects the Games’ inextricable relation to the Clyde Gateway project, whose impact on public funding will be far more profound in the long-term. In the next section, I will thus scrutinise Clyde Gateway’s urban regeneration plans more closely, paying particular attention to the governmental and financial mechanisms by which land and property are transformed from use value to exchange value as part of the new technical composition of capital in the East End.

7.3. From Devaluation to Revaluation: Public Subsidy, Land Remediation and the Privatisation of Space in Glasgow’s East End

We talked [...] about sovereign wealth funds, about overseas investors, real overseas investors, not in Europe, not in the UK, not in Scotland but real outside people coming in and investing and I think there’s something I could bring to that party, to

try and attract people from the far east or wherever to invest in Glasgow and South Lanarkshire, Lord Smith of Kelvin, Chair of Clyde Gateway¹¹⁸.

For host cities, a successful bid for a sporting mega-event is like “winning the gold medal of inter-city competition” (Short, 2008, p.337). Recent host cities of Olympic and Commonwealth Games events (Sydney, 2000, Manchester, 2002, Beijing, 2008, Delhi, 2010; London, 2012, Glasgow, 2014) have all used such events strategically to attempt to develop areas that have long been subject to industrial decline (Lenskyj, 2002; Ward, 2003; Smith and Fox, 2007; Short, 2008; Shin, 2012; Watt, 2013). These areas, I argue, provide both the material and discursive conditions for urban revalorisation strategies, with Glasgow’s East End being a prime example (Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011). Here, I will discuss the technical recomposition of the East End via current regeneration processes, paying particular attention to the role of Clyde Gateway and land remediation. First of all, it is crucial to understand that the role of Clyde Gateway is to *facilitate private development*, directly intervening with public subsidy to create the conditions for private accumulation. This should come as no surprise as large-scale UDPs are “almost without exception [...] state-led and often state-financed” (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002, p.201). Indeed, Cochrane *et al* (1996) have described Manchester’s bid committees for the 1996 and 2000 Olympics as “grant coalitions” rather than “growth coalitions”:

More often than not, the business elite is spending (or seeking to spend) public money not private money, bidding for grants rather than boosting for growth. In British policy discourse, however, it has become necessary to talk about growth to get grants. It is this which makes it more appropriate in the UK context to think in terms of grant coalitions than growth coalitions (Ibid, p.1333).

Notably, Cochrane *et al* cite many similarities between Manchester and Glasgow in terms of neoliberal urban policy and place-marketing strategies, a parallel to which the analysis in Chapters 5 lends credence. Clyde Gateway’s own website states that they have received “over £200m of public finance and assets” for the period 2008-2016, with primary sources including the Scottish Government, Glasgow City Council, South Lanarkshire Council, Scottish Enterprise and the European Regional Development Fund:

The Scottish Government initially approved £62 million to Clyde Gateway between 2008 and 2011, and has since awarded a further £12.3m for 2011/12 and a further £40m for the period 2012-14. Scottish Enterprise will provide £42 million for the

¹¹⁸ http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/news_clyde_gateway.php.

period 2008 and 2014, while the other partners have provided land holdings and staff resources worth £44 million to the project, meaning over £200 million of public money has been committed in the short-term¹¹⁹.

Multiple state and quasi-state agencies have stressed the social and economic importance of tackling vacant and derelict land to facilitate urban development in the area (Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011), indicating the importance of land revaluation in the new technical composition of capital. *City Plan 2* (Glasgow City Council, 2009) identifies the Clyde Gateway area as a strategic industrial and business location and core economic development area, and initial investment has been targeted at site assembly, infrastructure, and land remediation, with the programme aiming to capitalise on the area's proximity to the city centre, major new road networks, and extensive land assets. With substantial amounts of public subsidy being committed, a discursive apparatus of decline and renewal has acted as a "neoliberal alibi" for urban restructuring in the area (cf. Weber, 2002, p.172; Gray, 2008, Gray and Mooney, 2011). As Neil Smith (1996) argues, any theory of gentrification must explain the processes of devalorisation that make profitable re-investment possible. 'Territorial stigmatisation' (Wacquant, 2007, 2008), a 'discourse of decline' (Beauregard, 2003), and narratives of 'blight' and 'obsolescence' (Weber, 2002); all have a vital role in making the built environment "more flexible and responsive" to the criteria of investment capital (Ibid, p.173).

In *City Plan 2*, GCC acknowledge that the area has long suffered from under-investment, though notably disavowing any responsibility for these conditions: "Historically, the area has suffered from under-investment, resulting in one of the most significant concentrations of urban dereliction in Scotland" (Glasgow City Council, 2009, p. 84). Such disinvestment has had very negative social and environmental impacts, as indicated previously. It might therefore be expected that recent investment would benefit the long-suffering resident population. Instead, the intended beneficiaries of land remediation are primarily business investors, as acknowledged by Ian Manson, the Chief Executive of Clyde Gateway: "We are derisking sites to make them more attractive to business [...] Our primary role is land assembly, decontamination and providing essential infrastructure, giving people the confidence to invest here" (cited, Wainwright, 2014). Lord Kelvin, the new Chair of Clyde Gateway, confirms the role of the URC:

¹¹⁹ http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/clyde_gateway_faqs.php.

Clyde Gateway cleans up sites, gets them prepared and then lets developers come in and develop things. You want to attract private enterprise in as much as you can alongside your housing associations or whatever, but we have to do a lot of the remediation work first (Lord Kelvin, 2015)¹²⁰.

Yet serious questions remain over the cost and delivery of inward private investment in the current financial climate, with state funding currently largely propping up the private market rather than catalysing new private investment, as I will shortly show. At the same time, claims about public financial austerity are being used to discipline and set limits on spending for social welfare and services, prompting the question: ‘what crisis and for whom?’ (Featherstone, 2015). The “starry-eyed faith” in the potential of subsidy-led private investment that turned out to be chimerical in the GEAR project (Richie, 1988) may yet prove illusory in the Clyde Gateway project. The financial costs and risks associated with land remediation create the *potential* for land valorisation, but they do not in any way guarantee it, and this understanding should caution against any conceptions of inexorable gentrification in the East End. Nevertheless, publicly funded land remediation has a vital role to play in the urbanisation of capital. As Turok (1987) observes, the problem of vacant and derelict land has long been recognised in UK urban policy, with public subsidy initiatives established through the Land Register in 1980 and the Vacant Land Fund in 1983 (Ibid, pp.45-46). In the next section, I will focus on the Scottish Government’s Vacant and Derelict Land Fund (VDLF), which has been one very important mechanism for the East End’s urban redevelopment process.

7.3.1. The Vacant and Derelict Land Fund: A Helping Hand for Developers

The Vacant and Derelict Land Fund (VDLF) was established in 2004 in response to the Scottish Government’s Cities Review (2002). The stated criteria of the fund is to tackle long term vacant/derelict land, stimulate economic growth and job creation, and promote environmental justice and improved quality of life¹²¹, taking into consideration the amount of land that has been out of use since an appointed time, land within Scotland’s 15% most employment deprived data zones, and population living within 500 metres of long-term derelict land. Vacant land is defined as land that is unused for its planned purpose but is ready for development via prior development or preparatory work. Derelict land is defined as land that it is incapable of development for beneficial use without rehabilitation.

¹²⁰ http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/news_clyde_gateway.php

¹²¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/land-issues/vacant/vdlf>.

Derelict land also includes buildings. The fund is allocated for land remediation, acquisition of land and buildings, demolition of redundant buildings, formation of roads/access, and community consultation processes. Funding is assessed on the basis of information from the Scottish Vacant and Derelict Land Survey, an annual survey taken since 1996.

Glasgow is an exceptional case of urban dereliction, containing 1,235 hectares, or 11% of all Scottish vacant and derelict land as of 2012¹²², with 911 sites whose main concentrations lie in the North and East of the city, corresponding with two of the main sites of heavy industry in the city historically. In the multi-member wards of Calton and Shettleston, where most of the CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway activity is taking place, 99.4%¹²³ and 84.6%¹²⁴ of the population respectively lived within 0-500 metres of a derelict site as of 2006, compared to a Scottish average of 26.6%. Indicating current urban investment priorities, vacant and derelict land is considered to be one of the most “significant challenges” for the city’s business community alongside low productivity and so-called ‘worklessness’ (Glasgow Economic Forum, 2006), and GCC see the VDLF programme as a major public funding contribution towards the financial risks and costs associated with land remediation and re-development. Reflecting the disproportionate extent of vacant and derelict land in Glasgow, £10 million was allocated to the city out of a total £20 million in 2004-2006, with a further £10 million from a total of £24.3 million between 2006 and 2008. In the period 2008-2011, a total of £13.5 million was allocated to Glasgow out of a Scottish-wide allocation of £36.5 million¹²⁵.

City Plan 2 (2009) identified the redevelopment of Oatlands, Belvidere and the National Indoor Sports Arena as key sites for reducing vacant and derelict land in the area. Oatlands, an area near the Gorbals that falls under Clyde Gateway’s remit, was delivered to Bett Homes by GCC in 2005 for a peppercorn rent of £1 a year. Controversially, no land valuation was undertaken by GCC before the undisclosed development deal was undertaken (Leask, 2013). Once dominated by public housing, the total number of new houses, according to GCC, is expected to be 1,326, of which 1,113 will be private and 213 will be social rented. As such, the VDLF, according to GCC, has contributed to “very significant planning gains in lieu of land value”¹²⁶, or to private land and housing

¹²² <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/01/2295/2#tb1>.

¹²³ <http://www.sns.gov.uk/Reports/Report.aspx?ReportId=2&AreaTypeId=MW&AreaId=S13002649>.

¹²⁴ <http://www.sns.gov.uk/Reports/Report.aspx?ReportId=2&AreaTypeId=MW&AreaId=S13002659>.

¹²⁵ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/land-issues/vacant/vdlf>.

¹²⁶ <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=5430>.

development, to put it another way. The site at Belvidere, adjacent to the Athlete's Village, was also remediated with VDLF funding, but exclusively for private sector housing development. The National Indoor Sport Arena is a high-quality public facility and ostensibly more befitting of the VDLF public expenditure, yet the costs of using the facility are generally regarded as unaffordable for most local people, posing serious questions about public value (Wainwright, 2014). £1,268,586 from the VDLF fund has been allocated to South Lanarkshire Council for three Clyde Gateway projects. This includes a new river crossing for the Shawfield National Business District, the development of the Rutherglen Low Carbon Zone (business premises), and the decontamination of the Cuningar Loop, a wilderness area transformed into a Woodland Park opposite the Athlete's Village¹²⁷. Aside from the Woodland Park, which will benefit a more general population, the beneficiaries here will primarily be private businesses. On the site of the Athletes Games Village itself, GCC, the main partner in Clyde Gateway URC, received a total of £6 million from the VDLF for land preparation in the period 2008-2011, in addition to £1.7m via the same fund in 2006. I will address the beneficiaries of these awards shortly. These examples indicate a substantial public funding allocation whose rewards, with few exceptions, are generally garnered by the private sector, despite very modest investment and risk. A similar picture emerges with regard to infrastructure provision.

