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**THE
MERCHANT CITY:
a study in townscape
and revitalisation.**

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Submitted as part of the requirements for the
Degree of Master Of Philosophy.

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Regional Planning,
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April, 1986.

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SYNOPSIS

Glasgow is currently the scene of much change. This change has come in the form of many schemes and projects intended to revitalise the city centre - both physically and economically. The Merchant City Project is such a scheme.

The aims behind the project are basically three-fold:-

- 1) A desire to attract people back into the city centre;
- 2) To stimulate economic activity in a run-down and depressed area; and
- 3) To retain and enhance the physical character of the area by re-using the existing buildings and complimenting these with sympathetic new build developments.

With these aims in mind, the dissertation attempts to highlight the factors which led to the instigation of the Merchant City Project. Thus the history of the area is detailed focussing on the development of the townscape. This issue of townscape is considered very important to the area and because of this the philosophies behind conservation are discussed and the difficulties of achieving satisfactory new build schemes to compliment the older buildings are outlined.

Conservation and new build are essentially a part of the more complex process of urban regeneration. The development of the processes of urban renewal and regeneration are outlined and this leads to a discussion on the Merchant City and what is happening in the area at present.

It is here that the two main themes of townscape and regeneration are brought together. The aims of the bodies and agencies involved in the project are brought into question, as is the way they desire the image of the Merchant City to be promoted.

To discover public opinion, an empirical study was undertaken. This deals with the differing perceptions of two groups towards the Merchant City. The results form the basis for the conclusions along with the research connected with what is occurring in the area today.

In this way it is hoped that the dissertation will give a clear picture of the Merchant City Project; how it was instigated; the developments as yet undertaken along with future proposals; the ideals behind the scheme and how these ideals are faring as the project develops.

Graham Stewart,

Glasgow, 1986.

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Maureen, thanks for giving me something to aim for but I think your record still holds.

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In Memory of

Elizabeth Mackenna Brown Oaks Docherty

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

world's major cities, as far as tourism and investment
concerned.

It is a combination of some of these proposals which
inspired this dissertation along with a real interest in the
physical fabric of the city.

The proposals include Glasgow District Council

Since the early 1980's, Glasgow has been the focus of an
advertising campaign costing approximately £5,000,000, which has
aimed to change the image of the city. The campaign - "Glasgow's
Miles Better" - is designed to bring visitors to a city which is
vastly under-rated - both culturally and physically. Alongside
this, there have been a number of schemes and projects, which, it
is hoped, will revitalise Glasgow City Centre.

There have been schemes which are directly related to
attracting overseas visitors and also people from elsewhere in the
United Kingdom e.g. to the Burrell Collection and the new Scottish
Exhibition Centre. Glasgow is also being promoted as a city ideal
for the world headquarters of many businesses e.g. Britoil and Coats
Paton PLC.

In view of this, there are major retail and leisure/cultural
proposals for the city. The two most important of these are the
St. Enoch's Development (on which work has already begun) and the
Caledonia Square Development (at the top of Buchanan Street).

As a result of these developments and proposals, there have
been further proposals and subsequent feasibility studies to
determine which direction Glasgow has the potential to follow.
These studies have shown that Glasgow could become one of the

world's major cities, as far as tourism and investment are concerned.

It is a combination of some of these proposals which has inspired this dissertation along with a real interest in the physical fabric of the city.

The proposals include Glasgow District Council's desire to attract people back into the city and the way in which they hope to achieve this.

Also, Cullen was commissioned by a group called Glasgow Action (discussed in Chapter 4) to prepare a report on how the environment and image of the city could be improved and enhanced. Both the District Council and Cullen independently identified the Merchant City as a unique area worthy of investment and regeneration. To this end, the Merchant City Project was chosen for study.

Glasgow has often been described as one of the finest Victorian cities in Britain, Gomme and Walker (1968). The city has a wealth of interesting and unique architecture much of which has, sadly, fallen into disrepair due to neglect and the fact that it has been left unused as the owners could not let the property and did not know what to do with it.

The Merchant City is a prime example of such a case. It is an area of fine eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings, many owned by the District Council and many left unoccupied. The area has its own unique character and townscape. To this end, Chapter 1 of the dissertation traces the development of this townscape. It details the history of the area and the factors that led to the building of large, grand buildings in this part of the city.

Following on from this, Chapter 2 discusses in depth the advantages and disadvantages of conservation and examines the benefits in re-using older buildings. This is given because, in order to retain this important townscape, the older buildings will have to be retained and re-used. However if the area is to regain its coherence the older buildings must be complimented by sympathetic new build on the various gap sites in the area.

Chapter 3 outlines the importance of townscape in general and how new build must take into account the existing character of an area if that area is to retain its individual style and charm. Glasgow District Council's approach to this problem is outlined and a case study given.

Garlick (1986) points out that there are quite a few inner city areas that, through a skilful mix of conservation, adaptation and renewal, are maintaining their attractiveness and prosperity. However there is more to the regeneration of an area than this. The problem inner city is also marked by lack of economic activity and as a result, under-used and abandoned buildings and human resources.

Chapter 4 outlines the need for renewal and regeneration. The national scale is examined before Glasgow is discussed in detail.

Renewal and regeneration in one area may not be the solution in another. What is right for Leeds or Birmingham will not, necessarily, be the answer for Sheffield. None of these solutions will be right for Liverpool nor for London's docklands. And Glasgow's City Centre has its own special features and problems which make regeneration here different from elsewhere.

Chapter 5 discusses the events which led to revitalisation of the Merchant City area and it brings together the importance of the townscape in the revitalisation of the Merchant City and the use being made of the buildings, as well as future proposals for the area. The role of public and private agencies is outlined and their aims are analysed. This leads on to a discussion of the Merchant City's 'image' and how it should be promoted.

Chapter 6 deals with an empirical study designed to evaluate the differing perceptions people in Glasgow have toward the Merchant City. Two groups were used - residents of the Merchant City and non-residents. This was undertaken to discover if the townscape was an important feature and to find out if the public were aware of recent work and developments in the area.

The conclusions were based on the research carried out on the Merchant City along with the results of the empirical work undertaken. Certain factors which came to light are discussed and on the basis of these, various suggestions are proposed as to how the Merchant City Project can be improved and thereby sustained to completion.

On a general level, the dissertation attempts to reconcile three potentially conflicting concepts: the importance of townscape and architectural variation and its retention and enhancement; promoting this in a city centre area with all the associated pressures of redevelopment, traffic and commercial activity and also promoting the same area for residential use.

The Merchant City Project has to deal with all three, as will this dissertation.

CHAPTER 1

The 'Merchant City' area of Glasgow is undoubtedly one of the oldest parts of the city. Due to the situation of the cathedral to the north and the growing importance of the river to the south, it was only natural that the area in between should be developed as the population and trade grew. This chapter will attempt to construct a chronological account of the development of the land which is today the focus of so much local authority attention.

I. The Early History and Medieval Town

The Romans had probably given the first impulse to the growth of Glasgow but when the Antonine Wall to the north was finally abandoned and the legions withdrew, the fate of the tiny community by the ford on the Clyde is conjectural. It was at this time that St. Kentigern (or St. Mungo as he is also known) would have come to Glasgow - 543 A.D. He came to preach Christianity and he founded the first ecclesiastical building on the site of the present cathedral.

From the 6th century to the 12th century the history of Glasgow is rather obscure. However from the 12th century onwards Glasgow began to grow in importance as an ecclesiastical burgh. A cathedral had been endowed by 1115. This was destroyed by fire

around the middle of the 12th century. Bishop Jocelin (1175-99), one of the most notable and energetic incumbents of the see, began the rebuilding of the cathedral and to him may be attributed part of the existing structure.

It was through the efforts of Bishop Jocelin that Glasgow first attained the status of burgh. However not only was he the founder of the city's present cathedral but also its commerce. At this time Glasgow was only a small village, its houses clustered round the cathedral being occupied mainly by the clergy and their dependants, its trade and industry insignificant. (See Fig.1i. - Glasgow in 1175). In order to encourage the latter and promote the temporal welfare of his see, Jocelin between 1175 and 1178 obtained a charter from William the Lion making Glasgow a burgh, held of the bishop, with the right to have a weekly market. A further charter, granted around 1189, conferred the privilege of an annual summer fair - the origin of the "Glasgow Fair". Glasgow, although it enjoyed the freedoms and customs of a royal burgh, did not become so until the 17th century. Glasgow's progress was not conducive to the goodwill of neighbouring Dumbarton, Rutherglen and Renfrew, who saw it as a rival to their exclusive rights of trade.

The location of the cathedral dictated how Glasgow would grow.

It had to grow from the cathedral on its hill south-westwards to the ford across the Clyde at a place called the Stockwell (where the first stone bridge was built in 1345). In the wake of the granting of the charter of 1175-78, the delineation of the first plot units may have produced a T-shaped street plan Gibb (1983), with the crossbar of the 'T' aligned along the southern track and

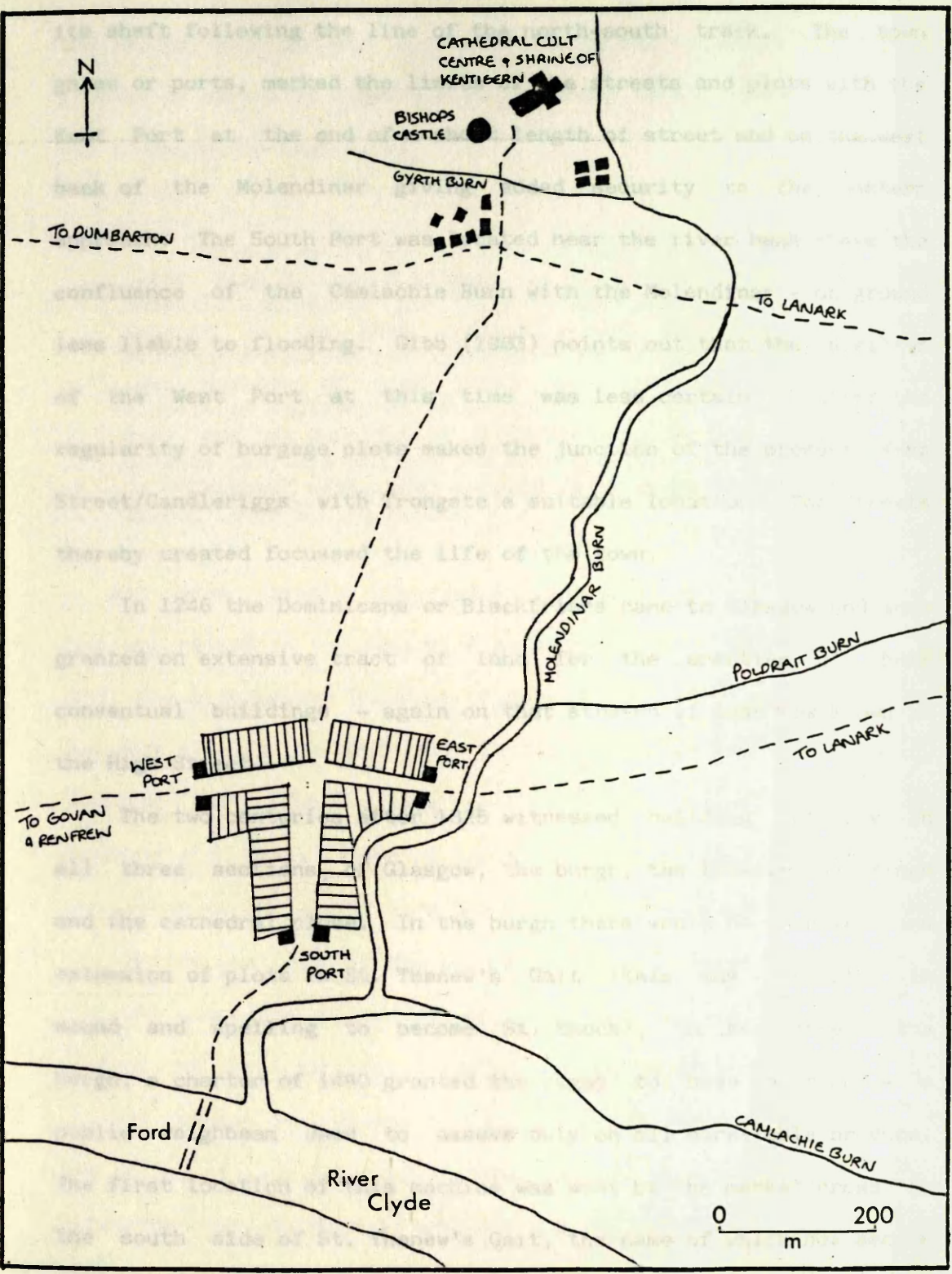


Fig.11. Glasgow in 1175-78.

its shaft following the line of the north-south track. The town gates or ports, marked the limits of the streets and plots with the East Port at the end of a short length of street and on the west bank of the Molendinar giving added security to the eastern approach. The South Port was located near the river bank above the confluence of the Camlachie Burn with the Molendinar - on ground less liable to flooding. Gibb (1983) points out that the position of the West Port at this time was less certain. However the regularity of burgage plots makes the junction of the present King Street/Candleriggs with Trongate a suitable location. The streets thereby created focussed the life of the town.

In 1246 the Dominicans or Blackfriars came to Glasgow and were granted an extensive tract of land for the erection of their conventual buildings - again on that stretch of land now known as the High Street.

The two centuries after 1325 witnessed building activity in all three sections of Glasgow, the burgh, the intervening fringe and the cathedral close. In the burgh there would be some westward extension of plots in St. Thenew's Gait (this was corrupted in sound and spelling to become St. Enoch). In the centre of the burgh, a charter of 1490 granted the right to have a tron - a public weighbeam used to assess duty on all marketable produce. The first location of this machine was west of the market cross on the south side of St. Thenew's Gait, the name of which now became Trongait. On the northern edge of the market place stood the Tolbooth. These structural manifestations of the growing regularisation of trade focussed attention on the market area of

the burgh and it may be that the tolbooth structure aided this process by partially closely exit and entry to the market place via the track to the High Kirk.

"Identification of the line of this track with the later High Street of Glasgow has been the source of some semantic confusion. The 'High Street' of many towns in Britain is the main trading street, often the oldest built-up street in the settlement and the focal point of many aspects of town life. In Glasgow, a number of streets or sections of streets changed their name over time and the appellation 'High Street', for the routeway between the Tolbooth and the cathedral was neither early or consistent with other streets being described as 'High Street' over a long period."

Gibb (1983).

Two major events occurred in the 15th century. In 1492 the city was raised to the status of an archbishopric and earlier in 1451 the city became the seat of Scotland's second university. On the east side of the later High Street, sometime before 1454, a tenement and grounds lying north of the Blackfriars holding, together with lands extending across the Molendinar on to Dow Hill, were given to the Blackfriars and then in 1460 to the University.

On the west side of the street in 1461 a tenement was granted for the founding of the Grammar School, and slightly later in the century the upper section of the street was being built upon.

It appears that demand for a High Street frontage was inducing the feuing of land from the edge of the Blackfriars property, thus extending the northward march of the building line. On the west side of the street, a similar extension of properties may be inferred from the location of the Franciscans or Greyfriars when they arrived in 1473-79. Their monastery and attached gardens were reached from the west side of High Street by a lane known as

Greyfriars Wynd. Thus by the mid-16th century the burgh layout looked as in Fig.1ii.

II. The Growth of the Mercantile Burgh

In the century and a half following the Reformation, the fabric of the cathedral area declined along with the fortunes of the Church, although further down the hill, the college entered a new period of vitality on the basis of income from previously ecclesiastical lands and property. In contrast to the upper section of the town, the lower section flourished as the merchant community took over the direction of Glasgow's future. The accident of geographical location affected the town's fortunes in two ways.

i) During the turmoil of the religious and civil wars of the 17th century, the traditional marching routes and battle grounds of invading armies lay to the east, sparing the town the devastation suffered by other settlements.

ii) Its outlook to the west provided Glasgow with a potentially rich series of trading hinterlands in west central Scotland, the western Highlands and Islands, Ireland and the Americas. Checkland (1976) calls Glasgow, "Scotland's window on the Atlantic."