7.3.2. Complete to Compete: The Annihilation of Space by Time in Glasgow East

As part of the preparations for the Games we are committed to spending £1 billion on the city's transport infrastructure, providing real benefits to the local economy. These projects include the M74 completion and the East End Regeneration Route, as well as Glasgow Airport Rail Link (Glasgow City Council, 2009, p.10).

Providing transport infrastructure has been central to both GCC development objectives and CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway legacy discourses. But what is striking about the quote above is that the £120 million Glasgow Airport Rail Link was shelved on September 17th 2009 due to concerns over rising costs following central government funding cutbacks¹²⁸. Moreover, the major M74 project was planned, funded and approved (2001) long before the Games bid was submitted in 2007, but here and elsewhere is retrospectively positioned as an essential part of the Games legacy (Gray, 2008). Notably,

¹²⁷ <http://news.stv.tv/west-central/108069-areas-of-vacant-land-to-be-tackled-by-1m-cash-injection/>.

¹²⁸ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/8256474.stm>.

however, the public cost of the M74 northern extension, which spiralled from £245m in 2001 to £692m in 2011 on completion, according to Audit Scotland (2008), is absent from the Games budget, providing an exemplary case of how cost-benefit analyses of legacy programmes are typically skewed against negative disbenefits (Short, 2008; Matheson, 2010; Davies, 2011). The public cost of land acquisition alone amounted to £200 million (Audit Scotland, 2008, pp.21-24), including a £16 million plus deal and discounted tenancy agreement with Sir Willie Haughey, a major donor to the Scottish Labour Party (French and Gray, 2010).

Capital, as Harvey (2006 [1982]) observes, is ‘value in motion’. Investments in fixed capital projects, such as motorway infrastructure, are the “necessary if not sufficient” condition for the “annihilation of space with time” and rapid commodity circulation (Ibid, p.406). The slogan for the M74 project was ‘complete to compete’, and numerous business and government agencies stressed the importance of this objective for economic growth in a context of enhanced inner-city competition (Gray, 2008). EKOS consultancy service, who were commissioned by Scottish Enterprise, said that the M74 extension would lead to the “reduction of [...] vacant, derelict and contaminated land”, unlocking the potential for economic development, and making key sites “more attractive to the private sector”¹²⁹. This business-oriented line was fiercely contested by ‘Jam74’, a coalition of community, environmental and sustainable transport groups, who campaigned against the road and successfully called for an independent Public Local Inquiry, which ran from December 2003 to March 2004, to determine whether the road should go ahead¹³⁰.

George Monbiot (2008) argues that job claims are routinely inflated to justify publicly funded regeneration projects: “There is no nonsense so gross that it cannot be justified by the creation of jobs” (Monbiot, 2008). Certainly, the M74 business case involved increasingly exaggerated claims regarding job growth. A figure of between 2,900 and 4,000 jobs was first mooted in 1994, but by 2001, Glasgow Chamber of Commerce claimed the M74 could secure and safeguard 44,000 jobs. The Simmonds and EKOS reports, commissioned by the Trunks Road Authority (TRA) and Scottish Enterprise respectively, estimated as much as 20,000 or 25,000 new jobs by 2030 (Gray, 2008). However, after taking evidence from Jam74, the public enquiry reporters found that these claims were “highly suspect”, and that the “most optimistic conclusion” that could be

¹²⁹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/03/20752/53475>.

¹³⁰ I made a film about the M74, and the Jam 74 campaign, which was shown at the Centre for Contemporary Arts (CCA) among other venues: <http://www.documentfilmfestival.org/archive/doc4/pop-ups/CCA4-mon-m74.htm>.

drawn was that 20,000 jobs might be drawn to the area, but that this would entail a redistribution of jobs “at the expense of other parts of Scotland”¹³¹. At most, 5,000 jobs might be “genuinely new jobs”, but even this figure should be treated with “considerable caution”. The report concluded by advising against “an unreasonable degree of confidence in employment forecasts which have not been shown to be robust”¹³² (Gray, 2008).

In the conclusion and recommendations, the reporters unequivocally found, looking at all the policy, transport, environmental, business, and community disadvantages as a whole, that the M74 extension would have “very serious undesirable results” and therefore that it “should not be authorized, and that the various orders should not be confirmed”¹³³. Despite this conclusion, the Scottish Executive authorised the road in March 2005 on the basis of “economic, social and safety benefits”¹³⁴, thus directly contradicting the enquiry’s findings in an exemplary moment of state exceptionalism (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002). Another related infrastructural development is the East End Regeneration Route (EERR)¹³⁵, a major arterial road connecting the M8 and the M74 through Dalmarnock. The road is seen as the final eastern part of the Glasgow inner-ring road first proposed in the 1960s, following the completion of the M74 to the south. Initially costed at £20-£25 million, and entirely funded by GCC, the final public cost was estimated at £80-£85 million¹³⁶. In 2008, an objection to EERR’s construction was made by a Green Party councillor, Martha Wardrop, and CTC Scotland, a national cycling charity. Their four key complaints parallel objections to the M74:

Economic development is doubtful at best. The second, social inclusion is out because of the severance and the low car ownership. Sustainability, the third, is denied because of all the new traffic that would use it. As for the fourth, environmental quality, the noise, pollution and sheer drabness of a 4-lane road have nothing to offer¹³⁷.

¹³¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/03/20752/53462>.

¹³² <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/03/20752/53462>.

¹³³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/03/20752/53462>

¹³⁴ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2005/03/24181414>

¹³⁵ The road has since been re-named the A728 Clyde Gateway, but I will stick with EERR here for ease of use.

¹³⁶ http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/about_east_end.php.

¹³⁷ http://www.edinburghbicycle.com/comms/site_news/cycling-news-index/ctc-glasgow-green-corridor.htm?f_Cardinal=4.

They also questioned the beneficiaries of the route when it is reported that nearly two thirds of the East End population have no access to a car¹³⁸. However, the road has since been approved and constructed. Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) once wrote that a motorway “brutalizes” the land, “slicing through space like a great knife” (Ibid, p.165); and, writing in *The Guardian*, Oliver Wainwright (2014) has similarly argued that, experienced as a pedestrian, the EERR drives a violent wedge through the East End. The road symbolises all too well to residents, he contends, that their neighbourhood “can be sacrificed for the good of growth” (Ibid). After facing vacant and derelict land for decades, local residents now face “a forlorn landscape of fences, sheds and roaring roads” (Ibid). This provides little comfort for those Dalmarnock residents who saw a previous plan to run the M74 motorway extension through the neighbourhood in the early 1970s catalyse widespread demolition of buildings and businesses, the loss of 5,000-6,000 jobs, and massive population reduction (from 10,000 to approximately 1,500 by the time that CWGs 2014 infrastructure and Clyde Gateway ‘regeneration’ plans were underway) (Brandon, 2009). In the end, these early plans were shelved in 1975, but the ‘legacy’ has been drastic, then and now.

7.4. The Production of Space: What Kind of Space and for Whom?

Why is it they’re building all these offices? I go up a lot of these side streets and there’s a lot of offices and they’re all empty. Why not move them into there? Bridgeton resident¹³⁹.

As Leader of Glasgow City Council, I am delighted to welcome you to Scotland’s most business friendly city, (City Leader, Gordon Matheson)¹⁴⁰.

It is routinely suggested by Clyde Gateway that urban development in the East End will benefit those living in deprived local communities, but instead such developments should be seen as part of GCC’s ongoing attempts to satisfy the criteria of inward business investment. It is difficult to see how this objective will benefit local populations when it has entailed the extensive disposal of public land and assets in a wider context of enforced austerity, downwards wage pressure, privatisation, welfare reform and service cuts for those on the bottom rung of the social ladder (Cumbers *et al*, 2010; Gray and Mooney, 2011; Paton *et al*, 2012). A brief survey of Clyde Gateway projects indicates very clearly

¹³⁸ The objectors do not cite a source for this argument, but a citywide population census (2011) reveals that 50.8% of households in Glasgow have no car or van, compared to 30.5% in Scotland: <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=7012>.

¹³⁹ Transcription from a Housing Meeting organised by GGM, 22nd April 2014.

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=11927&p=0>.

that most are office and business-led rather than housing and community-led, despite enormous public funding assistance. Two business suites were created in Rutherglen and Bridgeton following a £1.6 million conversion project in Rutherglen and a £3.6m conversion project at Bridgeton. The tenants of the suites are primarily engaged in the fields of accountancy, property and asset management, and marketing and media, including the *Re-Gen* newspaper, which is effectively a promotional brochure for Clyde Gateway (Clyde Gateway, 2013). Such tenants, I would argue, are more likely to *extract* social wealth rather than re-distribute it to economically deprived local populations.

Other key ‘transformational projects’ include the Shawfield National Business district on a 63-hectare site in Rutherglen, the largest development in the Clyde Gateway area, with further office developments at Riverside East in South Dalmarnock and Eastgate at Bridgeton Cross. Developments also include the renovation of the Dalmarnock railway station, and Clyde Gateway East at Farme Cross in Rutherglen, a business park for engineering and supply firms adjacent to the M74. Community projects include the Dalmarnock Legacy Hub, which will be run as a Community Development Trust. The £3.7 million publicly funded ‘hub’ replaces the Dalmarnock Community Centre, which was demolished, along with the Accord Day Care Centre adjacent to it, to make way for a CWGs 2014 bus park. The Olympia, a former theatre, bingo club and furniture store was redeveloped as a public library, office space and boxing club with £10 million of public funding (Clyde Gateway, 2013). While these latter community developments are in many ways positive outcomes, it is important to note that they represent a *replacement* of existing community and library facilities in Dalmarnock and Bridgeton at great public expense, rather than new facilities *per se*.

The potentially attractive riverbank sites in close proximity to Glasgow Green and the city centre have mostly been designated for office developments and a National Business District. Riverside East, on the north side of the River Clyde in South Dalmarnock, was the first major construction project. It received £24 million pounds of public funding for an office development for 1,000 employees. Police Scotland now occupy the building. Clyde Gateway has described Riverside East as a “catalyst” for further regeneration: “the first of a number of major office blocks fronting the Clyde over the coming years” (Ibid). It is important to note here that a long-term show people’s site was cleared for this new development, along with more sites adjacent to Riverside East, and more under threat from

further development. A representative of the show people¹⁴¹ told GGM 2014 that the biggest concentrations of show people in Scotland are in the East End, with Dalmarnock being the most densely populated. The residents have been settled in the area for around 40 years. Following de-industrialisation, de-population and planning blight, until very recently they represented one third of the population, making them very significant demographically. The ongoing displacement of show people has not been publicised at all in the mainstream media, but the process has been severe for them, especially since they feel, according to the representative to whom GGM 2014 spoke, that they have contributed a great deal to Dalmarnock in a period when it was all but abandoned by others.