As a direct result of the above, Glasgow became established as the main commercial centre of western Scotland and extended its trading contacts across the Irish Sea. During this time Glasgow was described as a centre of trade, handling butter, cheese, herring and salmon, cattle, hides, wools and skins, corn, ale and

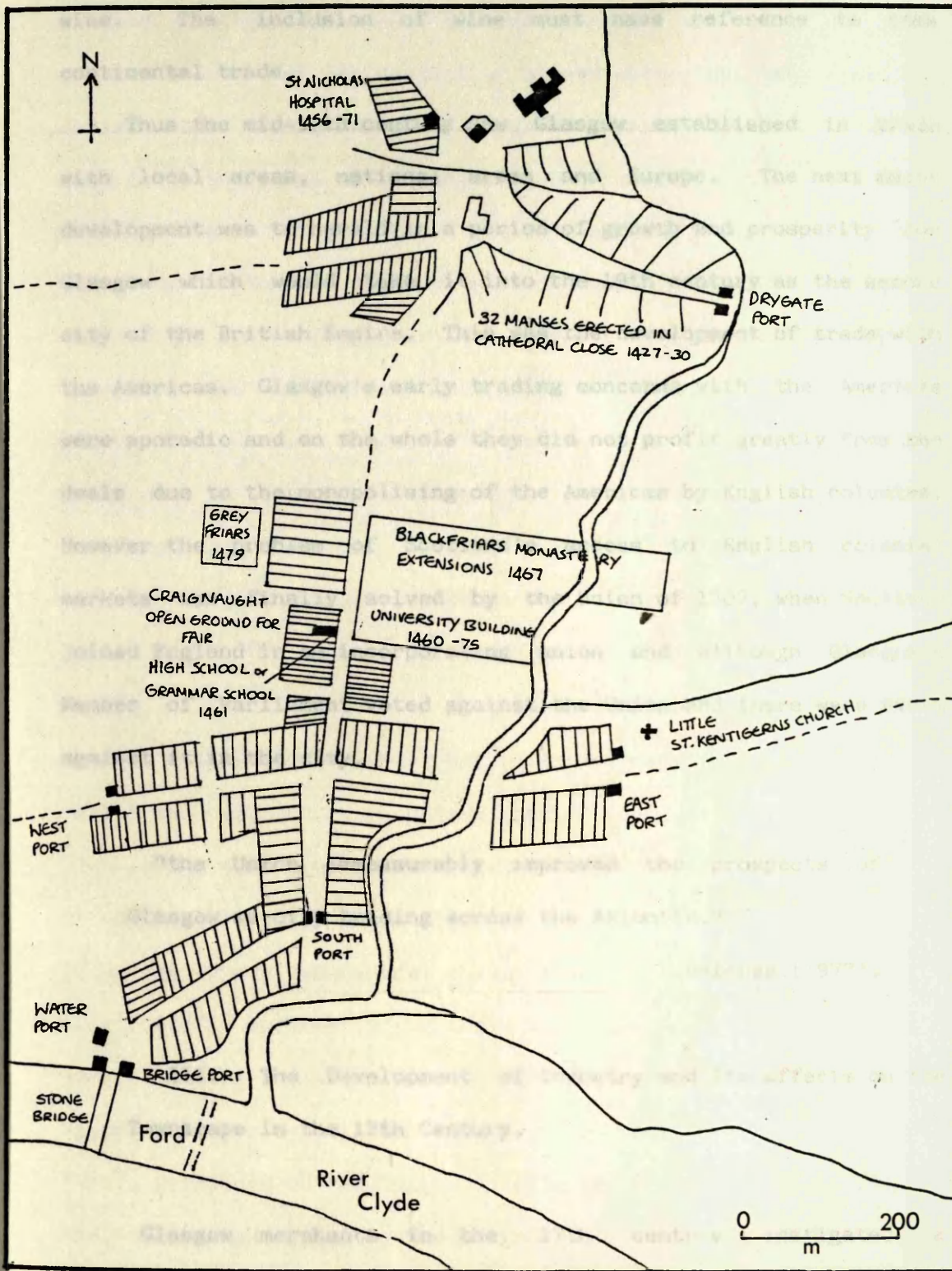


Fig.1.ii. Glasgow in 1560.

wine. The inclusion of wine must have reference to some continental trade.

Thus the mid-17th century saw Glasgow established in trade with local areas, national areas and Europe. The next major development was to herald in a period of growth and prosperity for Glasgow which would take it into the 19th century as the second city of the British Empire. This was the development of trade with the Americas. Glasgow's early trading concerns with the Americas were sporadic and on the whole they did not profit greatly from the deals due to the monopolising of the Americas by English colonies. However the problem of Scotland's access to English colonial markets was finally solved by the Union of 1707, when Scotland joined England in an incorporating union and although Glasgow's Member of Parliament voted against the Union and there were riots against it in the city,

"the Union immeasurably improved the prospects of Glasgow as city trading across the Atlantic."

Daiches (1977).

III. The Development of Industry and Its Effects on the Townscape in the 17th Century.

Glasgow merchants in the 17th century instigated a relationship between commerce and manufacturing which was to be vital in allowing the city to progress without any of the interruptions of necessary raw materials by foreign wars and

trading disputes in the next two centuries. Not only did they provide capital for the setting up of new factories, they also took active roles in guiding the progress of these new industries and lent their knowledge and financial acumen to the diversification of their processes and products. The backlands of the medieval town had long contained an industrial population and the formation of the various crafts then practised in the city into 14 Guilds or Incorporations had given this set of the population a voice in Glasgow's affairs. However, although these artisans practised their arts in their small workshops, there were no large industrial buildings or concerns. Fig.1.iii. details the typical pattern of land use along a Glasgow market street in the 17th century.

In 1635, the merchant-dominated town council acquired an old manse in the Drygate for the purpose of establishing a woollen manufactory, which was incorporated three years later into a larger retail and manufacturing concern, Smout (1960). This venture must have shown some preliminary success, since another manufactory run by an English clothier was set up in the same street in 1650. In 1670 the council encouraged a silk weaver to set up by freeing him of all public burdens for at least five years and in 1682, set up a workhouse for silk dyeing. Candlemaking, outlawed from the vulnerable parts of the town in 1652 (because of the dangers of fire), prospered on the Langcroft with four works in operation in the Candleriggs by 1658, Smout (1960). Soap making in Glasgow had its origins in this period too. As part of the post-Reformation efforts by the government to stimulate home industries, sugar-boiling and rum-distilling developed directly from Glasgow's

trade with the West Indies and between 1657 and 1700, four sugar houses were built in the town in peripheral situations in Candleriggs, King Street, Gallowgate and Stockwell Street, again because of the fire hazard, Scott (1962). Completing the list of industrial concerns established around the periphery of the town were ropeworks built on part of the old Green in 1696, a

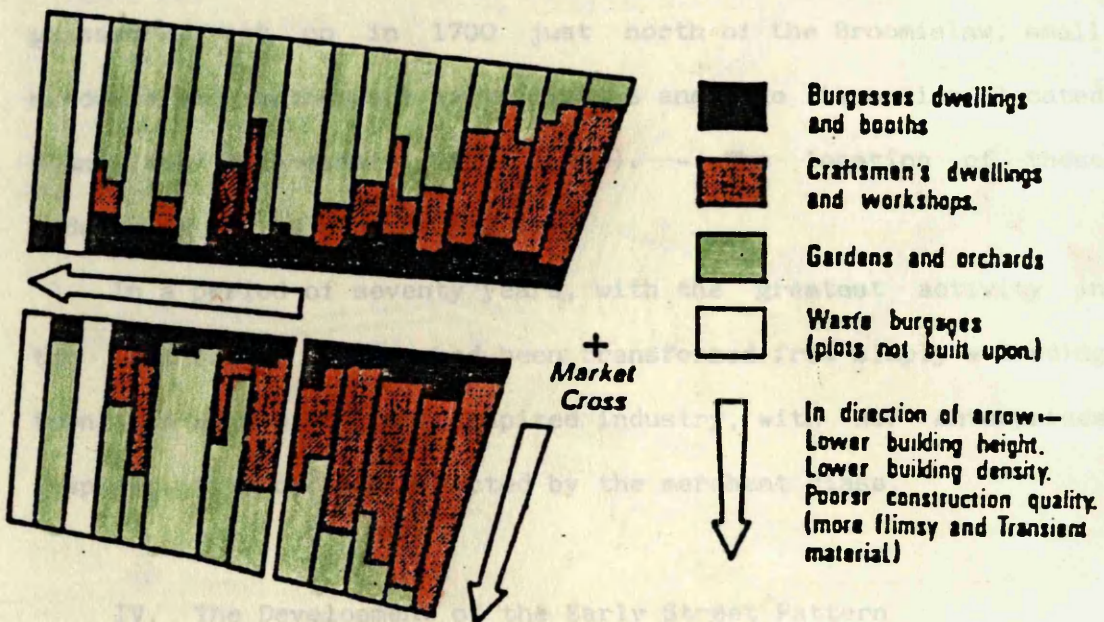
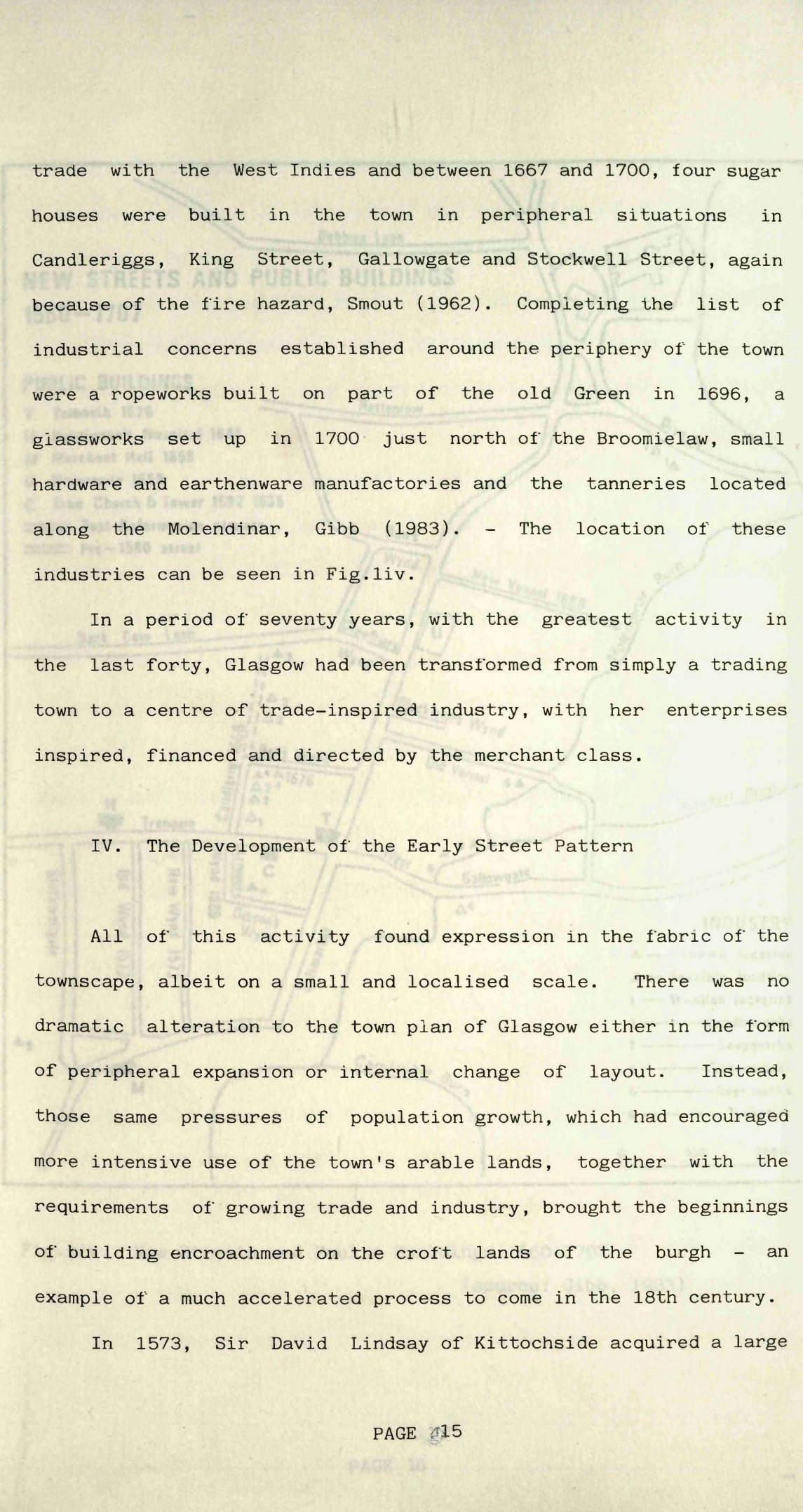


Fig.1.iii. Land Use along a Glasgow Street.



trade with the West Indies and between 1667 and 1700, four sugar houses were built in the town in peripheral situations in Candleriggs, King Street, Gallowgate and Stockwell Street, again because of the fire hazard, Smout (1962). Completing the list of industrial concerns established around the periphery of the town were a ropeworks built on part of the old Green in 1696, a glassworks set up in 1700 just north of the Broomielaw, small hardware and earthenware manufactories and the tanneries located along the Molendinar, Gibb (1983). - The location of these industries can be seen in Fig.1iv.

In a period of seventy years, with the greatest activity in the last forty, Glasgow had been transformed from simply a trading town to a centre of trade-inspired industry, with her enterprises inspired, financed and directed by the merchant class.

IV. The Development of the Early Street Pattern

All of this activity found expression in the fabric of the townscape, albeit on a small and localised scale. There was no dramatic alteration to the town plan of Glasgow either in the form of peripheral expansion or internal change of layout. Instead, those same pressures of population growth, which had encouraged more intensive use of the town's arable lands, together with the requirements of growing trade and industry, brought the beginnings of building encroachment on the croft lands of the burgh - an example of a much accelerated process to come in the 18th century.

In 1573, Sir David Lindsay of Kittochside acquired a large

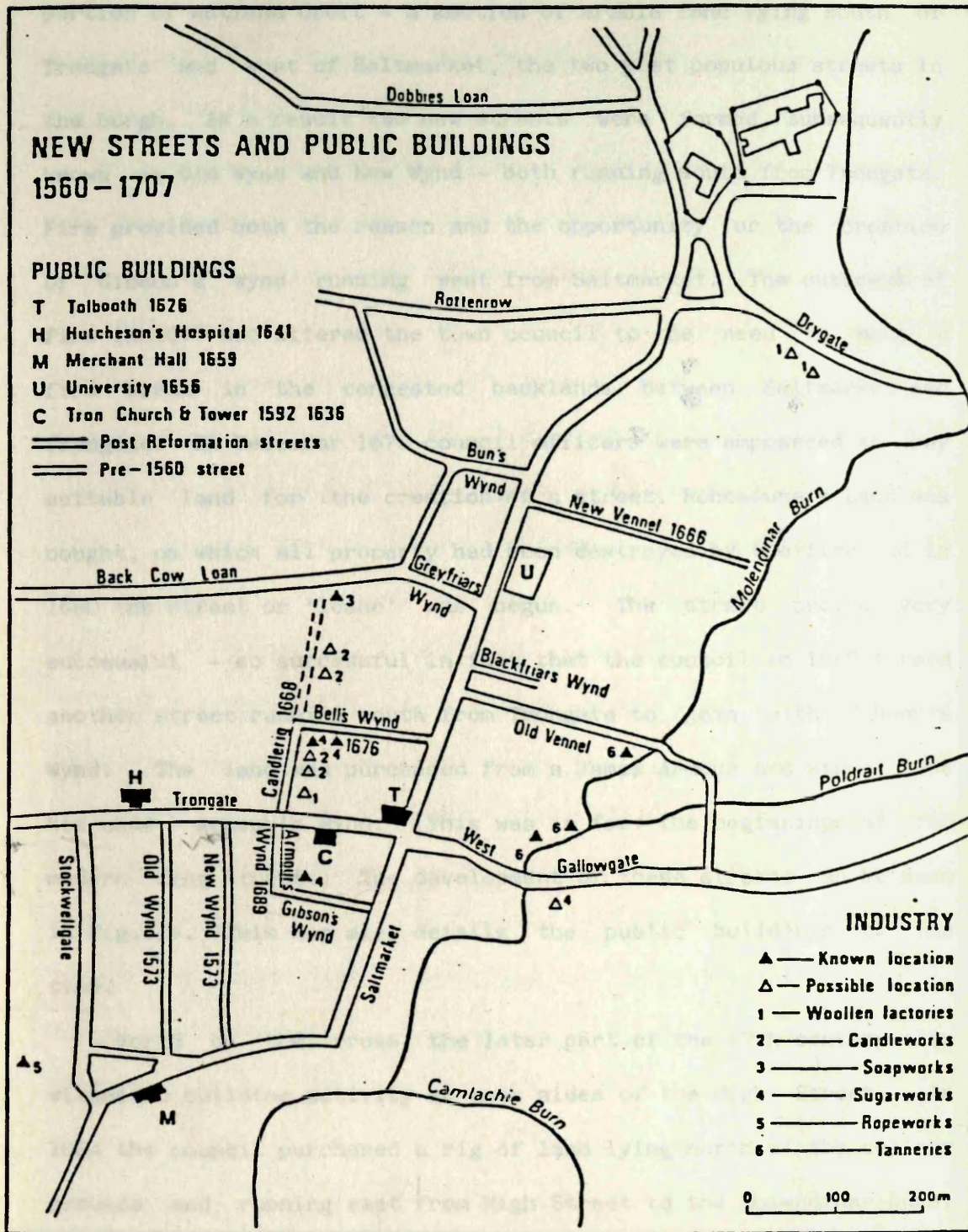


Fig.liv. New Streets and Public Buildings 1560-1707.

(source: Gibb, 1983)

portion of Mutland Croft - a section of arable land lying south of Trongate and west of Saltmarket, the two most populous streets in the burgh. As a result two new streets were formed subsequently known as Old Wynd and New Wynd - both running south from Trongate. Fire provided both the reason and the opportunity for the creation of Gibson's Wynd running west from Saltmarket. The outbreak of fire in 1677 had altered the town council to the need to make a fire break in the congested backlands between Saltmarket and Trongate. In December 1679 council officers were empowered to buy suitable land for the creation of a street. Robesoune's Land was bought, on which all property had been destroyed by the fire and in 1680 the street or 'leane' was begun. The street proved very successful - so successful in fact that the council in 1689 formed another street running south from Trongate to join with Gibson's Wynd. The land was purchased from a James Armour and street took his name - Armour's Wynd. (This was in fact the beginnings of the modern King Street.) The development of these streets can be seen in Fig. liv. This map also details the public buildings at the time. and Gibb (1983) describes as crucial, the purchase of

North of the cross, the later part of the 17th century also witnessed building activity on both sides of the High Street. In 1664 the council purchased a rig of land lying north of the college grounds and running east from High Street to the Molendinar Burn, for the formation of 'New Vennel'. In the ground on the western side of High Street and north of the Trongate, two further important streets were opened, forming a right-angled junction in the same manner as Gibson's and Armour's Wynds. Again fire was

responsible for this development. After the holocaust of 1652, the council outlawed dangerous manufactures from the built-up and vulnerable area of the burgh. Candlemaking, with its need for fire in processing, received the order to depart and relocated west of the town centre. This was actively encouraged by the council by their setting in feu lands at the back of the Trongate fleshmarket for those who were willing to build candle-houses there. Thus Candleriggs came into being with an entry only from the Trongate. However due to increasing demand for access to Candleriggs the town council, in 1675 decided to open an entry from High Street. In 1676 a common loan or street was formed - Bell's Wynd. Thus the beginnings of some of those streets which today form the eastern part of central Glasgow were already under way.

The town council during the 17th century were increasing their control over Glasgow's affairs by buying parcels of land both within and beyond the burgh. These lands included parts of Linningshaugh, Kinclaith, Peitbog and the Langcroft and beyond the burgh purchases began with the Barony of Gorbals, the estate of Provan and Gibb (1983) describes as 'crucial', the purchase of Ramshorn and Meadowflats - valuable arable land belonging to the Hutcheson family.

V. New Buildings in the 17th Century

As the burgh grew, both in physical size and population, a range of buildings in new architectural styles appeared in the townscape. The majority of this increasing population was crammed into ramshackle buildings in the backlands of the burgage plots but the wealthier members were replacing their fore-tenements with fine new structures, built in a grander style and of a higher quality - in short expressing their new-found wealth. Houses were built in Trongate, Stockwell, Saltmarket and Bridgegait in the early part of the 17th century, following the Edinburgh principle of tall, narrow facades, sometimes topped with gables and arcaded on the ground floor. Gomme and Walker (1968).

In the latter part of the century, long, low facades replaced this vertical emphasis, with the mansion of the Campbells of Blythswood built in 1660, epitomising the style, eleven bays long and two storeys high with attics.

The accumulated wealth of the Merchants' town was expressed in a series of fine structures in which the low, horizontal profiles were often relieved by a tower constructed behind the facade. A variation on this theme was the Town House or Tolbooth, built in 1626, of which only the seven storey tower or steeple survives today. (Plate 1i.).

The Merchants Hall in Bridgegait was built in 1659 by Campbell of Blythswood and the main facade was similar to his own house.

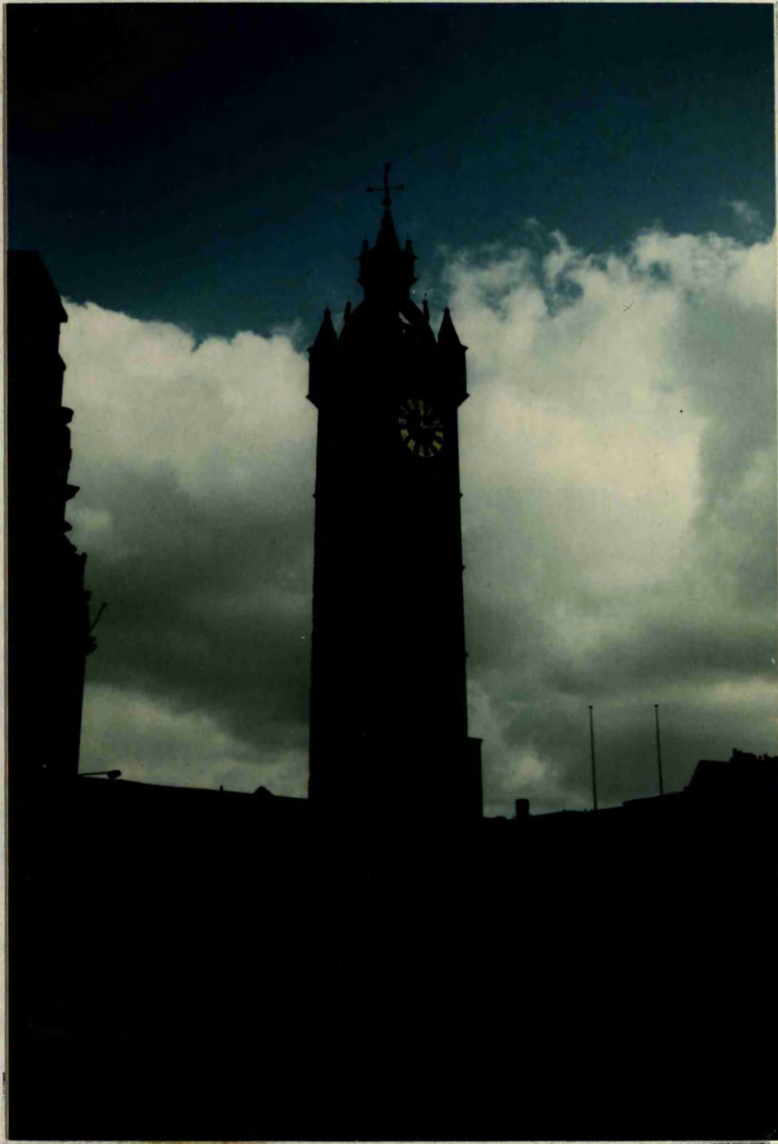


Plate 1i. Tolbooth Steeple.



Plate liii. Hutcheson's Hospital.

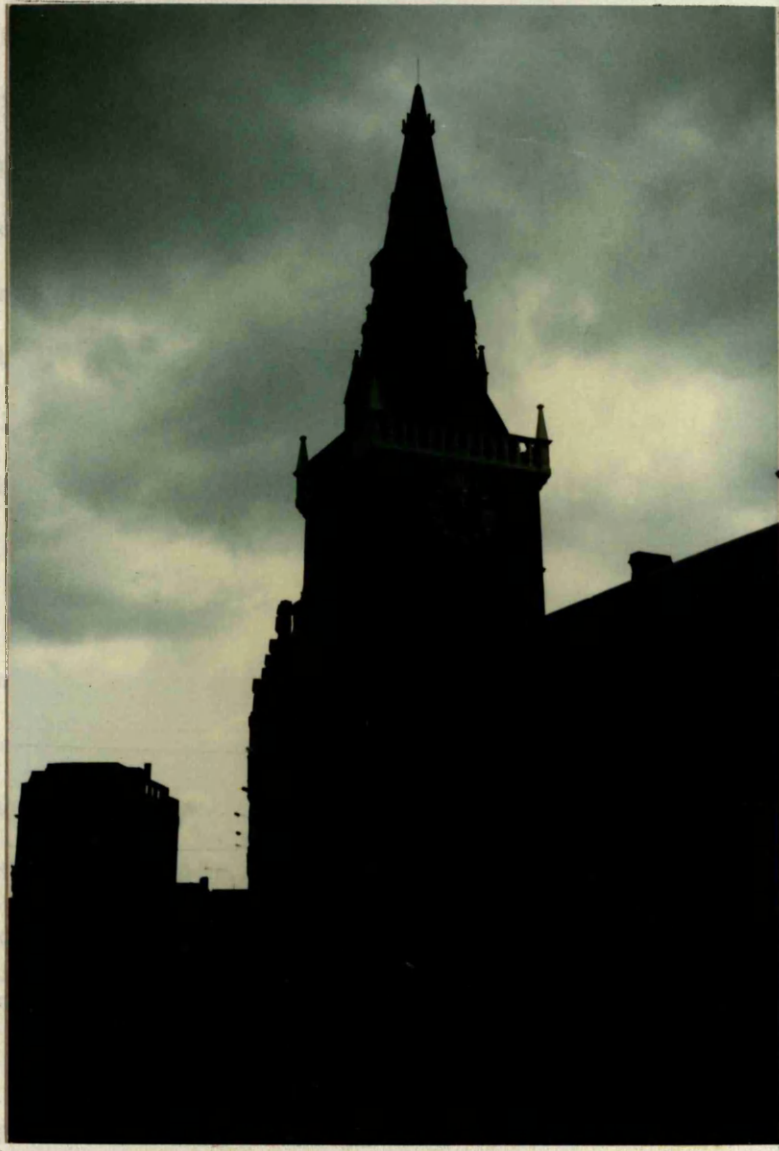


Plate liii. Tron Church.

The building was arranged around a courtyard and contained a hospital and a guildhall. This courtyard was to become a common feature in the buildings of the area and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. All were demolished in 1817, except the steeple.

Hutchesons' Hospital, formerly in Trongate, was very similar in outward appearance to the Merchants Hall - a tall steeple behind a nine-bay facade. Gomme and Walker (1968). This too has now completely vanished and was replaced in 1805 by the building by David Hamilton, which still exists today in Ingram Street. (Plate lii.).

All that remains of the Tron church and tower (dated 1592 and 1636) is the Steeple. (Plate liii.). The Church was burned down in 1793 and rebuilt a little apart. Doak and McLaren Young (1977).

However the epitome of this style and the 'crowning architectural glory' of the century in Glasgow was the college, completed in 1656. It was probably the most distinguished collection of 17th architecture in Scotland. Gomme and Walker (1968). It was probably the work of John Mylne, and consisted of two roughly square courts arranged like those of a Cambridge college, with a tall steeple placed assymmetrically over the range which separated the two. (The location of these buildings can be seen in Fig.1iv.)

VI. Glasgow - the Fair City

In August 1726 Daniel Defoe published the third volume of his

"Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain" which contained his account and description of Scotland. It is obvious from the journal that he greatly admired Glasgow as a city. This account also describes the relative grandeur and sophistication of Glasgow at the time.

"Glasgow is, indeed, a very fine city; the four principal streets are the fairest for breadth, and the finest built that I have ever seen in one city together. The houses are all of stone, and generally equal and uniform in height, as well as in front; the lower storey generally stands on vast square dorick columns, not round pillars, and arches between give passage into the shops, adding to the strength as well as beauty of the buildings; in a word, 'tis the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted.....

"Where the streets meet, the crossing makes a spacious market place by the nature of the thing, because the streets are so large of themselves. As you come down from the hill, from the north gate to the said cross, the Tolbooth, with the Stadhouse or Guild-Hall, make ...the right hand corner of the street; the buildings very noble and very strong ascending by large stone steps, with an iron balustrade.....

"On the left hand of the same street is the University, the building is the best of any in Scotland of the kind...It is a very spacious building, contains two large squares or courts and the lodgings for the scholars, and for the professors, are very handsome; the whole building is of freestone, very high and very august.....

"The cathedral is an ancient building, and has a square tower in the middle of the cross, with a very handsome spire upon it, the highest that I saw in Scotland, and indeed, the only one that is to be call'd high....."

Daniel Defoe, (1726).

Whilst this passage obviously gives a very favourable account of Glasgow, there can be no doubt that the city at this time was indeed an appealing site to view. The buildings were beginning to become grander as the wealth of the city's traders increased. Thus

the appearance of the buildings was greatly improved and architecture became an important aspect of the city's new-found wealth. This continued to be the case through the 18th and 19th centuries.

One can compare Defoe's lengthy quote with a much shorter yet still favourable one noted some 60 years later by another traveller to the area.

"This place (Glasgow) is much more bustling than Edinburgh and has a great many fine large houses in it....The college is much handsomer I think than either that of Edinburgh or Aberdeen."

Elizabeth Diggle, (1788).

Obviously the 'fine large houses' referred to are those of the wealthy merchants and again the college is admired. Fig.1v. shows how the college looked from the High Street. It must have been an impressive site and worthy of the admiration it generated. Thus the townscape of Glasgow was beginning to take form, albeit in a sporadic manner. Built up slowly from piecemeal developments and individual grand buildings, the city was taking shape and as wealth increased so did the city's stock of buildings increase and add to the townscape.

VII. The 18th Century and the Move West

Fig.1v. University College from the High Street

As the 18th century progressed so did Glasgow's trade with the Americas. By 1780 Glasgow was the most important port in the North West - Kellet (1967) - certainly as regards tobacco. However other