On the southern side of the River Clyde, the Shawfield National Business District is currently being remediated with the aim of providing 350,000 square metres of business space. The District has received £20 million of public funding, including VDLF funding, for land remediation and infrastructural improvements. Another £4.75 million of public money has been spent on the Shawfield/Dalmarnock ‘smart bridge’ which now links the business district with the Dalmarnock railway station, itself refurbished with £11 million pounds of public money. The station is almost completely unused presently, except for football games at Celtic football club’s Parkhead stadium, and has clearly been made over as an infrastructural inducement for *potential* businesses in the area. Proposals for the Business District indicate five broad zones: an HQ area; a leisure area including a hotel, conference facilities, restaurant, casino, retail hub and other mixed uses; an industrial area; a business area; and a displacement area driven by anticipated demand (Clyde Gateway, 2014). The site itself was notoriously toxic. J & J White’s, established in 1820, was once the largest chromate works in Britain, whose chromium output represented 70% of the British total in the 1930s (Walker, 2005). Working in this environment was extremely hazardous to health, and the dumping of toxic waste locally has been the subject of numerous environmental campaigns since production ceased in 1967. The mischievously named Cambuslang, Carmyle and Rutherglen Against Pollution (CCRAP) pressure group were active throughout the 1990s, for instance. Clyde Gateway claim that remediation work will help to ensure a “Games legacy” for local communities¹⁴², but the beneficiaries

¹⁴¹ Due to the sensitivity of the show people’s situation, I was not able to secure an interview. These comments come from an informal meeting arranged by Margaret Jaconelli as an intermediary, whose case I will discuss in more detail later.

¹⁴² http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/clyde_gateway_faqs.php

will clearly be the business community rather than the disadvantaged communities that have endured atrocious environmental conditions for decades¹⁴³.

The details of public expenditure on strategic objectives in Clyde Gateway's 2013-2014 annual report is highly instructive in terms of funding priorities: £15.46 million (46.3%) was spent on increasing economic activity; £15.26 (45.7%) on sustainable place transformation (e.g. land remediation for increasing economic activity); £1.78 million on staffing and support costs (5.3%); and £0.89 million (2.7%) on developing community capacity (Clyde Gateway, 2014b). That a Games legacy did not reach all the local population could be gauged from a packed local meeting on 27th May 2014 at the National Sports Arena. The meeting was ostensibly organised to deal with traffic management, road closures and parking restrictions, but local residents instead expressed a litany of grievances about the Games, including outrage at five years of continual disruption, a chronic lack of local amenities, and anger that the Games would benefit spectators more than those who lived in the area. A tacit acknowledgment of this amenity deficit was made when a Council spokesman said that a shuttle bus would be provided for elderly residents to shop outside the area in lieu of local facilities¹⁴⁴. With regard to new-build housing, it is difficult to imagine where the 10,000 promised homes can be located in the East End given that so much land has already been allocated for business and office development. I will now examine this claim in more detail.

7.4.1. Displacement, Private Housing and Public Subsidy in Glasgow East

Clyde Gateway has promised that 10,000 homes will be built in the East End. Before scrutinising these claims in more detail, I will examine the record of large-scale mega sporting events regarding housing displacement - a constituent feature of such events. In 2007, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) - an international NGO focusing on the point of view of those effected by housing rights violations - conducted a study of mega-events, Olympic Games and housing rights (COHRE, 2007). The study revealed that large-scale forced evictions, rent-racking, discrimination against racial minorities, and targeting of homeless people, are as much a part of Olympic events as swimming and the discus throw:

¹⁴³ At a housing meeting that GGM 2014 organised in April 2014, which I will discuss in more detail shortly, residents from Bridgeton and Dalmarnock related many personal stories of exposure to chromium and other hazardous industrial waste, and their disgust that people in the East End have for so long been subject to such exposure.

¹⁴⁴ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/2014/05/28/residents-vent-games-anger-at-packed-meeting/>.

In Seoul, 720,000 people were forcibly evicted from their homes in preparation for the Olympic Games in 1988. In Barcelona, housing became so unaffordable as a result of the Olympic Games that low income earners were forced to leave the city. In Atlanta 9,000 arrest citations were issued to homeless people (mostly African-Americans) as part of an Olympics-inspired campaign to ‘clean the streets and approximately 30,000 people were displaced by Olympics-related gentrification and development’. In Athens, hundreds of Roma were displaced under the pretext of Olympics-related preparations (Ibid, p.11).

In the most extreme case, at the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, around 1.5 million people were displaced due to Olympics-related urban redevelopment (Shin, 2012). In the UK context, the scale is considerably less dramatic, but demolition of housing, displacement, and rising rent and house prices were central features of the London Olympics. Watt (2013) describes how 400 homes were demolished on the Clays Lane housing estate following CPO evictions, while 700 units have been demolished on the Carpenters estate adjacent to the Olympic Village, despite ongoing community resistance. Large-scale displacement has also been evident around Commonwealth Games events. The Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN, 2010, p.iii) estimates that since 2004, at least 200,000 people in Delhi were forcibly evicted as a direct result of the 2010 Commonwealth Games. It is important to note that the scale of the CWGs 2014 in Glasgow is more limited, with many of the key venues already in place. Yet, there has been significant displacement related to show peoples sites, as discussed earlier, and on the site of Games Athlete’s Village which I will examine shortly.

GGM 2014 compiled two housing-related ‘primers’ on our blog (relatively short, concise summaries), including one about Clyde Gateway and housing¹⁴⁵ and another about housing in the East End and the city overall¹⁴⁶. I contributed to both primers and some of this research is developed here. Requesting information from Clyde Gateway about housing provision, GGM 2014 was informed by Jim Clark, a senior manager of Clyde Gateway, that the figure of 10,000 homes was “aspirational” and that the figure was promoted to secure public funding from the Scottish Government and other local and regional funders¹⁴⁷. Further to this conversation, in October 2013, GGM 2014 contacted the Scottish Government to enquire whether Clyde Gateway was under any obligation to

¹⁴⁵ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/2013/12/10/clyde-gateway-urc-primer-1/>.

¹⁴⁶ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/2014/04/09/housing-and-the-red-road-flats-primer-4/>.

¹⁴⁷ Personal communication by telephone between Dr.Susan Fitzpatrick, a member of GGM 2014, and Jim Clark.

provide a set figure of housing units given that the Scottish Government have provided over £120 million of public investment to Clyde Gateway. In a letter dated November 2013, Billy Love, a Scottish Government Regeneration Investment Manager, stated that Clyde Gateway is under no legal commitment to the Scottish Government in regard to the building of homes. He confirmed that GCC is the strategic housing authority for Clyde Gateway but that no grant funding was specifically for the provision of housing:

Indeed, it was never the intention that Clyde Gateway would itself build houses in the area. The aim was to bring derelict/vacant and contaminated land back into use. That in turn would stimulate the introduction of new jobs and subsequent investment by the private sector and in so doing attract house builders to the area. The majority of this would be private sector - owner occupied homes¹⁴⁸.

This statement conforms to a central objective of all large-scale UDPs: “to obtain a higher social and economic return and to revalue prime urban land” (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002, p.204). Yet, while there is a clear desire to increase the proportion of private housing and develop the socio-spatial tax base in the area, the current economic climate has complicated matters. Indeed, Mr. Love stated that the original housing target identified by Clyde Gateway was predicated on a “more buoyant housing market and demand for more dense housing developments”¹⁴⁹. This contraction has been evident on the Athletes Village site where an initial figure of over 1,400 new housing units has been reduced to 700. It is important to stress here that there are *no figures for the tenure mix* of any new housing by Clyde Gateway. Clyde Gateway’s 2012-2013 Annual Report, as of 31st March 2013, stated that a total of 1189 housing units had been constructed. Yet GGM 2014 research suggests that the real figure was 591, comprising 354 private homes and 237 Housing Association homes, some of which are private equity¹⁵⁰. These limited outcomes caution against a fatalistic view of *inevitable* gentrification, suggesting there is still room for ongoing contestation over housing in the area.

One recent development on the site of the former Dalmarnock Power Station, adjacent to the Games Village and across from the Shawfield Business District, typifies Clyde Gateway’s role in the East End housing market. Clyde Gateway sold the 22-acre former power station site to Link Group for £5.7m in April 2015, yet the funding for this “acquisition by Link” was “provided by Glasgow City Council” - the main partner in

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Dr. Fitzpatrick from Billy Love on behalf of the Scottish Government.

¹⁴⁹ Letter to Dr. Fitzpatrick from Billy Love on behalf of the Scottish Government.

¹⁵⁰ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/2013/12/10/clyde-gateway-urc-primer-1/>.

Clyde Gateway itself¹⁵¹. This transaction came on the back of Clyde Gateway paying Murray Estates £4.5 million in 2010, for a heavily contaminated site, which was bought by Murray Estates in 2005 for only £375,000 (*The Herald*, 2015), with a further £3 million spent by Clyde Gateway on land remediation and preparation. Link will now construct 550 homes on the site with an undeclared tenure mix of social rented, shared equity and homes for sale; a numerical opacity which is increasingly typical of ‘social housing’ developments. In a revealing statement, Lord Smith of Kelvin, who was recently made the Chair of Clyde Gateway, and who also served as Chair of the 2014 Commonwealth Games Organising Company, said:

This deal epitomises what Clyde Gateway is all about. We have stepped in to deal with market failure and having initially purchased the site and followed it up with a spend of £3m on decontamination and infrastructure improvements beneath the surface, we have now found a very able and willing development partner who will deliver the types and quality of housing that the community here requires¹⁵²

Lord Smith of Kelvin’s multiple roles - he is also the convener of the Smith Commission, which is tasked with recommending further devolution of powers following the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum - gives an indication of the elite governance at work in the East End. Since ‘the community’ has effectively been cleared by years of disinvestment and planning blight, it will largely be up to the market to decide housing needs. This project, like so many others by Clyde Gateway and in UDPs in general, typifies well-worn processes marked by “the socialization of risk and cost and privatisation of the possible benefits” (Swyngedouw et al, 2002, p.205). The focus in the last few sections has necessarily been on the technical composition of capital given the scale of urban development in the area. I will now consider what this means for political recomposition in the East End.

7.5. The Housing Crisis, Spatial Composition and Post-Political Politics

Given the context of the wider privatisation and reduction of social housing in Glasgow, GGM 2014, supported by Unite Community Union, held a public meeting on housing at the Bridgeton Community Learning Campus (BCLC) in March 2014. In our online publicity, we stressed, in polemic terms, the lack of social rented provision in the Athletes’ Village and the Clyde Gateway developments and also the scale of social housing

¹⁵¹ http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/news_clyde_gateway.php.

¹⁵² http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/news_clyde_gateway.php.

reduction in the city over the last three decades. The result, we argued, was a ‘housing crisis’:

Rent is killing us. Half of people’s disposable income is taken up by rent in the UK. Welfare cuts mean that rent can no longer be covered by the unemployed. Not only poor people, but almost everyone struggles to pay the rent and pay off mortgages. The tyranny of debt reigns everywhere.

We contacted BCLC a few weeks prior to the event to explain that we wanted to hold a meeting on housing. The meeting was arranged for Tuesday 18th March 2014. We leafleted widely in the local area, leaving posters in local shops and the venue itself where staff were friendly and courteous. However, on Thursday 13th March, the centre’s manager, on behalf of the Board of Directors, informed us that the meeting had been cancelled. The communication is quoted in full here:

It has come to my attention that you have a booking with us for Tuesday the 18th March. The staff who took your request to hire our facilities were under the impression that it was a rep meeting for Unite Union and I have since discovered that this is not the case.