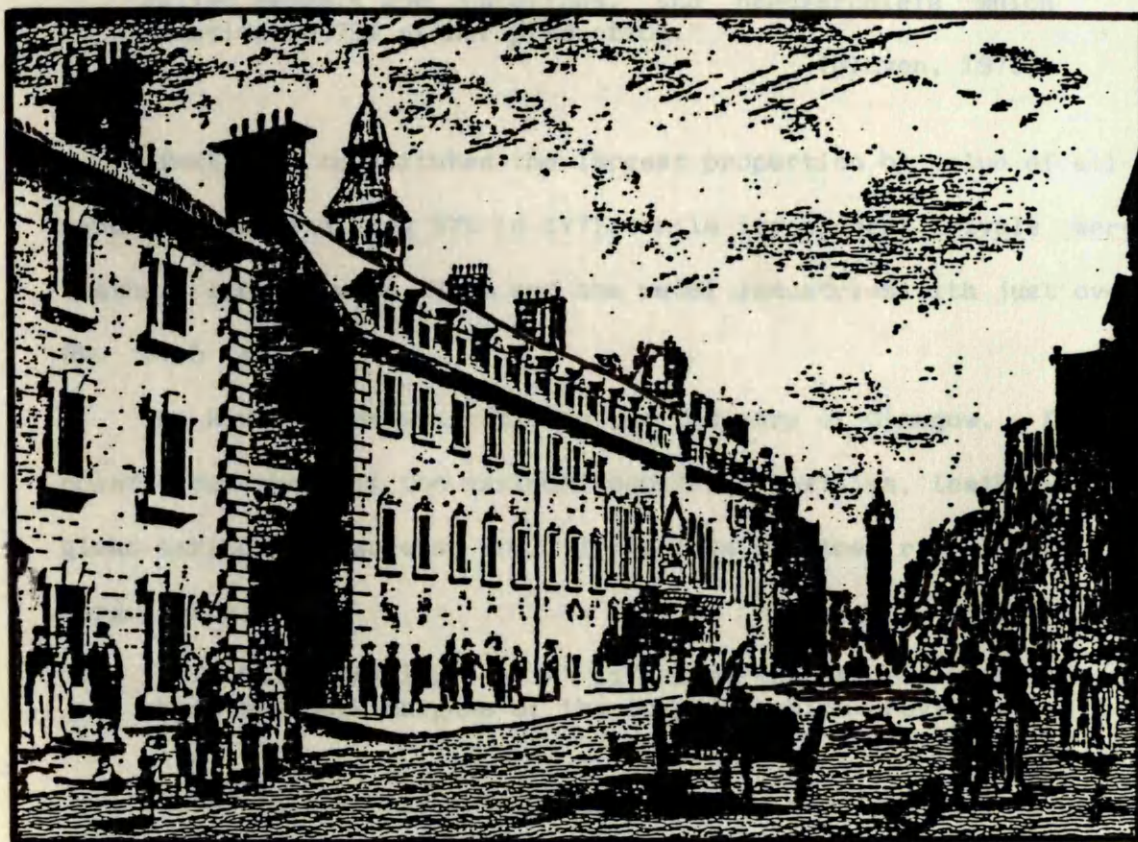


Fig.1v. University College from the High Street

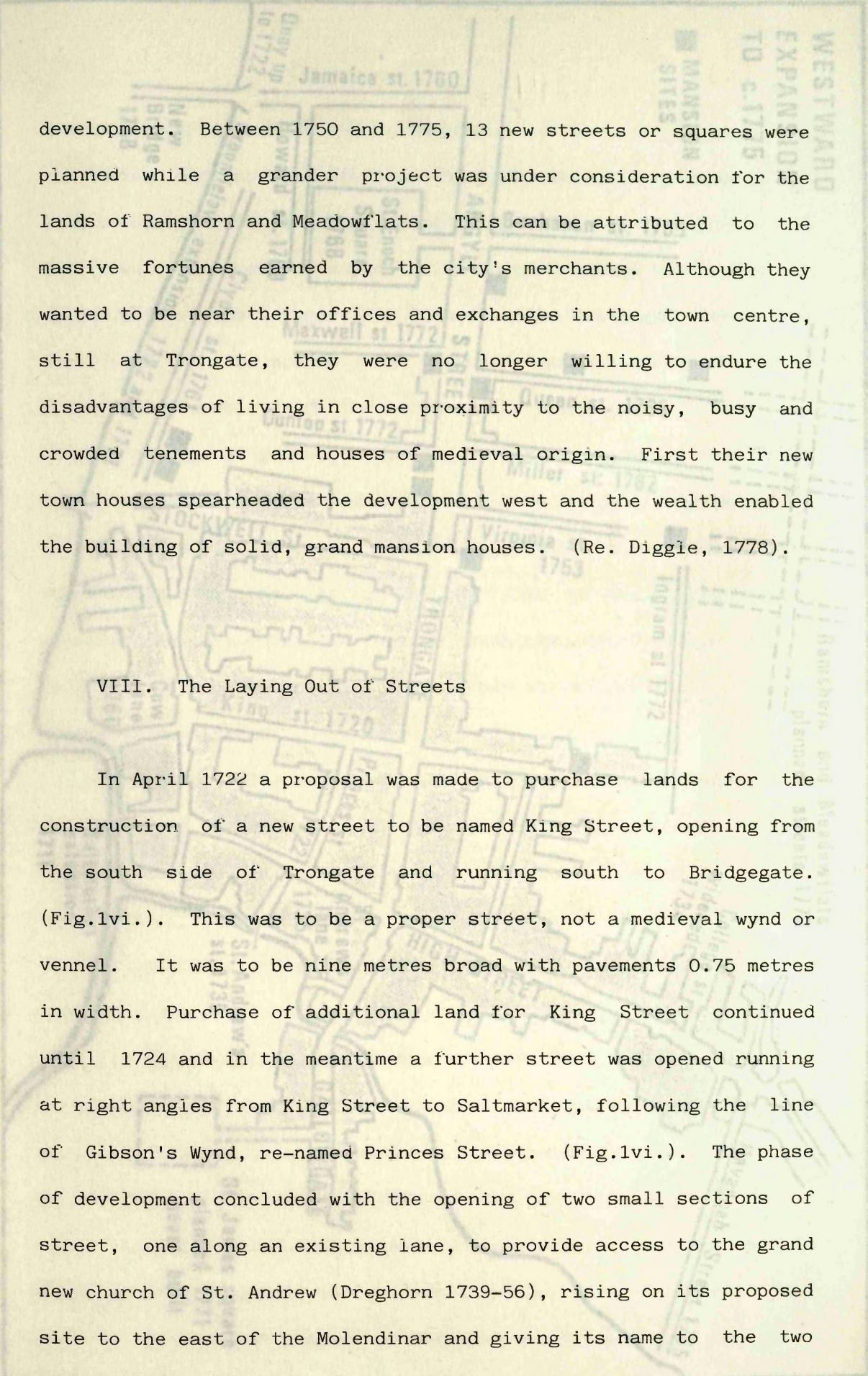
commodities were also important in the trading business, e.g. sugar. Cloth manufacture became an important part of the city's industries.

"By 1771, Glasgow was the principal town in Britain for linen manufacture, ranging in type from coarse osnaburgs and 'inkles' or tapes, to fine quality cloths, called Bengals and Carolines, and handkerchiefs which still constituted 75% of her production." (Slaven, 1975).

Textiles constituted the largest proportion by value of all manufactures totalling 57% in 1771, while its closest rivals were leather working with 17.5% and the metal industries with just over 8%. Gibb (1983).

The River Clyde was vital to the industry of Glasgow. Kellet points out that all the various industries textiles, leatherworks, glass-making etc. were so prolific because of the river and its cargo ships, "all drawing their life from the assured market from which the bulk cargoes of the outgoing ships provided." Kellet (1968).

Again, this prolific trade and industry had its effect on the townscape and street pattern and their development. The townscape of Glasgow in the 18th century took a variety of forms depending on location and whether the developer was municipal or private. In the first half of the century activity was confined to internal change within the built up area, sponsored by the town council and thus continuing the process begun in the latter part of the 17th century. In the latter half of the 18th century, change took a new form with extensive and rapid peripheral expansion - principally to the west sponsored both by council and private



development. Between 1750 and 1775, 13 new streets or squares were planned while a grander project was under consideration for the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflats. This can be attributed to the massive fortunes earned by the city's merchants. Although they wanted to be near their offices and exchanges in the town centre, still at Trongate, they were no longer willing to endure the disadvantages of living in close proximity to the noisy, busy and crowded tenements and houses of medieval origin. First their new town houses spearheaded the development west and the wealth enabled the building of solid, grand mansion houses. (Re. Diggie, 1778).

VIII. The Laying Out of Streets

In April 1722 a proposal was made to purchase lands for the construction of a new street to be named King Street, opening from the south side of Trongate and running south to Bridgegate. (Fig.1vi.). This was to be a proper street, not a medieval wynd or vennel. It was to be nine metres broad with pavements 0.75 metres in width. Purchase of additional land for King Street continued until 1724 and in the meantime a further street was opened running at right angles from King Street to Saltmarket, following the line of Gibson's Wynd, re-named Princes Street. (Fig.1vi.). The phase of development concluded with the opening of two small sections of street, one along an existing lane, to provide access to the grand new church of St. Andrew (Dreghorn 1739-56), rising on its proposed site to the east of the Molendinar and giving its name to the two

openings from Saltmarket and Gallowgate. *Finally paved by the town*
council After the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Glasgow experienced the
long overdue expansion which was becoming vital to the growth of
the town. The land for exploitation stretched away to the west on
either side of the Trongate/St. Thenu's Gate/Westergate line from
the Clyde to the arable lands north of Ramshorn and Meadowflats.
Within these arable lands the north-south alignment of the long
strips or rigs of ground, a furlong in length, governed the layout
of the new streets developed at right angles to the Trongate one.

As already stated, the council as well as merchants were
responsible for the laying out of some of the city's central
streets. In particular the tobacco merchants, or "tobacco lords"
as they became known, gave their money as well as their names to
some central streets. *Although this layout does appear to be grid*

iron Eyre-Todd (1911) names four men as the principal tobacco lords
who have left their mark on the city centre. They were:- William
Cunningham of Lainshaw, Alexander Spiers of Elderslie, John
Glassford of Dougalston and James Ritchie of Busbie. Daiches
(1977) also lists Andrew Buchanan as an influential merchant of the
time. *By the end of the 18th century the city formally extended as*

Alexander Spiers built his mansion near the city centre in
Virginia Street, which had already been laid out by Andrew Buchanan
in 1753. William Cunninghame built his fine mansion in Cowloan or
Queen Street. (This mansion later became the Royal Exchange and is
today Stirling's Library.) Andrew Buchanan also gave his name to
Buchanan Street, which was laid out in 1765. Miller Street, laid
out by a merchant called Miller in cooperation with two other

"tobacco lords", was planned in 1762 and finally paved by the town council in 1773. Glassford Street, named after John Glassford, was laid out in 1783. George Square was laid out in 1787 on the Meadowflats, although the streets of Ramshorn and Meadowflats were planned in 1772. The old Back Cow Loan became the line which was developed into Ingram Street (1772) and this then almost completed the main street pattern of the city centre of Glasgow in the 18th century.

As Fig.1vi. clearly shows the street layout is a definite grid iron pattern. The medieval town was to some extent regularised and the flat ground between Trongate and the modern Ingram Street (itself a rationalisation of the common loan called School Wynd) was laid out with a series of streets running north-south as already described. Although this layout does appear to be grid iron in pattern, "the development does not seem to have been the result of any general plan," Gomme and Walker (1968). The opening of any given street depended on the decision of the owner of the land through which it was to pass, "and the arrangement must have been for a long time haphazard," Gomme and Walker (1968).

By the end of the 18th century, the city formally extended as far west as the line of Jamaica Street/Union Street. However most of these new streets were only sporadically built up and contained for the main part the comfortable town mansions and gardens of the prosperous city merchants. To the east however, the area around the Saltmarket and High Street became, "the worst slum areas in Glasgow," Kellet (1967). The alleys and wynds were crowded and dirty. The buildings were ramshackle, vermin-ridden and highly

inflammable. Checkland (1976) also identifies the slums as being, "notorious as early as the 1840's." The slums in this area were however demolished by the City Improvement Trust and it was left to the Gorbals to become the epitome of the infamous Glasgow slum.

IX. The Merchant City and the Change in Land Use

Throughout the 18th century and into the 19th century, Glasgow began to spread further west, north and south. Blythswood New Town, Gorbals, Hutchesontown and Laurieston were all developed. However, as this dissertation deals with 'the Merchant City', the history of that part of the city as described above will be followed.

After the American Civil War, the tobacco trade declined but the fortunes of the city did not decline with it. The "Tobacco Lords" had enough foresight to diversify their capital and interests. Thus as the tobacco trade drew to a close, the textile industry increased. By 1820 the textile industry dominated central Glasgow between George Street, Queen Street, High Street and Argyle Street/Trongate. Growth in the number of firms brought increasing demand for central locations which the crowded tenements and backlands of the old city core could no longer supply and at the same time, the laying out of new streets and squares to house the middle classes accelerated their westward migration, making available for colonisation, premises in the 18th century street adjoining the medieval town. By 1820 over 270 concerns, of which 218, or over 80% - Gibb (1983) - were involved in the manufacture

of threads, yarns and a wide range of textiles, had invaded streets opened as select residential enclosures e.g. Brunswick Street, Wilson Street and Hutcheson Street only a few decades before.

The internal sub-divisions of properties brought as many as eight manufacturers to one building, while in others, manufacturers, finishers and dealers virtually eliminated transport costs by the close proximity of their location, laying the foundations of a garment and warehousing district, remnants of which exist today.

By the time that Glasgow had gone over to cotton manufacture, most of the houses on the flat ground north of Trongate had been replaced by continuous facades of commercial buildings. Gomme and Walker (1968) point out that, "Candleriggs is the street which preserves most nearly the character of the commercial heart of the city." The buildings remaining date from around 1790 and are five storey, functional, yet still somewhat attractive structures. (See Plate liv.). This type of building tended to be the rule in the area, although there are a few surviving exceptions. The most notable of these is on the west side of Virginia Street, built in 1817. (See Plate lv.). This was the old Tobacco (or sometimes Sugar) Exchange.

A feature which is relatively common in the area is the closed vista. This can be seen in Plate lvi. Candleriggs is closed at the north end by Ramshorn Church. Other examples in the area include the closing of Ingram Street by the Cunninghame Mansion - now Stirling's Library (Plate lvii.), the closing of Garth Street by the Trades House (Plate lviii.) and the closing of Hutcheson



Plate liv. Candleriggs.



Plate lv. Virginia Street - west.

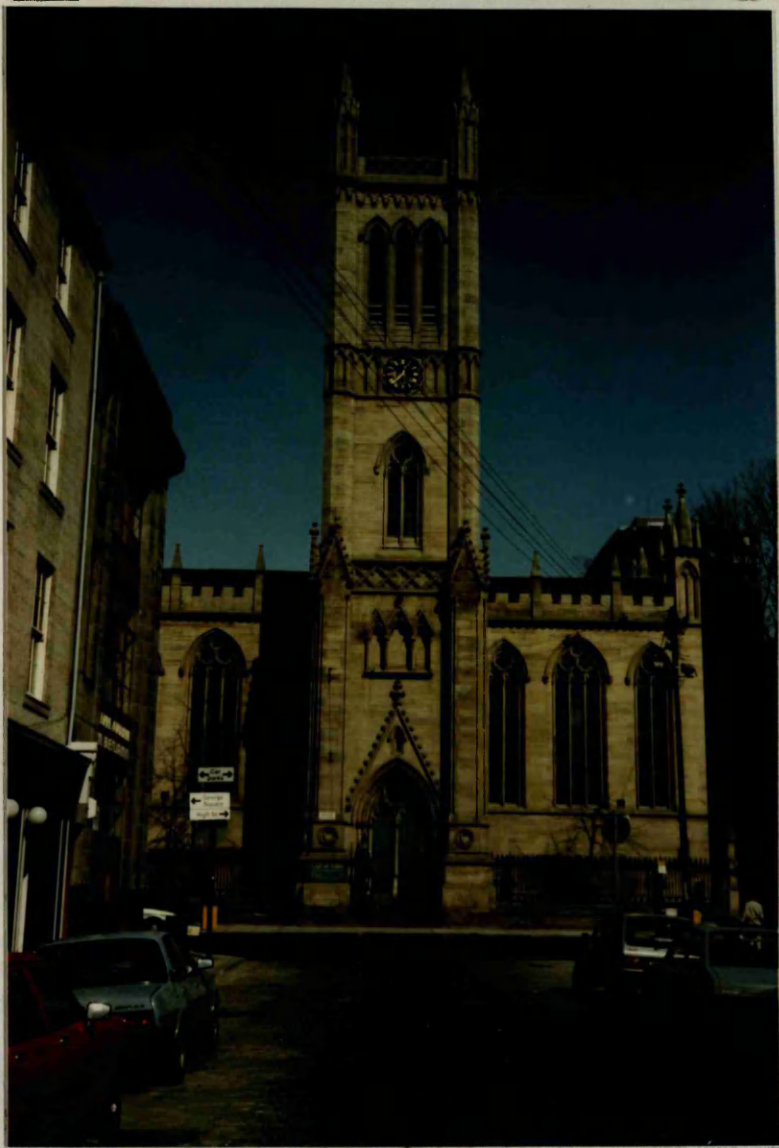


Plate lvi. Ramshorn Centre



Plate lvii. Stirling's Library

Street by the Butcher's Hospital (Plate lvi). Again Jones and Walker (1968) point out that the closing off of streets prevented the area from becoming monotonous due to the rectangular layout. One cannot help but feel that this was fortuitous in the development of the area despite Goswami and Walker's assurance of it being but piecemeal development with no overall plan envisaged.



Plate lviii. Trades House.

The expression of the later industrial boom has left an important legacy of buildings which have shaped the city as a whole for the present:-

1. It records a past way of life seen by the grandeur of scale of the buildings and also allows for some industrial knowledge of the past to be retained.
2. More importantly it offers scope for regeneration - which is indeed what is happening. The legacy of buildings are important not only in their historical context but in what

Street by the Hutcheson Hospital (Plate lii.). Again Gomme and Walker (1968) point out that the closing off of streets prevented the area from becoming monotonous due to the rectangular layout. One cannot help but feel that this was intentional in the development of the area despite Gomme and Walker's assurance of it being but peacemeal development with no overall plan envisaged.

It is with no exaggeration, therefore, that the 'Merchant City' can be called one of the oldest parts of Glasgow. Although its history can be traced back to the development of the High Street, the area could really only be attributed to the development in the 18th and 19th centuries. Since then it has had a prolific land use pattern. Beginning with agricultural use, religious occupation, early merchant industry, residential use, again to industry in the form of textiles, which persisted up to the mid-20th century. Today a new land use has again been introduced. This will be outlined later, when the Merchant City of today is discussed.

The expression of the later industrial uses has left an important legacy of townscape behind. This townscape is vital to the city as a whole for two reasons:-

1. It records a past way of life seen by the grandeur of some of the buildings and also allows for some industrial knowledge of the past to be examined.
2. More importantly it offers scope for regeneration - which is indeed what is happening. The legacy of buildings are important not only in their historical context but in what

they can offer today.

This part of Glasgow - this 'Merchant City' - was once the heart of the city. It had fine buildings, the wealthiest residents and was the focal point of the city and its environment. It was areas like this that made,

"...Glaswegians, urbanites of a special kind, unique among the provincial cities of Britain, identifying with their city to a remarkable degree."

Checkland (1976).

The population identified with this legacy and the city centre was a vibrant, busy place and the townscape was important. Sadly, this declined with the area in general. However the Merchant City can regain its vitality, can once again become the heart of the city. For this to happen though, the buildings could not be neglected. They have to be conserved and this is indeed what is happening today. The next chapter outlines the arguments for and against conservation and discusses the benefits of re-using these older buildings, which contribute greatly to the townscape of Glasgow.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2

What is 'conservation'?

In recent years there have been plenty of descriptions of conservation projects and the technicalities of execution and it would be simple only to give a descriptive account of the current conservation work occurring in the 'Merchant City' along with its "technicalities of execution." In this chapter however, the main thrust will be geared towards the theories behind conservation i.e. the justifications for conservation as well as the arguments against the policies of conservation.

Conservation is no longer peripheral and the suggestion that it is cheaper to redevelop than to adapt has, as a generalisation, been reversed. This is especially true in the context of housing. Thus in modern planning it would appear that conservation has a definite role to play - one need only look at the many conservation schemes under way in towns and cities in Britain.

Most people generally agree that conservation is a valid cause; yet beyond the obvious reasons of heritage, architecture and aesthetics, these same people cannot justify their opinions any further. This may be due to the fact that the term 'conservation' becomes confused with the semantically similar 'preservation'. In this situation therefore, it is appropriate that these two similar yet contrasting terms be distinguished from one another.

This would appear to be the fundamental difference between preservation and the philosophies of conservation. The idea that

conservation allows for development to occur but under control, whereas 'preservation' does not. Chambers Twentieth Century

What is 'conservation'? as "the act of conserving as old buildings, fauna, flora and environment - the keeping entire." To

Conservation as a word is open to a number of interpretations and can describe a variety of philosophical stances in relation to the natural and built environments. Its ethics can be invoked from motives as hard-headed and materialistic as cost minimisation by those concerned for example with energy conservation and the efficient use of scarce resources. Its 'umbrella' is also wide enough to shelter those who subscribe to the doctrine that,

"the rich collage of time expressed in the fabric of cities on one hand and the rudeness of nature in the wilderness on the other are essential to man's physical well being and indeed can add to the quality of life." Kain (1981).

The amount of change that can be accepted also varies, the spectrum changes from out and out preservation associated particularly with those concerned with caring for the more fragile riches of the natural environment, to an acceptance, especially in the management and planning processes in the historic city centres, that policies of preservation and restoration must be accompanied by selective demolition to create open space and to allow the introduction of some new buildings and appropriate economic activities. Again, Kain (1981) states,

"that by attempting to regulate the rate and direction of environmental change, conservationists far from being conservative should perhaps be regarded as radicals!"

This would appear to be the fundamental difference between preservation and the philosophies of conservation. The idea that

conservation allows for development to occur but under control, whereas 'preservation' does not. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines conservation as "the act of conserving as old buildings, fauna, flora and environment - the keeping entire." To qualify this rather vague explanation, it defines 'conservation' as to "...keep entire, to retain, to preserve." At once the issue is complicated by the inclusion of the term 'to preserve'. Preservation has a static meaning in that it implies solely that something is kept from harm or loss.

Dobby (1978) agrees that the term conservation is difficult to define due to ambiguities but he too advocates that conservation is a process which, "seeks to retain symbols of the past", yet allow for their use in modern living. He argues that in semantics there is no real difference between 'preservation' and 'conservation' - both refer to keeping safe from harm or decay.

However a further example of the subtle difference between the two terms can be seen with reference to 'Conservation Areas'. 'Conservation Areas' were introduced under the Civic Amenities Act, 1967. Until then, preservation was the common expression for the retention of buildings. However because of its static connotations this was supplemented by conservation which was increasingly used of areas. When one examines the definition of a 'Conservation Area' then this difference can be fully appreciated. A 'Conservation Area' is defined as, "an area of special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance". The crucial part of this definition is the inclusion of the phrase, "...or enhance".

This allows for change in some form and removes the static function of simply preserving.

As a result of this difference conservation seems to have been arbitrarily redefined for application to the built environment so that it allows for more change than preservation. It may, in short, be said that,

"conservation consists of the cherishing of existing structures so that they may not merely continue, but may also receive a more abundant life from the changes and fresh associations which occur."

Harvey (1972).

The Arguments for and against Conservation

Conservation in its historical context seems to have evolved for 'ad hoc' reasons in response to threats to established monuments and buildings of historic and architectural beauty and interest. The last thirty years has seen the emergence of a powerful force in environmental planning, so much so that the subject of conservation has evolved its own internal network of specialist subjects.

As already mentioned, conservation can be divided or applied to three different subject matters:-

- a) landscape conservation:- incorporating all aspects of plant and animal life, ecology and population.
- b) archaeological and industrial sites of historic interest.
- c) the conservation of the built environment.

As this dissertation concerns itself solely with this built environment, then it is reasonable to expect only those advantages and

disadvantages relevant to the conservation of the physical fabric of the city will be discussed.

the renovation and rehabilitation of older properties e.g. Glasgow District Council's renovation schemes.

The Advantages of Conservation

Also rehabilitation and renovation is ultimately always

I. The Economics of Conserving

Therefore reduces the cost of borrowing money at the very high interest rates which exist

In the light of current financial cutbacks to local

authorities, one should perhaps begin with the economic benefits of

conservation. Planning departments administer the statutory

protective procedures of conservation as well as undertaking their

own conservation work e.g. the cleaning, restoration and improving

of public- owned buildings. In view of these cutbacks by central

government, local authorities are under increasing pressure to

stretch their budgets beyond normal limits. For example, one need

only examine the absence of new build council housing - once a

prominent feature of the building industry - to realise the dire

financial plight of many local authorities. In these instances,

the planning department may have to justify its spending on

conservation projects. Thus it is appropriate that the economic

benefits of conservation be outlined.

Energy, materials and the cost of labour are more expensive

than ever. Thus the consequent rise in the capital cost of new

building combined with significant rises in office rents may favour

the retention of older office accommodation. Similarly with the

continually improving standards and techniques available, housing

rehabilitation is now estimated to be less expensive than

redevelopment. For this reason many district councils are directing their funds into the renovation and rehabilitation of older properties e.g. Glasgow District Council's renovation schemes on their tenement properties.

Also rehabilitation and renovation is ultimately always quicker than redevelopment and therefore reduces the cost of borrowing money at the very high interest rates which exist - especially at the present time.

It is not surprising that the conservation movement serves to exploit these financial considerations - as does tourism.

II. Tourism and Conservation

In recent years, tourism has become big business. One need only examine the vast sums of money spent on advertising, both nationally and internationally e.g. the Scottish Tourist Board's "Scotland's For Me" campaign and Glasgow District Council's "Glasgow's Miles Better" promotion.

Tourists not only come to see the grand and individual scenery of Britain but also to see the heritage - apparent in the legacy of the physical environment. Many British cities reached their peak in the Victorian era and their prosperity was expressed in a similar way. These cities also have fine examples of other periods of architecture and exhibit the work of certain well-known architects. Thus they become especially attractive to overseas visitors.

One would not wish to push the point too far in this

direction; after all many visitors come for their own specific reasons. However the wealth of architecturally and historically interesting buildings apparent in the cities and towns must have no small part to play in the tourism field.

As well as economic benefits, those arguing for the merits of conservation are likely to draw on those other aspects which they feel necessitate the retention of historic buildings, namely:-

- a) historical aspects
- b) architecture
- c) those aspects relating to the psychological well-being or satisfaction of the population.

III. The Historical and Architectural Reasons for Conservation

"It is more than a question of aesthetics. Conservation touches our basic values. There never was a time when we more needed to strengthen our faith in ourselves. Pride in the past is the surest foundation for confidence in the future. We must jealously guard our roots in history. We must call a halt to the steady day by day erosion of the features which give Britain her distinctive identity."

Lord Sandys', Civic Trust (1972).

The historical and architectural arguments for conservation are perhaps the easiest to uphold, as the above speech by Lord

Sandys shows. History is clearly vital to an understanding of the present and since it records and generalises from past events, it is relevant to the future. An understanding is gained of what the past was like. From the late 1950's urban history and industrial archaeology have exposed and examined the living and working

environments of the working people of the past. Nevertheless the existence of academic study alone cannot justify the practice of conservation but as Dobby (1978) argues,

"the amount of interest shown by an increasing minority of the population goes some way toward it in a representative democracy like Britain." It could also be argued

that a better educated population will become more interested in the urban industrial conditions, as well as the great country seats of the aristocracy, and a better understanding may be gained of present society as both were important in contributing to it.

With architecture, the advantages are obviously more artistic and aesthetic. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Glasgow. Glasgow is one of the finest Victorian cities in Britain and as such it has a wealth of buildings of very fine architecture. Not only this but Glasgow has a definite style of architecture due to the prolificity of its own local architects e.g. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Alexander Thomson. These architects contributed to a legacy which is now called 'the Glasgow Style'. Consider the loss not only physically or materially but also spiritually and culturally if these once fine buildings were not retained.

IV. The Psychological Arguments for Conservation

Of all, the most vague justifications for conservation are those which rely upon identity, associational and psychological needs. People need a visible link with their past - feelings of belonging, of heritage and of security - both physical and mental. More recent research and theorising in environmental psychology is

showing that man prefers complex visual environments to simple ones. Kain (1981) describes how A. Rapoport and R. Kantor argue that contemporary urban design has been simplified and cleaned up to such an extent that it leaves the mind free of challenge. This loss leads to a loss of interest and as a result often to a dislike of contemporary architecture.

Smith (1977) argues that 'ultimate beauty' in the physical environment occurs only when, "intellect and emotion come together...in the harmony of opposites." He argues that modern architecture fails to satisfy because it appeals only to the intellect and denies stimulation once richly provided by towns and cities and found today only in the traditional forms of urban environment.

These psychological arguments although advocated by the conservationist may not find much credence with many of the population simply because of the subject matter involved. Many people are averse to having their own thoughts and images generally analysed and tend to think that their own views are for the most part original. Also many people simply prefer modern or contemporary architecture and have no sympathy with older historic buildings. There are however much stronger 'anti-conservation' arguments.

The Disadvantages of Conservation

I. The Inhibition of Progress and Change

Of all the arguments against conservation the foremost is probably that it inhibits progress and change, both in a material and an imaginative sense. This can be traced back to early planning legislation (first Planning Act of 1909), although the powers of control in the planning discipline have been extended even more, especially in the 1967 legislation. Thus, those against conservation argue that this increase in bureaucracy leads to even more restrictions and delays. As a result the free market situation becomes distorted and profitability is reduced, all for the sake of expressed public interest. The disaffected believe that this degree of environmental protection is imperfect and growing too fast whilst conservationists would argue that the movement has come too late to stop the loss of many historic centres and architectural features which have been redeveloped.

There can be no doubt that the argument is essentially a voicing of two main objections:-

a) The Economic Disadvantage

Conservation can be seen as preventing and inhibiting the natural growth and change of whole areas which many regard as being essential to modern life there. With reference to commercial areas, especially where town centres coincide with areas of historical merit this may be the case e.g. in the Merchant City. (This will be discussed later in the dissertation - suffice to say that conservation could have exacerbated an already tenuous situation as regards the commercial viability of this city centre

area.) to "Barriers to Design" and blames Britain for having the most. Although many buildings of historical merit can be adapted to new office use in the city centres, there are those which cannot offer enough floorspace. Today many large companies or firms require extensive, uninterrupted floorspace - open plan offices. If they cannot find it in converted buildings and redundant buildings are conserved then they may look elsewhere and so a particular city or town may lose out on the business which would have been generated by that company.

This point was raised by the President of the Royal Town Planning Institute in his opening remarks to the R.T.P.I. annual conference in 1985. Stephen Byrne when introducing the conference theme on 'Urban Regeneration' on June 5th 1985 said that there are five major strands now identified in the complex debate on the state of British cities. The fifth he listed as, "conservation and enhancement of our heritage and environment". Byrne (1985). Although he advocated that the public had a right to be jealous of their valued buildings and environment, he did stress that it is still widely claimed that, "conservation attitudes do impede desirable development".

b) The Stifling of Architectural Creativity. Thus developers often see no way round the problem and in many cases end up by

By the 'simple' process of the retention of older buildings and their subsequent conversion and re-use, many argue that there is little scope for the wealth of architectural ability in Britain today, to be expressed in the town and city centres. Manser (1979)

refers to "Barriers to Design" and blames Britain for having the most restrictive planning legislation in the world, which, he argues, is not only strangling commercial development and industrial progress but is, "beginning to grind to a standstill under its own weight."

There is no doubt that the contentious and less definable subject of aesthetics is largely responsible. Again because many British city and town centres are old and exhibit architecture of the period, new designs must now, in many cases, be sympathetic to these conserved areas. Thus the natural scope and direction of progress in architectural design is inhibited by sometimes 'over-sensitive' planners who advise against the granting of planning permission to any of these new designs. This will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

In many cases the question could be asked, "should the building or buildings be conserved?" There are those who would argue that the answer should be no. Charles (1982) refers to this "disease" of the sacrosanct building or area as "conservitis - a term that describes conservation without discrimination." He refers to the loss of new development in some towns due to the necessary retention of older buildings of no use, which will not lend themselves to conversions of adequate size. Thus developers often see no way round the problem and in many cases end up by reconstructing the same building with interior changes so that it all 'fits in' to the area. Again no new, innovative design is allowed in the area of conservation. It is understandable that new designs would look out of place in towns like Bath but not every

British town is as complete in its Georgian splendour as Bath and will allow itself to be lent to the building of new styles.

private home owners. The previous tenants are given first option

to buy II. Social Injustice and Conservation so lose out on newly

refurbished and highly attractive housing.

Arguments of social injustice have also been brought to the fore by those seeking to reduce the conservation movement. Those who advocate that conservation inhibits change and development argue that the less fortunate sections of society lose out. They consider that the retention of older buildings, simply because of aesthetics, prevents the building of new housing or work place. Thus, as a result, the ordinary person must continue to work and live in cramped and unsuitable conditions. This argument has obviously been exaggerated to prove a point. It seems almost Dickensian in its sense of injustice. Modern working conditions must conform to certain standards of health and safety and whilst not everyone may be fortunate enough to work or live in very comfortable, modern and convenient circumstances, it is unlikely that anyone now works in conditions cramped and unsuitable to the extent that their physical and/or mental well being are at risk.

IV Where an aspect of social injustice may be seen is when an older building of architectural or historical merit in poor quality is to be upgraded. In cases like these the lower sections of the community who may reside there are moved to other accommodation whilst renovation work is carried out. However in many cases they never move back to the building once work is completed. Obviously in some cases they prefer the usually more modern accommodation regards our environments. If conservation was as strong a force as

they have. But in others, if the building is council-owned, the council may want to sell the 'newly refurbished development' to private home owners. The previous tenants are given first option to buy but they may be unable to afford it and so lose out on newly refurbished and highly attractive housing.

III. Conservation - an Elitist Ideal

There appear to be those who feel that conservation is an ideal of the wealthier more elite members of society. Arguments in this sphere revolve around the fact that often the lower classes lose out e.g. a local authority may take the line of least resistance when faced with a well-organised conservation/amenity group, defending an area of dubious historic interest and look towards other areas where the community are less able to organise effective opposition. This is often the case with road proposals.

"Conservation is therefore criticised as the action of a minority imposed on a weaker majority at the latter's cost."

Dobby (1978).

IV. Conservation and its Effect on the Future

"We cannot have quality by decree, and even if we could, our descendents might have very different ideas of what was beautiful and what was ugly."

Joseph (1975).

Arguments against the conservation movements also exist with reference to its stifling effect on the process of history as regards our environments. If conservation was as strong a force in

the 17th and 18th centuries as it appears to be today, then it is reasonable to suggest that many of the buildings from these eras, which are today the subject of such conservational controversy, may never have been allowed to be constructed. As Manser (1979) states,

"Who in his right mind would have agreed to the erection of St. Paul's Cathedral in the largely medieval city of London? It was a monstrously unsympathetic proposition. A mountain of apparently flat-roofed stone, out of scale, out of keeping and over-powering. A moon-scape away from its three-storey, timbered, steeply-tiled surroundings. Christopher Wren was without doubt, by today's standards, an insensitive wrecker."

Thus conservation in the 17th and 18th centuries may have denied the citizens of the future of buildings now regarded as historic and worth keeping. Yet at their time they may have appeared modern and crass. Each generation has its own views on what appeals and each may be different.

These then are the major arguments for and against conservation. It appears that each has its own particular merits and its own particular faults. Unfortunately due to the nature of the conflict it seems almost impossible that any compromise could be achieved. However, one should attempt to stress the fact that conservation is very different from preservation. Conservation should be considered as a dynamic process; sensitive - yes, inhibitory - no. Conservation, it appears, is moving with the times. It is becoming more practical.

Of course it is impossible that certain areas or buildings should remain unchanged throughout their 'life' - especially if

they are not contributing to the community in which they stand. More and more now the planning profession and members of the various conservation bodies are realising that they have to become more flexible and adaptable as regards certain buildings and areas.

If they do not they may lose the chance of the development and rehabilitation of older buildings. They must work alongside the developers and builders in an advisory role - guiding would-be developers to their aims.

This is happening in the Merchant City in Glasgow. Glasgow is fortunate to have a very sensitive Conservation Department who realise that they must occasionally give a little in order to gain.

Their policies at present for the Merchant City are flexible and elastic. As a result "things are happening" in the area. As the existing land use was predominantly warehousing, new uses have had to be found for the empty buildings in the Merchant City. However, there are also many other advantages to be gained in the conservation and subsequent re-use of older buildings. Again these benefits fall into economic and non-economic categories.

The Re-Use of Older Buildings

I. The Economic Benefits

The benefits involved with the re-use of older buildings again can be divided into various categories. Probably the most important from a developer's point of view are the economic benefits.

Private individuals and groups, commercial entrepreneurs, business firms, local authorities and branches of central government have all successfully adapted old buildings to new uses.

Whatever their motivation, private and commercial developers, considering the conversion of existing buildings have many potential economic advantages in their favour:-

1) A developer will be able to make use of all or part of basic structure/foundations, fittings and services, saving on the cost of buying and installing new materials. Contractors may also be able to use existing road access and public utilities and thus reduce the site costs.

2) A developer will gain floorspace if the approved plot ratio for a new building is less than that provided by the shell of the existing structure. This situation frequently occurs in commercial city centres.