Bridgeton Community Learning Campus pride themselves in raising the hopes and aspirations of their community and it’s residents and on this occasion the Board of Directors have decided that your public meeting does not fit the criteria for this.

To date I have had no complaints or concerns in regards to a housing crisis, however, if this was the case then Bridgeton Community Learning Campus would seek to involve the appropriate parties in order to deal with it as amicably as possible without creating unnecessary unrest. Bridgeton Community Learning Campus apologise for the late cancellation of your booking¹⁵³.

This response exemplifies post-political closure. Here, the ‘distribution of the sensible’ (Ranciere, 2006), what is permitted or not permitted for discussion, is made clear by BCLC. They decide the parameters within which the “hopes and aspirations” of the community can be debated and discussed; they decide which “appropriate parties” should be involved; they decide whether there is a housing crisis or whether such talk simply creates “unnecessary unrest”. At no point were we asked to clarify our intentions before

¹⁵³ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/housing-meeting-blocked-in-bridgeton/>.

the decision was made. We thus responded publicly on our blog in an attempt to explain some inaccuracies presented by BCLC. The main points are summarised below:

1. At no point did we say it was a Unite rep meeting. We were very clear it was a public housing meeting supported by Unite. Staff in fact asked how many chairs we would need for the meeting hall. Why would we need to hire a large meeting hall for a rep meeting?
2. We noted that the term ‘housing crisis’ is widely understood by a host of charities and housing groups and has been widely reported in the mainstream media, not least after the global economic fall-out from the ‘sub-prime’ housing crisis.
3. We challenged the characterisation of our meeting as creating “unnecessary unrest” and the legitimacy of BCLC in making such a claim. We argued that open critical discussion is foundational to democratic life and that the “appropriate parties”, according to our estimation, have singularly failed to provide good quality affordable social rented housing in the East End¹⁵⁴.

By making these issues public, we aimed to resist public censorship, instigate a wider discussion about housing in the East End, and help catalyse what we regard as genuine community engagement in housing and regeneration issues. To this end, we organized another meeting at St. Mungo’s Academy, also in Bridgeton, on April 22nd. By this time there was widespread public outrage over the Games organisers’ proposal to blow up the iconic Red Road flats in North Glasgow in a live stream for the CWGs 2014 opening ceremony. In our analysis, the spectacle was no mere anomaly but an exemplary indication of GCC’s ongoing attempts to eradicate social housing in the city¹⁵⁵. Eventually, after an enormous public outcry, safety fears, and a widely circulated petition, it was decided to cancel the demolition of the Red Road flats for the opening ceremony, although plans to demolish five blocks en masse remain despite safety fears.

I chaired the meeting and also made a ten-minute presentation alongside presentations by Dr. Sarah Glynn, a housing scholar and activist, and Dr. Susan Fitzpatrick, an urban scholar and co-member of GGM 2014. Dr. Glynn discussed the wider context of social housing reduction in Scotland and the role of Housing Associations in diminishing independent tenant activity. Dr. Fitzpatrick discussed the make-up and role of Clyde Gateway, with a focus on housing and public costs. My presentation looked at the vast

¹⁵⁴ The full response can be found here: <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/housing-meeting-blocked-in-bridgeton/>.

¹⁵⁵ <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/2014/04/09/housing-and-the-red-road-flats-primer-4/>.

reduction of social housing in Glasgow overall and related it to the paucity of social housing being constructed through the Games and Clyde Gateway. About 25 people were present: a mixture of local people, GGM 2014 followers, housing activists and researchers, the majority of whom were women. This was a relatively small turnout considering the scale of urban transformation in the East End; but given the lack of independent tenant meetings in the area prior to the Games, this should not invalidate its significance as an important moment of dissensus.

Here I will focus on the discussion afterwards, as the information in the presentations has been largely covered in this and preceding chapters. We had no specific outcomes planned for the meeting. Instead, we wanted to open up a space for the expression of grievances. If people were willing to begin a discussion about organisation, we were ready to help facilitate that and lend practical support where we could. Our approach was guided by an emphasis on active inquiry, although this was not explicitly expressed in the publicity materials. Initially, we raised the issue of community involvement in decision-making processes in the context of our housing crisis meeting being cancelled. The audience responses indicated a complete lack of faith in elected representatives. Margaret Jaconelli, whose case I will discuss in more detail shortly, spoke first:

You know why that meeting was cancelled? Because in the East End the people have not been allowed to have a voice [Audience Interjection: ‘That’s right’] [...] So we all just took what was happening to us, our wee houses getting taken down. No just mine, away back from the fifties, the sixties, our houses all getting wiped out and people getting moved to Castlemilk, Easterhouse, Drumchapel, all out. We all wanted to stay together. But instead of doing that, they’ve done it [demolished buildings] not just in the East End, they’ve done it all over the city.

Another audience member, a Bridgeton resident, discussed the failure of previous large-scale regeneration projects, employment agencies, and the neglect of local politicians:

We’ve watched it with GERA [Glasgow East Regeneration Agency] and GEAR [Glasgow East Area Renewal] and what have you. All the money they’ve got ... and they painted fences you know, or changed the railings, and told us they’d done wonders! [...] The thing is that everybody you’re supposed to go to [audience interjection: ‘Everybody’], they’re all hand in glove. They’re all hand in glove. Go and ask him ... see your local Councillor, see your MEP, see your MSP, your MP...

I found evidence of this cynicism about elected representatives repeatedly in various conversations with East End residents. The Glasgow East constituency has been one of the Labour Party's safest seats in the UK. However, in 2008 the Scottish National Party (SNP) won a by-election there that was widely seen as a major rupture in the Labour Party's dominance of Glasgow. The Labour Party won the seat back in 2010, but the seat remained highly coveted by the SNP. Few could have predicted that the 2015 General Election would see the SNP win all seven parliamentary seats in Glasgow, including Glasgow East, and 56 out of 59 seats in Scotland. This break with the Labour Party represents a significant shift in the relations between the working class and the organisations which have traditionally 'represented' it, potentially shifting the composition of the class relation in significant new ways, though it should be noted here that the SNP's role in both CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway has been very much business-as-usual in terms of neoliberal urbanism. In my view, the campaigning around the referendum also impacted negatively on the concrete daily work of housing and welfare campaigning, with local struggle sidelined by the movement for parliamentary reform. The Conservative Party, meanwhile, have used Glasgow East as a prime example of the Labour Party's failed policies and an emblem of their 'Broken Britain' campaign, often heavily stigmatising the local population in the process (Gray, 2008; Gray and Mooney, 2011). The effects of such long-term processes of stigmatisation, in one of the poorest constituencies in the UK, were evident at the housing meeting when we asked how people felt about organising in the local area:

[Bridgeton resident] They're all worn down [general agreement].

[Bridgeton resident] My husband said if he was younger he wouldn't be staying here

[Margaret Jaconelli] They're depressed because they're not going anywhere. We can't get a job right? And they're building all these offices [...] and they're lying empty. They should be looking at all the young ones. It's like a lost generation with the young ones, and it's like a lost generation with us, because we've got nothing. And it's just getting worse and worse, and the East End is really bad. I don't care what anybody says, I know it's bad all over, but the East End is really bad. And [...] we've all sat back and let it happen.

[Bridgeton resident] Well we tried to fight a few years ago but it was on deaf ears...

Margaret Jaconelli's comments are interesting in light of her resistance to Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPO) on the Games Village site, which became perhaps the most visible emblem of dissensus around the CWGs 2014. But this feeling of frustration is surely

related to a wider picture of political decomposition in the area. A sense of this political fragmentation was revealed when residents discussed local HA tenant meetings following the break-up of same-tenure mass council housing in Glasgow:

[Bridgeton resident] Thenue [Housing Association] took over Bridgeton and Dalmarnock Housing Association, and they seem to have a policy that they'll have wee meetings, tenant meetings, but its divide and conquer because if you stay in the Main street, and that street, that's your wee meeting place, and if you stay there, that's your wee meeting place. But they never let everybody meet so that everybody can say, well you're having that problem, I'm having that problem. So nobody knows what's going on.

This sense of separation and division over wider plans was also expressed by another woman from Bridgeton:

[Bridgeton resident] We were told we would get information about what is happening in the area. We're no getting that, we're no getting the information. They're all pulling down schools, primary schools, listed buildings, we weren't told about that.

At the end of the meeting no plans were put in place. What was clear from the beginning, however, was that we had created a rare space for grievances to be voiced. In this post-political conjuncture, my understanding as Chair of the meeting was that providing a space for such grievances was vital, especially in the context of consensual positivism attached to Games 'legacy' discourses. Collective organisation is a necessary goal, especially in light of the profound political decomposition in the area, but it is important to examine realistically extant material and social constraints, which means taking decomposition seriously. The East End, like the rest of the city, shows few signs of independent tenants' organisation. Since council housing stock in the area was transferred to a multiplicity of HAs, whose tenant boards and committees are bound by company law to act in the interest of the HAs, formerly independent tenants' interests have been subsumed by HAs, becoming in the process much diminished in status (Glynn, 2009).

Added to this wider problematic, the sheer discursive weight of city boosterism, with an extreme asymmetry of power and resources between urban elites and local oppositional forces in sporting mega-events, makes it very difficult to go beyond piecemeal resistance (Burbank *et al*, 2000). This is especially the case in areas of 'advanced marginality' such as Glasgow East, where de-proletarianisation has created what Wacquant (2008) describes

as a sense of “symbolic splintering”, whereby Labour organisations and trade unions are no longer able to provide a common idiom for new forms of unregulated work and unemployed experience, nor a repertoire of “shared images and signs through which to conceive a collective destiny and to project possible alternative futures” (Ibid, pp.244-246). In such a context discourses of ‘legacy’ and ‘regeneration’ operate very effectively as placebos for genuine participation models, with boosterist discourses and a veil of secrecy often pre-empting public criticism, resistance and conflict in large scale UDPs (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002). This is perhaps evidence of Wacquant’s (2008) sobering claim that grassroots autonomous organisations battling on multiple fronts of exclusion and marginality have yet to substantiate themselves significantly on the political stage in lieu of traditional forms of labour organisation (Ibid, p.246).

Jack Ferguson, the former Scottish organiser of Unite the Community Union, described the difficulties of organising in a neighbourhood that has been severed and fragmented by major road works, de-industrialisation and de-population. He cautioned that it was often difficult to persuade union organisers, steeped in trade union activity, to organise among the unemployed and around issues of social reproduction such as housing, welfare, health, transport and community services¹⁵⁶. Yet, it is precisely on this ‘second front’ of social reproduction that the geography of the working class is overwhelmingly found (Bunge, 1977) The task of composition analysis is to detect, support and generalise processes of political re-composition, however marginal, developing first and foremost from the struggles themselves: their content, their direction, how they develop and how they circulate (*Midnight Notes*, 1992; Cleaver, 1979; Wright, 2002). While mega-events clearly involve powerful vested interests, the scale and impact of development also opens up dramatic contradictions in everyday experience that might prise open the possibility of wider political recomposition. This immanent possibility was evident in the anti-ATOS and Save the Accord campaigns, which formed well-organised and high-impact political struggles. At the housing meeting, Margaret Jaconelli described becoming conscious of social and economic injustice for the first time through her experience of displacement on the Athletes’ Village site:

As I said before I think I lived in a bubble. I went to work, came in from work, went to work, came in from work. And you don’t know what’s going on all around about you. Then when the Council came in to say that we were moving, I fought [...]. I

¹⁵⁶ Personal communication.

said its justice and when I get justice I'll go away. And until I get all those things sorted out, I'll no go away.