3) The developers make use of the whole site when the frontage of a new development may otherwise have to be set back to a different building line to satisfy road plans.

4) Many traditional buildings conserve energy e.g. thick walls, small windows.

5) Conversion usually does not take as long as redevelopment therefore there is a more rapid return of investment due to the earlier use of the building.

6) Completely reconditioned traditional buildings are likely to continue in use for as long as all but the most

non-exceptional new replacements and fabric maintenance costs need not be that high.

7) The cost and problems of demolition need not arise.

8) A well conceived conversion of a historic building brings lasting prestige to its owners.

II. The Local Benefits

There are also substantial local benefits to be gained from the re-use of a redundant building -- nowhere more so than in a city centre area. The outward appearance of many historic buildings is dramatically improved during conversion by stone cleaning, restoration of rendering and paintwork, renewal of historic detail and by improved landscaping. Where this takes place, local authorities and other owners of land and buildings nearby may be inspired to take up their own environmental improvements - assisted perhaps by local civic or amenity societies. When such a restored or adapted building forms part of a group, neighbouring owners may often be encouraged to bring their properties up to an equal standard. Local authorities in particular stand to benefit from approving and encouraging attractive new uses. Empty premises do not bring in rates. If the quality and economy of the surrounding area are raised, the community will receive multiple benefits.

III. The Non-Economic Benefits

As well as local and economic benefits, there are those

'non-economic' benefits gained by the re-use of older buildings.

a) Craftsmanship

It is impossible to calculate the value of the man hours and skills expended upon the construction of potentially re-useable traditional buildings. Equally significant is the high standard of craftsmanship as well as the quality of materials used in buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries.

"They are irreplaceable assets and to destroy them without good reason is to diminish the nation's artistic and cultural heritage."

Scottish Civic Trust (for S.D.D., 1981).

b) Education

Older buildings also serve an educational purpose by preserving direct evidence of former technologies and vanished lifestyles and by maintaining specific associations with events or people famous in a local or national context. Therefore they act as a resource of local history and taken together of national history.

Towards the close of the 20th century it is possible that people will have much more time to devote to leisure pursuits. This may increase the demand for historical and architectural studies suitable for adults as well as for secondary school curriculae. Without continuing the effective re-use of historic buildings, evidence of vanished ways of life may only be available second-hand in libraries, museums and archives.

c) Psychological Re-assurance

The argument of psychological re-assurance can again be used to increase the favourability of re-using listed buildings. One need only consider the outcry which would be caused by the disappearance of landmarks such as the Scott Monument in Edinburgh's Princes Street or the Forth Rail Bridge. No less disastrous in terms of local character would be the destruction of the Tron Church in the Trongate, or the City Chambers' frontage replaced by modern steel, glass and concrete facades.

The distinguishing characteristics of well-kept older buildings now with new uses also offers psychological re-assurance. Weathered stone work, the reflection of sunlight and the many variations in texture demonstrated by a traditional slate roof provide interest and pleasure on a scale which modern methods of building design and construction often fail to achieve.

But conservation and conversion although valuable in retaining the buildings which give character to the Merchant City must be complimented by infill on the gap sites if the area is to regain its coherence.

Having thus established the fact that old buildings do have a necessary role in the Merchant City development and that historical buildings can be successfully converted to other uses, the next chapter will look at the sensitive subject of new build on the gap sites and how this difficult area is being tackled by the local authority and the developers.

CHAPTER 3

Visual and Historical Survey

Design Disciplines

Preservation Aims

I. Design and Conservation Policy

Town/Landscape

High Buildings

Townscape

Design of

It has previously been suggested that conservation must aim to retain and enhance what is 'valuable' from the past and discipline or inspire what must change. The identification of what is to be conserved is a relatively straight-forward process. However the identification of the characteristics that influence townscape and the architectural design of new buildings on gap sites is more difficult and more subjective. Design disciplines can never be as rigorous as black and white decision-making. They can only influence the quality of change and new build to ensure that the developments are sympathetic in siting and design to what is the character of the area in general.

Worsket (1969) suggests a programme of design disciplines and hypotheses which run parallel to conservation and help make up an entire conservation policy (Fig.3i.).

The design disciplines deal with change - how and where it takes place, how a town's identity can be maintained without loss of architectural integrity, how change is guided to create a sympathetic relationship with existing buildings without imitating the past.

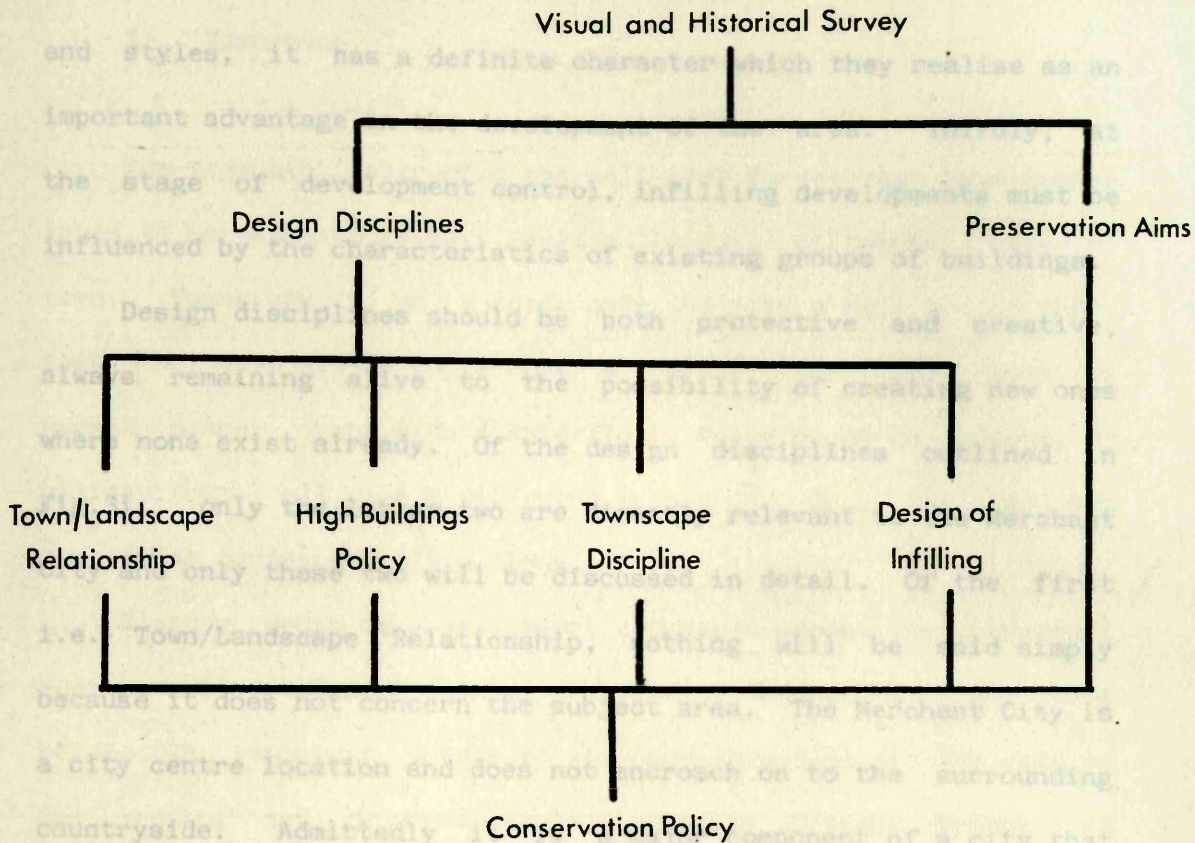


Fig.3i. Towards a Conservation Policy.

As regards a High Building Policy, suffice to say that heights in the Merchant City should be restricted in order to maintain the existing building line. Also this would help to define the town within the regional framework, the capabilities of the town in terms of function and size will be affected by the restrictions inherent in the design disciplines and vice versa. Secondly, at town level, the planning team must be influenced by the existing form and layout of the town as a whole; its individual parts or areas of recognisable identity and must be guided by these qualities in maintaining the town's total character. In the case of the 'Merchant City' in Glasgow, the planning team have, some would argue, a relatively easy task in that the area concerned is compact and due to the street layout, building heights, densities

and styles, it has a definite character which they realise as an important advantage in the development of the area. Thirdly, at the stage of development control, infilling developments must be influenced by the characteristics of existing groups of buildings.

Design disciplines should be both protective and creative, always remaining alive to the possibility of creating new ones where none exist already. Of the design disciplines outlined in Fig.3i., only the latter two are directly relevant to the Merchant City and only these two will be discussed in detail. Of the first i.e. Town/Landscape Relationship, nothing will be said simply because it does not concern the subject area. The Merchant City is a city centre location and does not encroach on to the surrounding countryside. Admittedly it is a major component of a city that does encroach on the surrounding landscape however this deals with another problem i.e. Urban/Rural Fringe Management.

As regards a High Building Policy, suffice to say that heights in the Merchant City should be restricted in order to maintain the existing building line. Also this would help differentiate between the Merchant City and the characteristics of the area of higher blocks further to the west of the city centre.

The remaining two disciplines are discussed in greater depth as they are of more significance to the area. These are:-

- a) Townscape Discipline - qualities of space and layout which create a local discipline.
- b) Design of Infilling - the architectural effect of new buildings erected on gap sites.

II. Townscape

The economic, geographic and political forces that have caused towns to be established have resulted in many different forms of town. Towns built on a crossroads, or with a wall around them; towns that have clustered around a castle, cathedral close or market place; towns with a waterfront; towns based on industry or holiday towns; all have a different impact and each has its own particular charms and attractions.

Glasgow began as a settlement clustered around the cathedral. From here it developed south to the river. The market place then became an important aspect in its development as did the rise of the trading and merchant areas. Finally Glasgow became an industrial town. As a result of this, Glasgow has a distinctive townscape, peculiar to itself, as indeed does almost every town.

Glasgow in common with other towns was continually growing and expanding and renewal also occurred continually, albeit in a piecemeal way. For this reason, the building forms have taken on unique characteristics and this is nowhere more apparent than in the Merchant City. Due to the development being based on the old 'rig and loan' pattern, the Merchant City was built in a grid iron fashion. Thus the area has a very distinctive townscape based on plot division, which should be and is being retained and enhanced.

As one of the oldest parts of Glasgow, this area still exhibits some of the oldest buildings. Renewal has occurred throughout the development of the area and the buildings display a rich variety of architectural expression.

that the townscape of the Merchant City is enhanced and not 'spoiled' by the vertical intrusion of a tower block. Thus what is needed is a special design approach which is coordinated and disciplined by the overall quality of the town.

III. What is Townscape?

The term 'townscape' is somewhat elusive of definition. It stands for something more than the complex of built and unbuilt spaces that compose the urban landscape or the urban environment. In any British city, it may arise from a medieval or even Roman core overlaid by civic, commercial and residential buildings of assorted styles and periods. As notable as the buildings themselves is the form in which they are set in relation to each other and to the unbuilt spaces. Townscape can present a variety of scenes and settings - distinctive, monotonous, appealing, busy or quiet.

As already mentioned, the Merchant City, due to its historical development and association, has a predominantly Victorian townscape. This in effect means that the building line is on the whole free from high rise tower blocks of offices or housing. Instead, the building height rarely exceeds eight storeys and the building almost always rise from the heel of the pavement. However some buildings are only two or three storeys and this is a dominant feature of the area which should also be encouraged in any new build schemes. Interspersed amongst these predominantly 19th century warehouses are the spires or towers from surviving public buildings - namely the Tron Church, the Ramshorn Kirk and Hutcheson's Hospital. This varied building height is to be encouraged in any new developments which occur in the area in order

that the townscape of the Merchant City is enhanced and not 'spoiled' by the vertical intrusion of a tower block. Thus what is needed is, as Worsket (1969) says, "a special design approach which is coordinated and disciplined by the over-all quality of the townscape."

Conservation is a double-edged policy; it should conserve what is valuable and influence what must change. Much of the townscape can be preserved if the pressures for change can be diverted. However where gap sites exist in an area of strong character, then this character can only be maintained by the infilling of these sites. Infilling should be carried out within the discipline of a local identity, not reproducing the same thing again, but interpreting specific local qualities and if possible improving on them in order to retain 'the feel' of the area as far as possible, given that the uses and conditions that gave rise to the forms are no longer present.

Townscape in these terms then could be said to be, "the art of relationship", Cullen (1959). Cullen points out that much can be attained from the grouping of buildings which cannot be achieved by a single building on its own.

Cullen identifies three main ideas which contribute to make up a townscape. The first is optics. This incorporates what he terms 'serial vision' i.e. the revealing of a town's scenery in a series of jerks and revelations; the 'existing view' and the 'emerging view'. Secondly he discusses 'place'. This is concerned with our reactions to the position of our body in its environment - the impacts of exposure and enclosure, a sense of here and there. His

last point is 'content'. This deals with the fabric of towns; colour, texture, scale, style and character. He introduces the point, a very valid point, that if we could only start again, that is, get rid of the "hotch-potch" of our urban fabric and make all new and fine and perfect, we could create an orderly scene with straight roads and with buildings that conformed in height and style. The creation of conformity, as Cullen argues, may be much less stimulating and less appealing, leading to an area with little building variation, which in other than exceptional cases (e.g. Edinburgh's New Town) may contrast unfavourably with an area of interest such as the Merchant City, an area of varied architectural heritage, a lively townscape and vigorous evidence of historic continuity.

Gosling and Maitland (1984) quote the work of Marijuan, in which he classifies urban designers depending on their attitudes to their subject matter. Cullen is classified firstly as not being dependent on any politico-cultural system and secondly as viewing the city as a series of sequences. In this he may be regarded as peculiarly English in his approach because he is the only designer classified in this particular group.

IV. New Build or Infilling on Gap Sites

As previously mentioned the effective conservation of one building or group of buildings will not only make demands on other planning policies concerned with the area but will also affect the renewal and redevelopment of neighbouring sites and the quality of

the new stand out from the old. However, the cleaning of old buildings and the use of sympathetic building materials that will architecture of new buildings.

"The conservation of unique historical areas of cities provides a highly specialised case of the general problem of achieving unity and coherence of urban form."

Gosling and Maitland (1984).

In an area such as the Merchant City, any new buildings must not simply take account of the adjacent structures but should reflect the qualities inherent in the area as a whole. Worskett (1969) argues that the test of what comprises a group will be the degree to which the buildings combine to form a visual whole. It should therefore include all those buildings which are seen together and which interact visually to create a single image or scene.

The overall architectural character of streets has in nearly every case come about simply because architects and builders in the past have not copied previous styles but built accordingly to the ideas of their own age. Thus in the case of infill, the answer would not be to simply copy the buildings around. The solution lies in the formulation of a design incorporating modern or contemporary techniques and even materials but which shows sympathy and tries to reflect some of the obvious architectural characteristics of the area in which it is to be built.

"...it is reasonable to expect a scale and character in the designs proposed that acknowledge and seek to enhance the setting of their distinguished neighbours without pretending to be of similar period or distinction. In other words, the new buildings should express well-mannered, modern designs which respect these outstanding qualities but do not compete with them."

Burke (1976).

There will always be temporary differences between the old and new, simply because the effect of age on existing buildings will make

the new stand out from the old. However, the cleaning of old buildings and the use of sympathetic building materials that will show some passage of time, can help to reduce these differences.

In order that new developments should 'fit in' to older areas, many local authorities, including Glasgow, have produced 'Design Guides' which set out the main criteria that should be taken into account when new development is to be incorporated into an area such as the Merchant City.

V. The Design Guide

The preparation of 'Design Guides' is aimed specifically at developers who wish to build on a site where certain restrictions occur or allowances must be made for existing structures.

"No design policy can of course cope with different architectural appreciation or taste. But in the same way that the architect accepts a brief from his client and is influenced by the existing landscape, so his design must be influenced by the existing neighbouring buildings. He must look for, or be provided with, a visual discipline as part of his brief. It must be a flexible discipline, which does not corset the imagination and it must be used and interpreted creatively."

Worskett (1969).

Glasgow District Council's Department of Physical Planning provide the Design Guide for just such a reason. It acts as a document outlining the visual discipline which they desire to be upheld. It also contains notes on physical and social aspects of building which are necessary to the new development if they are absent from the area in general e.g. laundry facilities, provision of car parking.

Gap sites predominate mainly in the eastern edge of the

Merchant City. These sites were created when obsolete buildings were demolished and cleared in the 1960's and 70's by the local authority, when it was thought that redevelopment was the answer to the declining economic situation of the area. Thus there are gap sites in:- Candleriggs, Wilson Street, Ingram Street, Albion Street, High Street, Shuttle Street and George Street (see Fig.3ii.). These sites, it is hoped, will eventually be redeveloped. This is where the Council's Design Guide provides a useful tool to would-be developers in the area. The Guidance Notes are geared specifically to Residential Use as this is the land use policy currently being implemented as regards the Merchant City. This will be discussed in more detail later in the dissertation.