In the next section, I will show how this initial stand led to a sustained campaign with popular support and widespread media coverage, tracing a line from a particular grievance to a political position with more universal implications.

7.6. Politicising the Particular: The Athletes' Village as a Site of Political Contestation

The CWGs 2014 Athletes' Village site in South Dalmarnock, which has been retrofitted for new housing in the area, has been positioned as: "a flagship for the regeneration of Glasgow's East End and a visible reminder of the legacy of the Games"¹⁵⁷. As such, it provides an illuminating cut into the mechanics of urban regeneration in the East End. Before the CWGs 2014, the 35-hectare site was a run-down, but structurally sound tenement housing estate. Most of the homes on Dalmarnock Road and Springfield Road were demolished in the 1960s and early 1970s, but a core stock remained. In the 1960s, a new housing scheme was built, consisting of four high-rises and twelve maisonette blocks. In 1999, however, Scottish Homes commissioned an options appraisals report undertaken by Hilland Richie Consultants (1999). The report found that there was no realistic funding plan for the area; that there was an over-supply of housing; that the area was perceived as a poor place to live; and that regeneration would not proceed without a plan for the entire Dalmarnock area (Hilland Richie Consultants, 1999, pp.2-3). This followed the wider policy context, where project areas that did not fit into wider regeneration strategies were very unlikely to gain public funding (Ibid, p.6). Effectively this meant uneven development across the city, with targeted investment for some areas, and exclusion from funding for others, such as Dalmarnock, unless a wider regeneration strategy could be developed.

Notably, the stock itself, comprising 1,589 homes, was deemed to be in good condition generally, with the report stating that parts of the area had good quality stock and that long-term stable populations should be "consolidated" (Ibid, p.23). The report also expressed concerns that re-housing would be a problem due to limited alternative stock. Nevertheless, selective demolition and landscaping was recommended as a first step in regeneration plans. However, this strategy was challenged by Dalmarnock Housing Action Group, who argued that there was a coherent long-term community there who desired to stay in the

¹⁵⁷ Former City Leader, Stephen Purcell: http://gamesmonitor2014.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/eastendeye_edition1.pdf.

area. The group questioned the validity of Hilland Richie's survey, observing that less than 30 of the 300 people surveyed lived in homes targeted for demolition; that the stock was in good condition structurally; and that the area had been entirely neglected for over 20 years. They also observed that the report itself expressed concerns about the negative impacts on remaining stock after partial demolition. They held a series of public meetings, developed petitions, and conducted their own survey of tenants' views. Their campaign to resist what they called the 'Death of a Community'¹⁵⁸ was reported widely in local and citywide media, although it was never mentioned at all in relation to the Athlete's Village.

Despite this organised community resistance, Dalmarnock was chosen as the site for the Commonwealth Games Athletes' Village in 2008, also becoming part of the Clyde Gateway regeneration project. With an area-based regeneration plan in place, the area could now be targeted for full demolition and renewal. Residents in the older tenements had been evicted and re-housed following a decision to proceed with phased demolition in 2000, and the last school was closed in 2003. Along with the maisonettes, the tower blocks went through phased demolition in 2002, 2005 and 2007. All that remained were the tenements targeted for demolition in order to clear the site for the Athletes' Village. However, the Jaconelli family, and several shopkeepers, remained in the area of tenement housing around Springfield road seeking satisfactory compensation amid advancing demolition and dereliction. The refusal of the Jaconelli family to move became one of the main counter-narratives during the Games period, and I will focus on this case in particular here as I have had close engagement with it since 2009.

Unlike most other tenants in the area who socially rented, the Jaconelli family owned their own property, with no mortgage. They refused what they considered a desultory offer of compensation for their two-bedroom flat (initially £30,000). They also refused transfer to a housing association or shared ownership property via the City Council, on the basis that these options were not a 'like-for-like' exchange. With no immediate solution apparent, they decided to stay and make their case for reasonable compensation. Their last immediate neighbour departed in 2002, leaving the family alone on the estate to face damp, cold, vermin, insecurity, no social services, and winter fuel bills of £140 per week (Porter, 2009; Gray and Porter, 2014). These costs were exacerbated by a GCC decision to remove the windows from the flat above; a decision which was described as unique in his

¹⁵⁸ Dalmarnock Housing Action Group (1999), *Death of a Community? Not Likely! Join the Fight Back*, Issue Number 1, September.

experience by the Jaconelli's human rights lawyer¹⁵⁹. In 2008, the Jaconelli home was made subject to a compulsory purchase order (CPO), and it became apparent that their home was situated on the site designated for the CWGs 2014 Athletes' Village.

After lodging an unsuccessful objection to the CPO in 2009, concerning lack of appropriate negotiation and reasonable compensation, the Jaconelli family signed up a local housing rights lawyer to represent their case. When these appeals failed and eviction looked imminent, they took the decision, supported by dozens of local people, students, activists and GGM 2014, to barricade themselves into their home in protest. This action attracted a large media presence for which a series of press releases, blog stories and photographs by GGM 2014 can take some credit¹⁶⁰. After four days, Sheriff's Officers arrived at dawn on 24th March 2011, with more than 80 police officers and 15 riot vans. Police cleared protestors from the street and cut the power, while Sheriff's Officers took a sledgehammer to the doors and windows. Around 11am, the Jaconelli family were forcefully removed from their home of 35 years. I will return to this story shortly, but for now it is important to stress that the actions of the Jaconelli family brought close critical attention to the Athletes' Village, opening a whole series of questions around land and property relations and the real legacy of the Games for local communities.

The bid to construct the Athletes' Village was won by City Legacy consortium, comprised of four property and construction companies: CCG, Cruden, WH Malcolm and Mactaggart and Mickel. During the Games, the purpose-built Village provided accommodation for up to 6,500 competitors and officials, before being 'retro-fitted' for housing after the Games. The initial claim was that over 1,400 homes would be constructed with 1,100 homes for private sale and 300 for rent, but the final figure is much reduced overall: 700 homes, with 300 homes for private sale, and 400 homes divided between three Housing Associations, alongside a 120-bed care home. The 'second phase' of housing has apparently been shelved. In a Spring 2014 newsletter, Thenue Housing Association stated that they had obtained 200 of the Housing Association properties, West of Scotland Housing Association 102, and Glasgow Housing Association 98 (Thenue Housing, 2014).

An estimated 3,000 people¹⁶¹, almost exclusively in social housing, have been displaced from Dalmarmock since 1999 through phased demolition. It is clearly not possible to relocate all these people on the Games Village site, especially given the limited social

¹⁵⁹ Personal communication, Margaret Jaconelli.

¹⁶⁰ Many of these interventions can be found at: <http://gamesmonitor2014.org/category/jaconelli-family/>.

¹⁶¹ This figure is based conservatively on the Hilland Richie report which states that there were 1,589 homes in the area in 1999.

housing allocation on it. This confirms that the ‘new community’ on the Clyde will *displace* the old one rather than add to it. A FAQ section on the City Legacy consortium site states that there is no priority for people who previously lived in the area and that a first come, first served system will prevail. Thenue Housing Association, who hold half of all social rented accommodation on site, have said that “a significant proportion of lets in the Games village will be given to applicants who are working” (Thenue Housing, 2014), adding an additional layer of exclusion in an area renowned for high levels of long-term unemployment. Given these factors, the question of who gains a ‘legacy’ from the Athletes’ Village is highly pertinent. It is certainly not the same community that has suffered from dis-investment and dereliction in Dalrnarnock for decades, despite the enormous public cost associated with the Village.

As noted previously, GCC received a total of £7.7 million from the Scottish Government’s VDLF scheme for land remediation and preparation on the site. Moreover, several land and property developers on or near the site were paid around £30 million of public money so that land parcels could be assembled for the Village (Gray and Porter, 2014). These purchases showed a vast increase on initial purchase prices. The deal between Murray Estates and GCC is a case in point, but the most controversial deal was undertaken with Charles Price who bought property along Springfield Road in 2005-2006 for around £8million, then sold it to GCC for £17 million in 2008 (£20 million, including VAT). Compulsory purchase powers were not applied in these cases despite available provision to do so through Section 42 of the Commonwealth Games Bill (Ibid). Yet a blanket CPO was placed on all remaining properties on the site in August 2010, including remaining residents, the Jaconelli family, and shopkeepers (Ibid). Moreover City Legacy Consortium obtained the site at “nil cost”, entering a profit-sharing agreement with the City Council whose terms are undisclosed¹⁶². Any cost-benefit analysis of the Village site, including claims for legacy, must take into account the massive public subsidy involved, a crucial factor which is often absent from legacy studies (Gratton *et al*, 2005; Short, 2008; Davies, 2011)

These examples indicate how the technical and institutional composition of capital is increasingly bound up with the valorisation of land and property. The struggles of the Jaconelli family may seem rather insignificant in comparison to this co-ordinated approach, but they represent an object lesson in starting from the struggles themselves.

¹⁶² <http://www.building.co.uk/glasgow-2014-commonwealth-games-village-developer-announced/3143341.article>.

Because the family refused to compromise about compensation levels, and because they were willing to undergo extremely trying circumstances on a rapidly deteriorating site, they brought attention to wider issues surrounding the Athletes' Village that may not have had the same exposure otherwise. Firstly, they disrupted the narrative that the CWGs 2014 were about creating a positive legacy for the local population: any comparison between the compensation deals handed out to large-scale landowners and developers and those offered to the Jaconelli family makes it very clear who the primary beneficiaries are at the Athletes' Village.

Secondly, courage begets courage. For instance, GGM 2014 first met carers from the Accord campaign when they visited the eviction blockade at the Jaconelli home where we were giving support. They had been inspired by the Jaconelli's principled stand, and after our interview with them was circulated widely online, and following sustained campaigning on their part, the 'Save the Accord' campaign soon became widely known in the city, with widespread coverage in the mainstream media. The fact that a day care centre was demolished for a temporary CWGs 2014 bus park without replacement, gave another very clear statement that the Games legacy was not for all local people. Margaret Jaconelli and the Save the Accord campaigners, often together, soon became ubiquitous on demonstrations, at public meetings, and on the TV, radio, written press, and blogosphere, opening up their own particular situations to a wider systemic critique of urban regeneration, welfare restructuring, and Games events. The political dimension of these achievements, opening up the question of struggles over social reproduction and social space, would not have been possible without the sustained inquiry, research and investigative work of a range of supporters and collaborators, including GGM 2014. At the same time, such research and inquiry would have had significantly less impact without struggles on the ground. As time has passed, information exchange and transfer has become increasingly reciprocal. For instance, Margaret Jaconelli often carries a bulging folder of newspaper clippings, photographs, and policy and planning documents which GGM 2014 have helped to circulate, and which helped develop my understanding of the situation.

It is important to recognise that some gains have been made on the basis of such activity. The long-term struggle of the Jaconelli family and friends has achieved a compensation offer of £90,000, a very significant increase on the initial offer of £30,000. However, this does not compensate for the costs associated with winter fuel bills of £140 a week since 2002 (Porter, 2009), never mind the physical and emotional distress caused to the family.

Moreover, the compensation fee may have been agreed in principle, but, as is very typical in CPO cases, it has not yet been processed, and four years after the eviction, the Jaconelli family still reside in overcrowded conditions with their son and his family. While the Jaconelli's campaign had very significant symbolic impact, challenging CWGs 2014 legacy discourses precisely at the point where they have been most hyperbolic, it is also important to stress that the campaign was not part of a more general struggle over housing in the East End. In the conclusion that follows, I will aim to account for the absence of wider housing struggles, while suggesting what may be required to initiate a more general politics of space - based around the wider question of social reproduction - in the future.

Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that the urbanisation of capital plays a fundamentally important role in the new spatial composition of the East End of Glasgow. The evidence for that thesis is particularly clear in the current neoliberal conjuncture, where state, quasi-state and private agencies have been working in consort on an enormous scale to valorise land and property through the co-ordinated, heavily state funded, production of space. The legacy of this urban transformation has enormous implications for political composition in the East End, and this relation deserves greater attention both theoretically and practically. Ed Emery (1995) counselled that there is 'no politics without inquiry', and this chapter has taken that counsel seriously by means of an extended composition analysis. I have argued throughout this thesis that decomposition must be taken as seriously as recomposition, and this question has been particularly pertinent in Glasgow North and Glasgow East where heavy industry was once at its peak and where the legacy of de-industrialisation has been at its most profound.

The context of technical and political decomposition arising from these processes has profound implications for recomposition. Dis-investment over many decades, has led to environmental blight, de-population, unemployment on a large-scale, and, less tangibly, a lack of confidence and positive experience in the local population. Running things down, such as public housing, community facilities and services, makes them very difficult to defend, while at the same creating the discursive and material conditions that make demolition and revalorisation symbolically and economically viable. In this sense, territorial stigmatisation and discourses of decline and blight more generally are not merely sociological, but in fact have real consequences in terms of urban land revalorisation. I have made this argument previously (see Gray and Mooney, 2011), but it requires more

sustained investigation and evidence. A more systematic appraisal of land sales and public subsidy for land and remediation and preparation in the East End would go some way to helping clarify this argument.

At the level of political composition, ‘the Left’ and the Scottish Nationalist movement have been rather quiet about the CWGs 2014 and Clyde Gateway. Given that the two chief agents of change in the East End have been GCC, led by the Glasgow Labour Party until very recently, and the Scottish Government, led by the SNP, with both desperate to provide a positive legacy from the CWGs 2014 and related regeneration, we can assume that this is, in part, party political. Jack Ferguson also acknowledged that Unite, affiliated with the Labour Party, would likely be inclined to serve the interests of its members in the construction industry at the expense of other issues on the ground¹⁶³. In this sense, what struggle has been produced has arisen outside or against the organisations who claim to represent progressive politics. While Unite Community Union, whose focus includes those outside the workplace, offers one model of organisation that might deal with the new class composition around social reproduction, the comparable lack of funding available suggests that the workplace is still very much privileged in the Union more generally.

In terms of housing, there is an urgent need for more co-ordinated, independent organisation around the housing issue in Glasgow, and Scotland more generally, given the incorporation of the independent tenants movement into HAs. The recent emergence of a Scottish-wide Living Rent campaigning group¹⁶⁴, which focuses on rent issues in the private market, is one hopeful marker of potential change, though the group remains embryonic in Glasgow as yet. Given dramatic demographic changes in housing tenure, the housing movement must be more cognisant of the new political composition emerging from this transformation of tenure. It may be, in that case, that the Jaconelli family’s defence of their private home could be more typical of the housing struggles to come. But housing must be seen in a wider context of social reproduction, linking with struggles around welfare, care, social and leisure services, working poverty, and the general privatisation of space. I will address these questions in the conclusion to this thesis.

¹⁶³ Personal communication.

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.livingrent.org/>.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that urbanisation has become increasingly central to capital accumulation strategies, with the central research question asking whether urbanisation represents a general *tendency* that might provide an immanent, dialectical basis for a new politics of space. The sub-prime crisis beginning in 2007, and the global repercussions of recession and austerity measures that followed, are the most obvious markers of the research question's significance. On the one hand, the two-fold research question has been examined through a wide-ranging theoretical investigation of urban and economic geographical literature; on the other hand, I have investigated the theoretical and practical basis for a new spatial politics, especially through the work of Henri Lefebvre and Italian Autonomous Marxism (AM). In what follows, I will summarise the various discussions in the preceding chapters and synthesise my conclusions arising from the research question. I will then outline the distinctive theoretical contributions of the thesis, before drawing out the potential implications for praxis and future research.

In Chapter 1, I drew on Lefebvre's somewhat speculative thesis that urbanisation was beginning to supplant industrialisation from the 1960s, and that urbanisation had become increasingly central to the 'state mode of production' in France and elsewhere. Chapters 2 and 3 showed how Lefebvre's thesis became increasingly relevant from the late 1960s onwards, and in Chapter 5 I showed how similar conclusions could be drawn in relation to post-war urban planning in Glasgow. I argued that Lefebvre's general method of spatial abstraction, updating Marx's conception of abstract labour in a context of increasing urbanisation, has only increased in heuristic and practical value for contemporary analyses and contestation of socio-spatial relations. In Chapter 2, a systematic review of contemporary urban theory provided strong evidence that capital has increasingly 'switched' from the primary sector (manufacturing and industrial production) to the secondary sector (land, property, housing and the built environment), and that the production of space has become an increasingly 'active moment' in contemporary capital accumulation strategies.

Following Harvey's (2001; 2006 [1981]) conception of the 'spatial fix', which describes capitalism's drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical restructuring and expansion, in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively I located this discussion in Glasgow, showing how spatial fixing was manifest externally in the regional restructuring of Glasgow during the post-war era, but also *internally* within already developed spaces, aided and abetted by

contemporary discourses around the ‘creativity fix’ (Peck, 2007) and ‘sustainability fix’ (While, Jonas and Gibbs, 2004; Temenos and McCann, 2012). These latter fixes, I argued, offer seemingly progressive solutions to urban crisis without in any way challenging the axioms, and contradictions, of urban accumulation.

Lefebvre could not have known the extent to which fictitious capital, credit and financialisation would come to predominate in the economy from the 1980s, nor could he have known that the rentier economy would return with such a vengeance - despite the prognoses of Adam Smith, Marx and Keynes. In Chapter 2, I examined rent as a major component in contemporary urban accumulation strategies, and in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 I showed how rent had become increasingly central to Glasgow’s urban economy since the 1980s. I considered housing as *the* key vector of the urbanisation of capital and the rentier economy, and thus considerable attention was paid to housing as an immanent political problem in my empirical case studies. Taken together, these studies overwhelmingly suggest the need for the development or re-development of independent tenants’ organisations that might challenge the privatisation of social housing more effectively. This speaks to the second side of my research question, which asked whether the urbanisation of capital presents the immanent conditions for a socio-spatial dialectic in and against the production of space.

What distinguishes Lefebvre from many Marxist urban scholars is his fundamental critique of the political economy of space, and his simultaneous concern with a situated politics of everyday life. The point, as Marx famously argued in the final ‘Theses on Feuerbach’, is not merely to interpret the world, but “to *change* it” (Marx, 1970, p.123). While this statement has often been instrumentalised rather crudely as a call to action without due theoretical reflection, Lefebvre’s meta-philosophy was based on an understanding of differential space and practice-sensory experience as internally related to abstract space. This immanent dialectical conception of space was developed in his conceptions of ‘the right to the city’ and ‘territorial autogestion’, which opened up the potential for an organised politics of space. Yet, both the ‘right to the city’ and ‘territorial autogestion’ have perhaps promised more than they have delivered in terms of everyday urban politics.

In Chapter 3, I thus drew on the Italian Autonomous Marxist (AM) tradition, which went beyond Lefebvre in terms of collective urban praxis, especially in the early 1970s when capital gradually switched from industrial production to the wider social factory. Yet, exemplary urban movements of ‘territorial community activism’ in Italy, such as ‘take over the city’, are entirely absent from influential histories of grass-roots urban politics (cf.

Castells, 1983; Harvey, 2012)¹⁶⁵. When AM *is* discussed, it is primarily in relation to operaismo, in the classical workers' phase of the late 1960s, and post-operaismo, typically associated with the 'socialised worker' and questions of immaterial, affective and cognitive labour from the late 1970s. These factors have inhibited the translation of key AM texts that interpret the urban struggles of the early 1970s. However, drawing on available Anglo-American translations, this thesis has attempted to address this lacuna, showing how such struggles were part of a conscious, immanent, dialectical form of urban politics that has much relevance today (cf. Toscano, 2004).

While the social revolutions of the present must take their poetry from the future and not from the past, the urban struggles in 1970s Italy provide some very useful conceptions for the present era (Hardt, 1996). I drew on two major AM ideas in my empirical work in Glasgow: firstly, the conception of the 'social factory', which has significant socio-spatial implications for political struggle outside the immediate sphere of production, contributing to ongoing redefinitions of 'working class' struggle (Cleaver, 1979; Dyer-Witherford, 2008); secondly, the notion of class composition. The idea of the social factory has been more implicit than that of composition throughout, but with these concepts in mind I have stressed the importance of urban political struggles at the 'point of social reproduction' (Bunge, 1977).

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 I showed how urban development in Glasgow involves the extension of real subsumption across the entirety of the social factory: "...invading the whole network of social relations" (Tronti, 1962, n.p.). In Chapter 5, the framework of spatial composition allowed for a systematic historical analysis of urban struggles in Glasgow, uncovering a continuum of urban revolt that has hitherto received inadequate attention. In Chapters 6 and 7, I augmented this historical analysis with specific case studies of urban struggle in contemporary Glasgow. These studies undoubtedly affirmed the prevalence of urban accumulation strategies in the city, the need for more organisation at the level of spatial politics, and thus the currency of my two-fold research question. With this background in mind, I will now detail what I consider to be the distinctive theoretical contributions of the thesis overall.

¹⁶⁵ There are I think significant ideological reasons for this. AM was fundamentally opposed to the structuralist and regulationist strands of Marxism that both Castells and Harvey have been much influenced by, and whose theoretical support helped to prop up the productivist Eurocommunism of the Italian Communist Party in the 1970s (PCI).