As yet Glasgow District Council have produced two series of 'Guidance Notes'. The first appeared in 1983 and an updated version was issued in August 1985. This new copy is a revised version of the initial series of notes which appeared in 1983. Although there are no major alterations to the document, there are subtle yet important changes which should be outlined. The two sets of 'Guidance Notes' - forming Appendices A. and B. - should be referred to in conjunction with the next section of the chapter.

The 'Guidance Notes' are divided into sections which Glasgow District Council feel are important in not only maintaining the visual attraction of the area but which also deal with the various physical and social aspects concerned with residential developments in city centre location.

The sections are:- Urban Design, Car Parking, Access, Housing Mix and Density, Noise, Prospect, Privacy, Sunlighting and

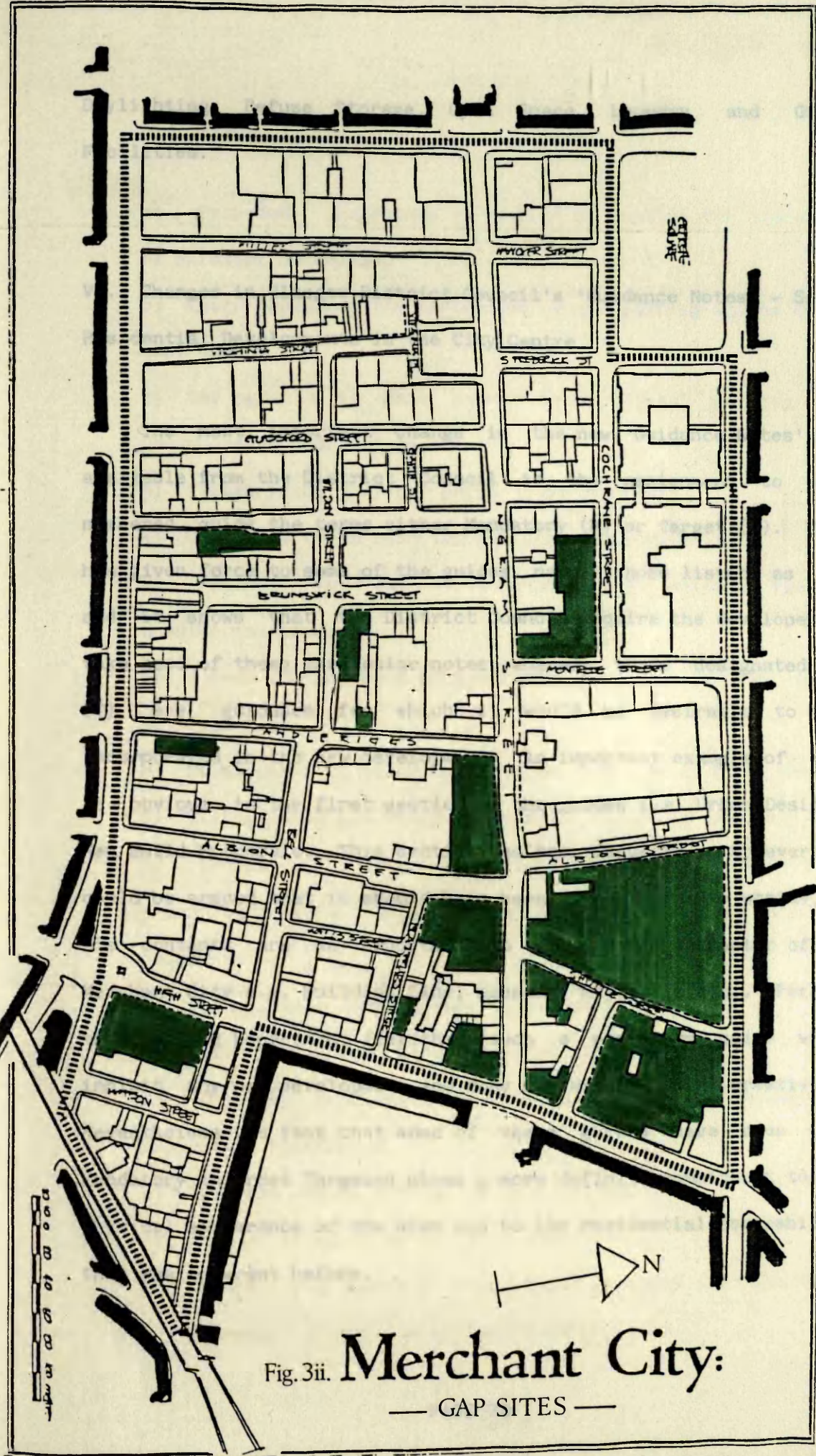


Fig. 3ii. Merchant City:
 — GAP SITES —

Daylighting, Refuse Storage, Open Space, Laundry and Other Facilities.

a) Proposed conversions to respect or enhance the character of existing buildings.

VI. Changes in Glasgow District Council's 'Guidance Notes' - Small Residential Developments in the City Centre

c) Car parks to be made secure from illegal parking and unauthorized pedestrians.

The most important change in the new 'Guidance Notes' now available from the District Council is the assignment to each numbered guide the terms either Mandatory (M) or Target (T). This has given force to some of the guides, namely those listed as (M) and it shows that the District Council require the developer to take heed of these particular notes, whereas those designated as (T) are guidance for which it would be desirable to see incorporated in the new development. An important example of this is obvious in the first section of the guides i.e. Urban Design - New Build Proposals. This section has been Targeted. However it could be argued that it should have been given Mandatory status, as its contents are so important to the general character of the Merchant City e.g. building line, massing, materials etc.. Perhaps the Planning Department feel that such a mandatory guide would inhibit any new development and deny any architectural creativity. Nevertheless the fact that some of these guides have been made Mandatory and rest Targeted shows a more definite commitment to the physical appearance of the area and to its residential desirability than was apparent before.

g) Emergency drying facilities to be provided.

Mandatory
suitably vented.

- a) Proposed conversions to respect or enhance the character of existing buildings.
- b) Where necessary the allocation of car parking spaces to be made known.
- c) Car parks to be made secure from illegal parking and unauthorised pedestrians.
- d) Visual amenity of car parks to be ensured.
- e) Car parks to be safe for vehicles and pedestrians.
- f) Access to the development to be secured against unauthorised entry.
- g) Access for disabled people to be provided in new build developments.
- h) Development to allow adequate service access/arrangements.
- i) Living rooms and bedrooms to be structurally separate.
- j) Levels of internal and external noise to be kept within prescribed limits. This may require specific noise reduction measures.
- k) No habitable room to have unattractive prospect.
- l) Privacy of ground floor dwellings to be ensured.
- m) Internal kitchens to be capable of being partitioned and separately ventilated.
- n) Adequate refuse storage to be provided.
- o) Storage areas to be suitably ventilated.
- p) Amenity open spaces to be suitably designed and detailed.
- q) Emergency drying facilities to be provided.

- r) All services including warm-air tumble driers to be suitably vented.
- s) Suitable maintenance and factoring arrangements to be made.
- t) Non-complementary land use to be excluded from new developments.
- u) A satisfactory level of daylighting to be achieved.

Targeted Advice

- a) New build proposals to satisfy urban design requirements of the site.
- b) Maximum feasible level of car parking to be provided in conversions.
- c) Car parking spaces to be easily accessed by residents.
- d) Vehicular access points to be suitably located.
- e) Pedestrian/vehicular courtyards to ensure pedestrian priority.
- f) Main entrance to development to be prominent and attractive.
- g) Efforts must be made to allow easy access for the disabled in conversions.
- h) A broad range of house types to be provided.
- i) All habitable rooms to be free from overlooking.
- j) Refuse storage to be located on ground floor and carefully sited.
- k) Appropriate provisions of open space to be made.

disabled, although in conversions, the advice remains the

- l) Large developments to provide communal laundries.
- m) Adequate ground floor storage area to be available.

c) Housing Mix and Density no.15 - "Does the proposed

As well as the above summary of targeted and mandatory guides, there are also certain specific changes in the 'guides'. These are outlined as follows:-

Limiting the future occupancy of these apartments (under

a) Car Parking (planning permission). In the latest series the

advice This has been one of the biggest problems in the Merchant City by the nature of its city centre location. Due

to the prime location, there is a high demand for land and thus spaces for car parking become difficult to provide. By

increasing the population of the city centre the problem will be exacerbated. Thus new build on the gap sites must provide

100% car parking spaces. Both Guides refer to this 100% requirement as a standard of the Regional Roads Department but

both say that a lower standard may be acceptable depending on the individual location. This has however been changed again

and all new build must provide 100% car parking spaces.

In the new series, the reference to residents with

b) Access no.14 - "Is there adequate access for the disabled?" (in dealing with the Merchant City Today.)

In the original series the notes stated that the developers should make every reasonable effort to allow easy

access for disabled persons. However the new series states that in new build, the developers must provide access for the

disabled, although in conversions, the advice remains the same. single aspect flats overlooking rear courtyards will be

considered only if the courtyard is substantial and properly

c) Housing Mix and Density no.15 - "Does the proposed development contain any single-person apartments?"

In the original notes, the advice was that the developer had to enter into an agreement with the District Council limiting the future occupancy of these apartments (under condition of planning permission). In the latest series the advice is completely different and refers to the layout of rooms, in that it will be a condition of planning permission that living rooms and bedrooms will be structurally separate, with each having its own natural daylight.

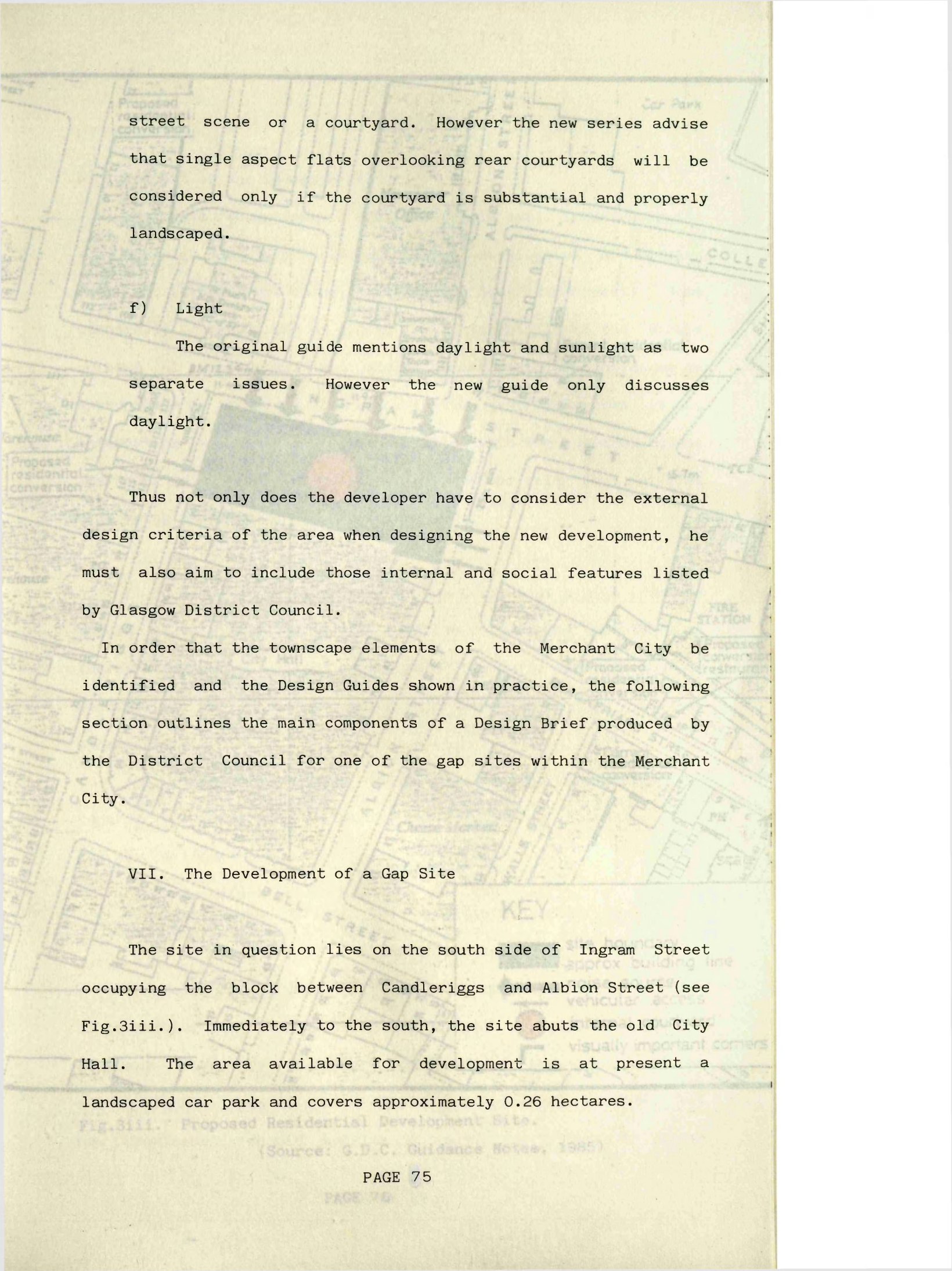
d) Housing Mix and Density no.16.

In the original, the advice refers to the development's attraction to families with young children. If this is the case, then the developer should make provision for their special needs e.g. open space etc.. Unless this is provided then the location is considered unsuitable for such residents.

In the new series, the reference to residents with children is omitted. (This will be discussed in the chapter of this dissertation dealing with the Merchant City Today.)

e) Prospect no.20/21

The change involved here is that in the original series it appears acceptable for flats to have a prospect of either a



street scene or a courtyard. However the new series advise that single aspect flats overlooking rear courtyards will be considered only if the courtyard is substantial and properly landscaped.

f) Light

The original guide mentions daylight and sunlight as two separate issues. However the new guide only discusses daylight.

Thus not only does the developer have to consider the external design criteria of the area when designing the new development, he must also aim to include those internal and social features listed by Glasgow District Council.

In order that the townscape elements of the Merchant City be identified and the Design Guides shown in practice, the following section outlines the main components of a Design Brief produced by the District Council for one of the gap sites within the Merchant City.

VII. The Development of a Gap Site

The site in question lies on the south side of Ingram Street occupying the block between Candleriggs and Albion Street (see Fig.3iii.). Immediately to the south, the site abuts the old City Hall. The area available for development is at present a landscaped car park and covers approximately 0.26 hectares.

Fig.3iii. Proposed Residential Development Site.

(Source: G.D.C. Guidance Notes, 1985)

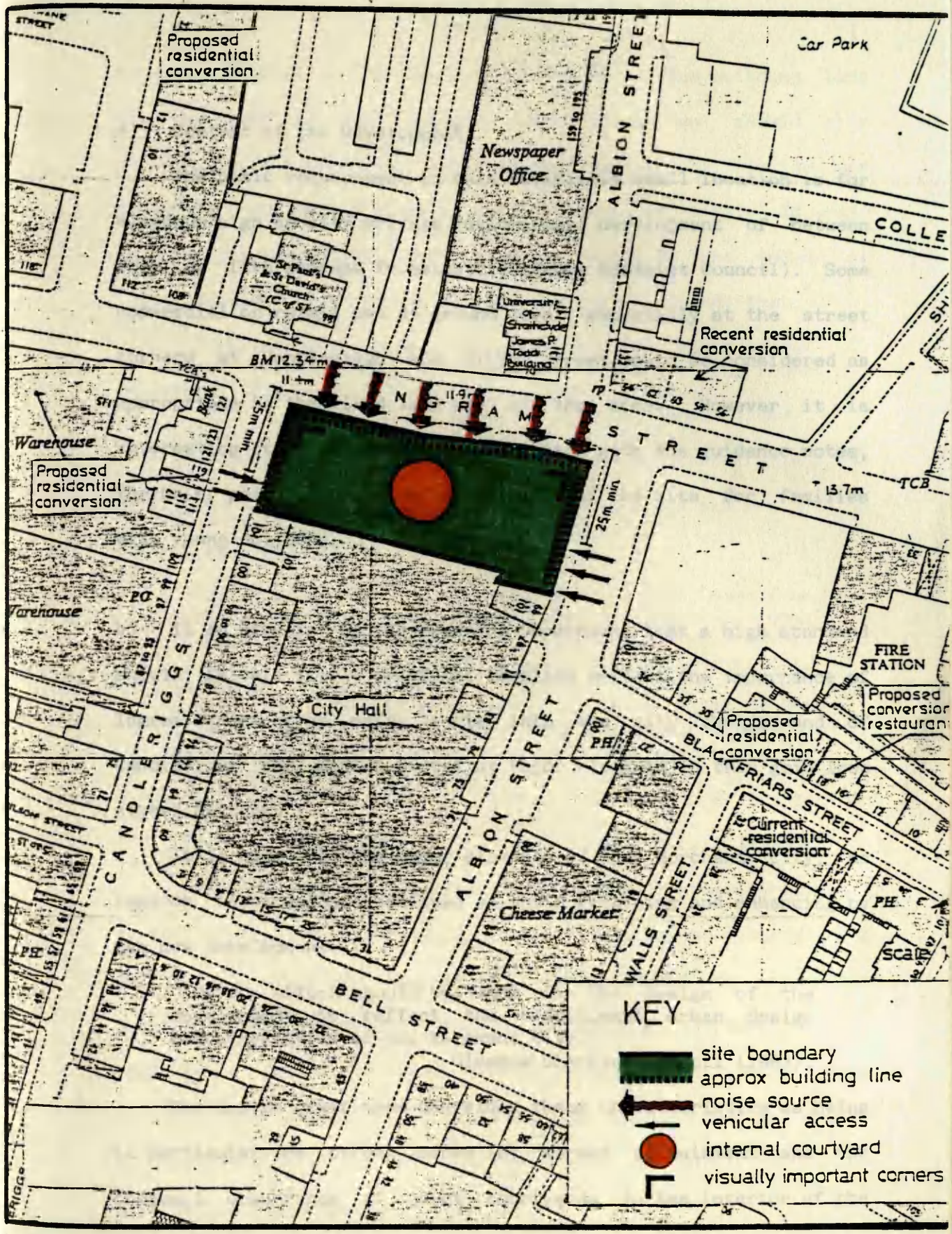


Fig.3iii. Proposed Residential Development Site.