Spatial Composition and Territorial Inquiry: For a Spatialised Dialogue in and between Autonomous Marxism and Urban Geography

A significant contribution in this thesis has been the development of a closer and more systematic conversation between urban geography and the traditions of Italian Autonomous Marxism (AM). This exchange between critical urban geography and the heterodox traditions of AM is perhaps an unlikely marriage given that the former tradition typically reads capital as a treatise on political economy, while the latter reads capital: “to put a weapon in the hands of workers” (Cleaver, 1979, p.3)¹⁶⁶. Yet, as I have shown in Chapters 1 and 3, Lefebvre provides a conduit for dialogue between these different Marx-inspired currents. Fundamentally, both Lefebvre and AM stress the importance of situated embodied engagement as opposed to structural analysis alone (though AM clearly went beyond Lefebvre in praxis in this regard). Yet neither case implies an abdication of reflexive theoretical activity. In fact, both Lefebvre and the AM tradition routinely emphasise the necessity of abstraction in order to understand general tendencies in the relations of capital as vital political questions on the ground. In Chapters 6 and 7, I have shown how a similar meta-philosophy exists in my own theoretical and empirical work. This form of praxis does not reject outright regulationist or structuralist approaches in Marxism, but does suggest that situated urban praxis must “exceed the business of mapping and explaining unjust structures and unequal places” (Pain, Kesby and Askins, 2011).

By bringing AM into dialogue with urban geography, I have aimed to challenge the capital-centrism that sometimes typifies Marxist urban geography. AM’s ‘Copernican inversion’ stresses the agency of the working class, very broadly defined, and its constitutive role *within* capitalist relations as a part of capital (‘variable capital’). This theoretical tradition challenges certain traditions in Marxism that tend to ‘thing-ify’ capital rather than seeing capital as a set of process-based social relations, whose very fluidity leaves it potentially open to progressive change. A related conception of ‘capitalocentrism’ is expressed in J.K. Gibson-Graham’s (1996; 2006) feminist critique of political economy, but they often tend to perform an inverse reductionism, characterising the disposition of “strong” radical Left thinking as authoritarian, paranoid, melancholic and moralistic (Ibid, p.4). Undoubtedly, this description carries a moment of truth for *some* Left thinkers and organisations, but Gibson-Graham here construct their own ‘straw man’, barely acknowledging that such ‘strong’ thinking has been heavily criticised *within* the radical

¹⁶⁶ Not just workers, of course, but also the new social subjects in the wider social factory.

Left for decades, AM being an exemplary case in point. The critique of capital-centrism in these milieux differs substantially from Gibson-Graham in that it does not see the solution for a post-capitalist politics in the discursive theorisation of ‘alternative’, ‘diverse’ or ‘different’ economies, but in the necessity of a radical negation of the capital-labour relation and the value-form (which has proven itself rather adept at existing alongside ‘alternative’ economies).

If this thesis has contributed to a more sustained engagement with classical AM and its lineage in autonomous geographies, this has been achieved primarily through the notion of class composition. I have argued that the notion of class composition offers one salient means of grasping the real abstractions of capital, without relinquishing the situated, embodied, experiential subjectivity which should be integral to a post-capitalist politics, as Gibson-Graham rightly stress. For Toscano and Kinkle (2015), cognitive mapping, which I touched on briefly in Chapters 4 and 6, provides one potential orientation that might help connect “the abstractions of capital to the sense data of everyday perception” (Ibid, p.7). Likewise, class composition analysis, involving a close examination of the relation between technical composition (capital’s plans) and political composition (the generalisation of counter-organisation beginning from a subjective perspective) is an extremely pertinent method for developing a conversation between subjective experience and the real abstractions of contemporary capitalist relations.

Class composition provides a theoretical and practical means for avoiding many of the binary pitfalls associated with, on the one hand, an over-emphasis on a totalising, systemic master-narrative of capitalism; and on the other, an over-emphasis on subjectivity, embodiment and particularity that often disavows the necessarily collective, common forms of organisation that are surely required to challenge fundamentally the real abstractions of capital. These contrasting positions have led to a somewhat reductive series of binaries in the disciplines of human and urban geography that are often dependent on caricatured readings of each tradition: determinancy, indeterminancy; closed, open; subjective, objective; particular, general; centralisation, decentralisation; unity, fragmentation; master narratives, micro narratives. Thinking through the relation between technical and political composition, I have argued, is one important means by which these binaries can be more productively engaged and potentially overcome.

Class compositionism is a continual process of reflexive, open investigation that aims to open up new forms of political recomposition based on highly conjunctural contemporary conditions. In this respect, *decomposition* must be taken just as seriously as recomposition

(Wright, 2002). Autonomous Marxists emphasise that the working class is not just the subject of capital's plans, but a motor for its development, and potentially its eventual demise. But as I observed in Chapter 3, certainly in Glasgow, this 'Copernican inversion' and a related invocation of revolutionary agency cannot be so easily asserted in the face of decades of political decomposition. This thesis thus stresses the importance of both technical and political decomposition throughout, though not as a mere cry of despair, rather as an urgent question for political recomposition. In this respect, an emphasis on decomposition does not mean losing the radical agency approach of AM; it means instead finding ways to conceptualise and generalise a politics of space that is immanent to contemporary conditions. Spatial composition, I have argued, can make a distinctive contribution in this regard.

Another distinctive contribution is the development of spatial composition analysis. Simply grafting composition analysis on to geographical concerns is not sufficient, and with the concept of spatial composition I have fore-grounded spatial concerns in composition analysis from the outset. In Chapter 5 this shift of conceptual lens allowed me to show how Glasgow can be considered a city of social reproduction, perhaps more so than a city of production in historical terms, at least since the 1930s. This compositional rethinking allowed for a consideration of historic urban struggle as systemic and immanent to the tendencies of capital accumulation, rather than a mere anomaly rising intermittently between primary labour struggles. Spatial composition analysis then makes a significant contribution to affirming urban struggles as much more than merely secondary struggles, as they are routinely seen through the optic of workerism (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Bunge, 1977; Bologna, 2007 [1977]; Harvey, 2012).

In Chapters 6 and 7 I applied spatial composition analysis in specific case studies of regeneration projects in Glasgow. Only with very few exceptions - Clyde Gateway East in the Clyde Gateway programme for instance - was traditional industry a component in regeneration strategies. To my mind this has become something of a banality; very few people today would expect to see industrial development as a constituent feature of large-scale urban regeneration projects. Instead, urban development is typically premised on the *FIRE* sector (finance, insurance, real estate), which is characteristically based on the extraction of wealth from the economy at large rather than expanding the means of direct production or raising living standards (Hudson, 2006a, 2010). Yet the image and form of class politics, fostered by state and developer discourses, often remains symbolically and practically yoked to the idea of productive industry. In this sense, the importance of open,

reflexive investigations of contemporary development in our cities, and what implications accrue for new *forms of politics*, is absolutely crucial. The concept of territorial inquiry that I have developed here, complementing that of spatial composition, is apposite in this regard.

Territorial inquiry provides an embodied, experiential methodology for thinking through, and acting on, spatial composition analysis. Based on a form of relational investigative walking as a collective political methodology, it is a precise, situated way literally to traverse the relation between the abstractions of capital and sensory experience in everyday life, and a practical method for bridging the binary between subject and object. The collective, relational form of this practice must be stressed against the increasingly individualised use of psychogeography as an art practice. The forms and aims of psychogeography are multiple (Knabb, 1981; Coverley, 2006) and the point here is not to instrumentalise a practice whose very wilfulness is one of its core strengths, yet in terms of a radical, political use of psychogeography, in the manner of Walter Benjamin or the Situationist International, for instance, territorial inquiry has great potential for developing spatial politics as a practical, *collective* means of political investigation, dialogue and organisation.

In Chapter 6 I argued that the territorial inquiry led around Speirs Locks was successful in terms of empirical experience, political education, and relational understanding. However, it was less successful in engendering further activity and organisation at a local level. It is difficult to assess the impact of the walk in other areas, but it should be noted that many inquiry participants are engaged in ongoing critique and contestation of cultural regeneration strategies. In future, it would be worth thinking of ways to measure the impact of territorial inquiry processes. In the conclusion to Chapter 6, I discussed the composition of the participants on the inquiry and potential reasons for the comparative lack of local involvement. While many community activists citywide participated in the territorial inquiry, from the point of view of autonomous organisation, future territorial inquiries should be considered more carefully as a contribution to ongoing forms of political recomposition between ‘alienated’ and ‘excluded’ subjects (Mayer, 2013), with a particular focus on the struggles themselves, their content, and how they circulate.

In terms of the inquiry methods deployed, I made the decision to forego interviews, which have traditionally been at the core of workers’ inquiries, in favour of territorial inquiry. However, the use of interviews can be a crucial starting point for fomenting a critical circulation of experiences and new modes of direct encounter when low levels of

autonomous organisation are extant (Alquati (2013 [1961])). In the context of decomposition described in Chapter 6, an interview process may have helped to develop more contacts and knowledge that could have augmented the walk and further research and practice, and this is something that could be developed in future inquiry processes. Having described the key theoretical contributions of the thesis here, I will now detail what I believe to be the most important implications of the research for both urban geography and autonomous politics.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Social theory must confront contemporary reality as it is, not as it once was, or how we would like it to be, and this understanding can be seen as a leitmotif for this entire thesis, encapsulating what I consider to be the theoretical and practical implications arising from the urbanisation of capital. Central to this understanding is the notion of *tendency*, which designates a general set of parameters or conditions of capital relations, but which, importantly, does not reify these conditions in any absolute or fixed manner. The tendency is mutable and processual, and thus requires continual exploration and verification, yet understanding tendency in a general way allows for a set of common, if differentiated, political practices to be developed around common, if differentiated, conditions. Lefebvre's shift of emphasis from abstract labour to abstract space is exemplary here, and spatial composition analysis, I believe, can also begin to challenge the scales at which many particular, specific struggles operate, opening out the possibilities of activity relationally, without subsuming the agency and difference of those struggles in the first place.

'Place-based' struggles (Mitchell *et al*, forthcoming) around issues of social reproduction have become increasingly important in Glasgow (Paddison, 2009; Tretter, 2009; Gray, 2010; Gray and Porter, 2014), yet the commonality between these struggles is rarely understood as part of a wider, albeit uneven, immanent response to the current composition of capital. Such struggles, as I argued in Chapter 5, can benefit from a more coherent theorisation and practice that might assist the development of political recomposition in and against the contemporary relations of capital. What is distinctive in terms of the tendential composition of ongoing campaigns in the East End (Chapter 7), for instance, is that they are primarily focused on issues of social reproduction - housing, care, welfare - rather than the workplace, with women, unemployed people, and disabled people notably playing a leading role. It is among such groups that McLay (1990) and the Workers City group predicted the social antagonisms of the future would develop. I would like to think

that this is correct. However, given the social-fragmentation of these social subjects and their relative weakness at present in terms of organisational and economic power, no-one should under-estimate the difficulties faced.

Wacquant's (2008) diagnostic of 'advanced marginality' is apposite for many of Glasgow's urban areas: wage labour as a vector of social instability and life insecurity; functional disconnection from macroeconomic trends; territorial fixation and stigmatisation; spatial alienation and dissolution of 'place'; loss of hinterland (collective informal support); and social fragmentation and symbolic splintering (Ibid, 234-247). In such areas, a "blemish of place" (Wacquant, 2007, p.67) works to legitimise public-private urban interventions that effectively deepen such marginality by simultaneously hyperbolising the 'brute facts' of physical and environmental decline and obfuscating structural inequality and questions of collective responsibility. As Toscano and Kinkle (2015) ruefully observe, an oppositional topography in the current era must entail to some extent an observation of defeats, both personal and political. Yet challenging such conditions, and the post-political discourses that augment them, is vital if we are not simply to abandon 'urban outcasts' to the exigencies of the neoliberal state (Wacquant, 2008).

Without losing sight of differences and particularity, I argue here that there is a real need for more systemic analyses of abstract space and its discontents, not with the aim of producing a false unity or new vanguard, but rather with the aim of bringing these varying urban struggles into dialogue with each other. It is not the job of theory necessarily to produce templates for action or organisation, but to stimulate methodological approaches and to synthesise available evidence and data in such a way that it becomes useful for urban struggle. The struggles of the Jaconelli family and the carers and users of the Accord Centre, described in Chapter 7, are instructive in this regard. The Jaconelli family's situation was politicised in relation to the gentrification and displacement that always accompanies large-scale regeneration or sporting mega-events (Gray and Mooney, 2011), as well as the classed use of exceptionality measures, such as CPOs, when urban regeneration is typically used to create 'higher end land uses' rather than support progressive planning policy and social housing construction (Christophers, 2010a; Gray and Porter, 2014).

The 'Save the Accord' campaign, meanwhile, used the understandings developed through dialogue and praxis with GGM 2014 and other groups to mobilise against the wider closure of day care centres in the city, and also to counter the introduction of 'personalisation' and

‘self-directed-support’ approaches in social care, which many carers view as an austerity-based process of externalising labour, costs and responsibility away from government. In both cases, the idea of ‘public good’ enshrined in Games ‘legacy’ discourses was fundamentally critiqued from a basis of personal experience and rapid political learning. As noted in Chapter 7, groups like GGM 2014 may have helped these understandings to develop through discussion and exchange, but the process was reciprocal: without those particular struggles, which remained at the forefront of campaigning work, it would have been impossible to question wider relations in the same way. As argued in Chapter 6, *politicisation* is precisely about this metaphoric universalisation of seemingly singular, contingent problems as symptomatic points of contradiction and organisation (Žižek, 1999; Dean, 2014). The important point is that this understanding emerges through reflexive praxis and solidarity, rather than being imposed from without through ‘consciousness raising’ and the dictates of ideology.

If the struggles of the Jaconelli family and ‘Save the Accord’ went unacknowledged by the Left initially, this is perhaps because a typically privileged focus on abstract labour (wage labour), from the point of view of abstract labour rather than social reproductive labour (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Holloway, 2010a), made them somewhat invisible. Lefebvre’s conception of abstract space, however, provides a means by which such struggles can be recognised as part of a wider politics of urban space. Combined with a focus on social reproduction - no longer as merely a ‘second front’ - the possibility of a politics of everyday life emerges where the geographies of the working class are overwhelmingly situated (Bunge, 1977). Given the centrality of housing to everyday life, as well as the rentier economy and contemporary accumulation strategies, it must figure prominently in a contemporary politics of space. Yet, there has been a gradual diminishment of independent tenants’ organisation in the last few decades, with dramatic compositional changes in housing investment and tenure not yet addressed sufficiently by the tenants’ movement.

Spatial composition analysis, I have argued, can have a significant role to play in understanding capital’s housing plans as an immanent, dialectical problem whose solution lies with the tenants’ themselves. Thinking through these problems, however, requires re-imagining political processes in a way that recognises shifting modalities of both institutional and class power (*Midnight Notes*, 2002; Dyer-Witheford, 2008; Raco, 2014). Edinburgh Private Tenants’ Action Group (EPTAG), linked with Edinburgh Tenants Federation (ETF), has been particularly effective in campaigning against letting agents and

private landlords through both direct action and parliamentary lobbying, and private tenants action groups are becoming increasingly widespread in the UK. The Living Rent¹⁶⁷ campaign in Scotland, focusing on the private rented sector, is also encouraging in that it realistically engages with current housing tenure demography and the reality of the rentier economy. The campaign actively organises around rent restrictions, making it the first coherent campaign on such legislation since the rent restrictions won through the 1915 Rent Strikes were repealed in the 1980 Housing Act. These important new campaigns around the private rented sector, however, must be aligned with the recovery of independent tenants' movements around public and social housing, and new forms of housing common(s), if the housing movement is not simply to accept the logic of private tenure in current housing policy (Hodkinson, 2012a, 2012b).

The public ownership of housing has long been off the mainstream agenda (though see Defend Council Housing, 2005; Glynn, 2007; 2009), yet the case against the private rented sector (PRS) and third sector social housing becomes stronger every day, evidenced in spiralling rents, exorbitant mortgage and house prices, overcrowding, foreclosures and evictions. The historical evidence suggests that making such a demand requires a mandate from active independent housing groups, and throughout this thesis, particularly in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, I have argued that such demands must start from the struggles themselves, however marginal. This has important political consequences. As Federici (1975) argued, it is one thing to organise communally and then demand the state pays for it, and another to ask the state to organise communal reproduction: "In one case we gain some control over own lives, in the other we extend the state's control over us".

If political recomposition must occur *across* tenures, it must also be fostered in the relations between social housing, welfare and social reproduction more generally. Increasing costs in social rented housing compound the housing benefit trap, at the same time as social welfare is being gradually dismantled and central housing budgets are drastically reduced. Considering the way in which social housing allocation is premised on a needs-based model¹⁶⁸, there has been very little dialogue between independent housing and welfare campaigners. However, this social relation came to the fore in campaigns around the 'Bedroom Tax', part of the Welfare Reform Act of April 2013, which reduced housing benefit by between 14% (one bedroom) and 25% (two bedrooms) for those in social housing if they were deemed to be 'under occupying' (i.e. if they had any spare

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.livingrent.org/>.

¹⁶⁸ Of 476,121 housing benefit claimants in Scotland, 79% live in the social rented sector (Berry, 2014).

rooms). Strong campaigning led the Scottish Government to cover the costs for impacted tenants through increased Discretionary Housing Payments (DHP's), with numerous political parties and groups claiming credit.

This was undoubtedly a 'victory' of sorts for housing campaigners'; but, since the 'Bedroom Tax' was ultimately resolved at the level of parliamentary governance, the grass-roots campaigns that initially instigated pressure were not developed. The question of 'under-occupancy' is inextricably related to a massive reduction of social housing, putting extra pressure on available space within social housing, but the 'Bedroom Tax' did not politicise this issue as a more systemic concern. Moreover, the under-occupancy legislation remains in place, with the principle and practice of welfare reform intact and the Scottish Government simply absorbing the costs of Westminster reform (up to £50 million of public funds in 2014-2015) (Berry, 2014). Federici's (1975) diagnostic is apposite here. Without continued grass-roots struggle on the issue, there was no real gain in democratic control over housing, and the state's power over tenants' was ultimately re-affirmed. Nevertheless, the 'Bedroom Tax' campaign indicated the potential for recomposition around housing and welfare issues, and such struggles require urgent theorisation and practical political support as part of a wider focus on the area of social reproduction.

Lefebvre's (2009 [1980]) conception of *territorial autogestion*, evoking the possibility of "overturning dominant spaces, placing appropriation over domination, demand over command, and use over exchange" (Ibid, p.194), is useful here. While *autogestion* does not challenge the value form *per se*, it does push the contradictions between use-value and exchange-value to their limit, establishing a "favourable conjuncture" that may lead "beyond political democracy" (Lefebvre, 2009 [1966], pp.149-150). The arguments of Italian autonomous feminists are also deeply significant with regard to social reproduction. With reproduction understood as integral to the reproduction of labour power, then community and the home can be seen as part of the wider social factory: "where the costs and nature of transport, housing, education, police, are all points of struggle" (Dalla Costa and James, 1972, p.11). The 'right to the city', or more radically the movement to 'take over the city', also suggest movements of 'territorial community activism' based around housing, health, transport, public services, utilities, leisure and cultural consumption (Lotta Continua, 1973; Ramirez, 1992 [1975]); Bologna, 2007 [1977]; Cherki and Wieviorka, 2007). Finding points of convergence between these different sectors is vital, with housing, in my opinion, the key vector for doing so.

Summary

If urbanisation as an immanent tendency of capitalist development has been under-theorised historically within the broader Marxist tradition, then there is clearly a gap in the literature that requires further research and synthesis. Chapter 5 began this process and further research in this area can illustrate and confirm the continuity of urban struggles historically, thus potentially opening up new understandings of the urban problem for contemporary analysis. For such research to be undertaken more systematically, the methodology of spatial composition, and indeed class composition, requires more exposure, refinement and illustration. There is a need both to examine further and define spatial composition as a methodology, and to put the methodology into practice in specific urban contexts with specific urban struggles. This must involve a more explicit opening out of theory and methods to participants and collaborators in future composition studies.

Overall, there is a vital need for investigation and inquiry. The urban landscape is in constant flux, with social space being rapidly privatised. In this regard, the old nostrums of the Left are often outmoded. In particular, the housing stock in the UK generally, and in Glasgow more specifically, is being transformed rapidly in favour of private tenure. This has major implications politically, and very significant possibilities for political recomposition as part of more general struggles around social reproduction. Attacked by strong inflation, job cuts and generalised austerity, workers' wages cannot be successfully defended by actions taken only within the workplace. Defending threatened purchasing power also requires struggling in the areas of social reproduction and consumption (Cherki and Wieviorka, 2007). The privileging of workplace struggles as the primary locus of organisation within the Left has gradually been eroded by increasing practical experience in housing and welfare struggles, but this realisation can be greatly enhanced through spatial composition analysis, as I have shown in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

In summary, this thesis has considered the question of spatial composition in Glasgow in a context of neoliberal urbanism and economic recession and austerity. I have argued that the urbanisation of capital is central to the survival of capitalism in this context, and that a new politics of space is required that is commensurate with capital's urban plans. In classical Marxism, there has traditionally been a focus on struggles within the immediate sphere of production. This thesis, however, has argued that immanent, dialectical political struggle is increasingly required in the wider social factory and sphere of social reproduction, particularly around the housing question. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide a strong evidence

base for this thesis in Glasgow, whose urban transformation through inter- and post-war urban planning made the city a key site of social reproduction as much as production from the 1930s onwards.

The utilisation of spatial composition in Chapter 5 showed how a change of theoretical lens could provide an optic on under-acknowledged historic struggles, shifting the typical perspective of Glasgow as a site of labour struggle to one of Glasgow as a site of urban struggle. This should not be taken to mean that labour struggles were not, or are not, important, but that urban struggles deserve greater recognition and theorisation as struggles that are immanent to the shifting tendencies of capital accumulation. That this shift remains highly significant for Glasgow's population was confirmed in Chapters 6 and 7, where large-scale property-led urban regeneration projects, including the largest of its kind in Scotland, are having a dramatic effect on the everyday life of local populations. Such dramatic spatial transformation requires an urgent new politics of urban space, and it is hoped that this thesis makes a useful contribution to that important project.

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