(Source: G.D.C. Guidance Notes, 1985)

Street, Albion Street and Candleriggs, observing the building line

a) Content of the Development

The basic requirement in this relatively small location is for a medium/high density private residential development of between four or five storeys in height, (Glasgow District Council). Some commercial or retail use at ground level, especially at the street corners at Candleriggs and Albion Street would be considered as appropriate to the mixed land use of the area. However it is interesting to note that in conjunction with the guidance notes, the brief points out the unfavourability of the site for families with young children.

b) It is expected by the Planning Department that a high standard should in this fairly prominent location reflect the importance of Ingram Street as an entry route into the city centre and of Candleriggs and Albion Street as major elements in this grid iron street pattern.

It is here that the major elements of the Merchant City, as regards townscape are outlined as worth retaining and enhancing by the new development.

"Every effort should be made in the design of the development to reflect the traditional urban design characteristics of the Merchant City."

Glasgow District Council (1983).

The design brief then describes these characteristics as being in particular the strong sense of street containment and the frequent occurrence of quiet courtyards in the interior of the street blocks. Thus it states that to enhance these aspects, the new development should provide a continuous frontage to Ingram

Street, Albion Street and Candleriggs, observing the building line at the heel of the pavement. The development should also incorporate an attractive landscaped courtyard in the interior for residents use thereby offering some "quiet in the city". In order that the courtyard size be maximised and therefore the amount of light increased to the lower floors, the brief suggests that;

"Consideration could be given to employing a narrow depth, wide-frontage house type with through living rooms permitting views both outwards...and inwards..."

Glasgow District Council (1983).

Obviously, as already mentioned, the design should reflect the architectural characteristics of the adjacent buildings and it is to this end that the brief states;

"An appropriate degree of visual interest should be created and the facades should reflect the traditional Glasgow inner city form in terms of a simple formal frontage and roofline (e.g. hipped roof), and elevational detailing with a vertical emphasis of windows and projections...The street comes at the two ends of the Ingram Street facade should be carefully designed using a house form which 'turns' the corner. The eastern end of this frontage forms a terminal vista to the northern part of Albion Street and this feature should be exploited in the design."

Glasgow District Council (1983).

The brief also outlines details on access and parking as well as the developers' responsibility. However it is important to note the detail given in the brief to the extent to which the development should contribute to the townscape of the area and be sympathetic, in architectural details, to existing buildings. From this and the development of the townscape given in Chapter One, it is possible to list the main features of the Merchant City which give it its characteristic townscape.

1. Grid Iron Pattern.

2. Use of this pattern to create terminal vistas e.g. Ramshorn Church.
3. Victorian Skyline - varied height but the tallest are all relatively similar and not one building dwarfs the others.
4. Sense of Enclosure due to:-
5. Containment of Streets caused by constant building line.
6. Occurrence of courtyards within blocks. (See Plate 3i.)
7. Architectural details e.g. vertical emphasis on elevational detailing, simple frontages and rooflines.
8. Materials.

If these key elements are taken into account in any new developments, then there would seem to be little chance of the Merchant City's character and townscape being detracted from in any way.

As the bulk of this chapter deals with townscape, design and design briefs and guides, it would seem pertinent to ask the question - "Who decides?" Who decides that such a townscape is acceptable or appealing? Who decides that such a building is not in keeping with the style of the area, or even, that the building is of a good design? At its most basic it becomes a question of aesthetics. There can be no such contentious or controversial a subject as aesthetics, especially with regard to the two 'building professions' - namely architects and planners.



Plate 3i. Blackfriars Courtyard.

the problem. The major tension is in the ...
to the elected members and to the general public.
However, surely this should not be a problem since the
planning committee of elected members ... through which
the public's views are expressed. It is ... out that few
committees are very concerned with ... of the detailed
practice is left to the planners, ... most discussion of
judgements and values - namely ... It is this which many
architects find offensive and unjust. Thus people like Michael
Sauer (1979) talk of "Barriers to Design" and Owen Luder (1980)

blames the planning system since 1947 for poor design standards. He argues that development control should not deal with aesthetic matters. Again Manser (1983) states,

"Planning procedures must be simplified but first
VIII. The Right of Decision
the impracticality of aesthetic
censorship. It has not worked and cannot be made to work
and the attempt to do so is entirely unproductive."

It could be argued that in attempting to deal with this 'red rag' subject of aesthetics, the process of development control was introduced. Gosling and Maitland (1983) trace the introduction of development control to one of the earliest recorded building laws in the form of a statute of 1262 regulating the form of houses fronting the Piazza del Campo in Siena. They point out the fact that in situations like those control would be exercised by some powerful individual or individuals. Development control must then have progressed greatly to reach the situation today. Planners, who exercise the 'powers' of development control, are supposedly representing the public in general in their decision-making. Bishop (1983) states that it is this responsibility which can cause the problem.

"The major tension is in the planner's responsibilities to the elected members and to the general public."

However, surely this should not be a problem since the planning committee of elected members is the medium through which the public's views are expressed. Bishop points out that few committees are very concerned with design, so much of the detailed practice is left to the planners, including most discussion of judgements and values - namely aesthetics. It is this which many architects find offensive and unjust. Thus people like Michael Manser (1979) talk of "Barriers to Design" and Owen Luder (1982)

blames the planning system since 1947 for poor design standards. He argues that development control should not deal with aesthetic matters. Again Manser (1983) states,

"Planning procedures must be simplified but first society has to face up to the impracticality of aesthetic censorship. It has not worked and cannot be made to work and the attempt to do so is entirely unproductive."

He goes on to argue that planning should remain and be strengthened in those areas where statutory authorities are concerned e.g. green belts, land use etc.. However in the detail of aesthetic control, "we will be better with none," Manser (1983).

This appears to be the crux of the problem. Architects, represented by the Luder/Manser approach, want planning freedom for their own work, which they regard as "good design", Davison (1983).

However, as Davison goes on to point out, they also want strong planning controls over bad design, strong enough to allow planning authorities to defend refusal on design grounds at appeal.

Bishop (1983) states that planning departments are generally not very powerful in local government. Thus he argues it is important not to overlook the relationships between departments which can, for example, lead to schemes being approved by planning authorities but rejected by spending committees, making the situation more difficult.

With the introduction of the design guides, Ravetz (1980), states that the animosity of the architectural profession toward the planning profession increased. Although she argues the guides incorporated many sound design principles, it was apparent that a section of the profession bitterly resented this attempt to reduce to a summary what should be thought out for each separate context

by a qualified practitioner. The guides were regarded as an "insidious and sinister influence" since they conspired "to abrogate the proper role of the architect in order to make him subservient to the duty of popular taste," Wilson (1978).

It was perhaps comments like this, as well as the general view of architects towards planners' rights of decisions, which led to the publication of a joint policy in 1980 by the R.I.B.A. and the R.T.P.I. This policy statement aimed at promoting a cooperative working relationship between the professions. Davison (1983) outlines a key paragraph in the statement.

"Architects should accept that the development control system allows local planning authorities to consider the appearance of a proposal development...and the character of the area. However, planning officers should act cautiously when the point at issue is one of aesthetic judgement and the design has been submitted by an architect."

Six years on from the publication of this recommended policy statement, the 'decisions' are still in the hands of the planners. This remains the 'bone of contention'. Are planners suitably qualified in design to make these decisions? Obviously Manser (1979) thinks not,

"To require an experienced architect of achievement to submit his design to some local authorities for approval is like asking a Q.C. of similar eminence to submit his legal opinions for approval to the local solicitor's clerk."

If these decisions are to rest with the planners then what should be done to help them? Davison (1983) states that the R.I.B.A. could play a much more positive role in the debate by introducing design education to members of planning committees and by contributing to more thorough design teaching in planning

schools. It is obvious, however, that the solution lies in the working together of the two professions in making more significant progress towards what appear to be their common objectives i.e. the building of good designs to enhance our towns and cities.

Perhaps it is only fair to point out that there are occasions where the two professions do in fact 'get it right'. To judge this success one need only examine public opinion to the finished result. A recent example of this nature is the Burrell Building designed to house the enormous Burrell Collection in Glasgow's Pollok Park. Although this far exceeded the original sum intended for it, public opinion has been overwhelmingly in favour of the end result. Indeed one could argue that the building itself is now just as big an attraction as the collection itself.

Conservation and new build schemes occurring in, or proposed for, the Merchant City are part of a larger scheme of urban renewal and regeneration. The next chapter will give an overview of these processes which have occurred in Britain before examining the Merchant City in detail.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4

from minor decorative alterations to buildings to the comprehensive redevelopment of extensive areas.

Gibson and Liggstaff (1982) contend that urban renewal,

"now incorporates planned intervention in economic regeneration and employment provision, as well as the long-established pre-occupation with housing and environmental conditions."

From these definitions it appears that the post-world War II

This chapter will outline the main themes and trends involved in the wider concept of urban regeneration and renewal. Firstly, the national scale will be examined, which will lead to a discussion on the more local city scale of Glasgow. The district level of the Merchant City will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

I. Definitions

According to Sim (1982), the term 'urban renewal' was first coined by the economist Miles Colean in 1950 but since then the term has come to mean a number of different things to different people. Medhurst and Lewis (1970) state that urban renewal means,

"extensive demolition of property, most of it old, in a way that clears a large area of ground and so permits the planning and construction of a new set of buildings, streets and space."

Such renewal would normally occur in the central area or the inner city.

Sim (1982) points out that urban renewal should not be thought solely to mean demolition and redevelopment, for renewal may take place without demolition occurring. To this end, he quotes Whitehead (1978) who states that,

"change to the physical fabric takes many forms, ranging

from minor decorative alterations to buildings to the comprehensive redevelopment of extensive areas."

Gibson and Langstaff (1982) contend that urban renewal,

"now incorporates planned intervention in economic regeneration and employment provision, as well as the long-established pre-occupation with housing and environmental conditions."

From these definitions it appears that the post-World War II trend was the clearance and demolition of large areas of the urban environment in order that new developments could occur. This was in part due to the damage to many urban areas during the Second World War. It also implies that the problem was seen as being the 'old' fabric of the city. Therefore remove this and you remove the problems. It was soon discovered that this was not the case. Thus the concept of urban renewal shifted slightly to incorporate aspects of inequality, deprivation and a whole spectrum of social problems outwith those of the 'physical' problems of the cities of Britain.

Gibson and Langstaff (1982) identify five main phases in the development of national urban renewal policy. These are:-

- i) slum clearance and redevelopment from its 19th century origins to its culmination in the late 1960's.
- ii) the shift of emphasis to housing and environmental improvement in the early 1970's.
- iii) the emergence of gradual renewal in the mid-1970's, combining selective clearance with improvements.
- iv) a series of priority area experiments concerned with urban deprivation.
- v) current efforts to evolve a more comprehensive approach

gradually incorporating economic renewal.

The refinements to comprehensive redevelopment which resulted

in g. II. Urban Renewal in its National Context

community-based redevelopment with three main elements:-

Slum clearance, the first of Gibson and Longstaff's five phases, arose from a fear of the spread of disease, together with the outrage of social reformers, which prompted the piecemeal introduction of sanitary reform measures. Eventually, because of threatened industrial and social unrest and the declining profitability of private rental, the state began to assume some responsibility for providing decent housing for the working class. This development of council housing enabled a clearance drive which began the attack on the worst 19th century housing. However, when the clearance of these slums was under-way, along with the development of new housing, a wave of protest arose at the alternatives being offered. As housing demand increased in the late 1950's and 1960's, the solution came in the form of higher density housing than was usual in new build schemes. With the advances in building technology, the high rise flat was engineered.

Originally intended for childless families and single people, the demand was such that this was ignored and families moved in. Thus by the 1970's, many of those meant to benefit by clearance saw it as a threat not an improvement. Along with this was the realisation that individual communities were being broken up and separated and that the alternative new housing did not lend itself well to the formation of new communities. This led to the abandonment of comprehensive redevelopment and saw a return to

gradual renewal which had been favoured by Geddes.

The refinements to comprehensive redevelopment which resulted in gradual renewal can be summarised under the general heading of community-based redevelopment with three main elements:-

- a) a commitment to rehouse on site as many as possible of those residents who wished to remain.
- b) redevelopment in small phases to reduce the impact of demolition allowing rehousing on site from one phase to the next.
- c) an on-going and thorough programme of public involvement.

Throughout the development of the 'renewal concept', local authorities were identifying particular areas they felt to be in need of some form of renewal. As a result of this a variety of areas with severe problems came into being. These included, Comprehensive Development Areas (C.D.A.'s), General Improvement Areas (G.I.A.'s), Housing Action Areas (H.A.A.'s) and Areas for Priority Treatment (A.P.T.). These were generally concerned with land around the city centre. Nevertheless policies for the inner city evolved alongside these strategies. The basis for such policies was the Urban Programme, which was first announced in 1968. However urban policies were developed in the 1977 White Paper "Policy for the Inner Cities", which set out many of the features which are still active today,

"including the Partnership, Programme and O.D.D. arrangements and the development of the Urban Programme (U.P.) to embrace projects designed to improve the economy of the inner city."

Gahagan (1986).

Urban regeneration is now a vital issue in cities all over

Britain. Indeed Urban Regeneration was chosen as the conference theme at the R.T.P.I. Annual Conference in 1985. President Stephen Byrne said that five major strands were identified in the complex debate on the state of British cities and how they are to be revived. These were:-

i) the fact that total assets in the public sector built infrastructure are £200 billion, yet the amount spent on new projects and maintenance is quoted as £10 billion, thereby pointing to the inevitability of deterioration.

ii) the concern regarding the strategic level of planning and coordination of services in those areas which have experienced a dramatic change in local government structure - London and six metropolitan areas of England.

iii) the constantly re-iterated claim that large new areas of land outside the built-up areas are necessary to meet housing needs and the fact that this may be at the expense of inner area regeneration.

iv) the "south-easternisation" of Britain, resulting from the unfair pumping of resources to the south-east to the detriment of other regions.

v) the public's desire to retain and enhance their townscape and architectural heritage, despite claims that conservation attitudes impede desirable development.

Regardless of the many problems inherent in the towns and cities of Britain, many local authorities are actively engaged in new schemes to revive interest and investment and generate public interest and enthusiasm in the inner city areas. Examples include

London, where the revitalisation of the Covent Garden area has been achieved by a combination of rehabilitation and economic investment in the form of shops, cafes and evening entertainments. Also in London, the publicised dockland scheme is intended to regenerate an area of extensive economic decline and poor environmental quality with some notable early schemes such as St. Katherine's Dock. There has been a similar scheme in Bristol's dockland, where the introduction of housing in converted dock warehouses has stimulated activity in a depressed area.

Nottingham, an Inner Area Programme Authority, has had a number of initiatives and projects aided by the programme including the Advanced Business Centre and City House, where a joint initiative by the City Council and Plessey enables small and newly established firms to develop businesses with the latest technology.

At the former Turner's Quay Leatherworks, Trent Bridge, an old factory block has been retained and converted into flats.

These are typical of the numerous schemes aimed at regenerating the inner areas of British cities as part of the current urban renewal and urban regeneration programmes. The schemes and projects are not only occurring in England. Towns and cities in Scotland also are under-going a similar process of urban regeneration and renewal and nowhere more so than in Glasgow.

III. Urban Renewal and Regeneration in Glasgow

At the turn of the 20th century, Glasgow was one of the most important industrial centres in Britain. The economy was based on

heavy industry and shipbuilding on the Clyde, famous throughout the world. Sadly, it was this commitment to heavy industry which led to the decline of Glasgow's economy as a whole. There was very little diversification into other fields of manufacture and when the demand for ships declined so did the foundation of Glasgow's industrial economy, which was largely associated with the Clyde. In the late 1950's/60's, the city's redevelopment policy, based on 29 Comprehensive Development Areas, contained dire warnings to firms about disturbance and difficulties of expansion and 107 firms moved out between 1958 and 1968. Perhaps more serious in its consequences was the death of hundreds of small enterprises, whose low levels of capital in brick backyard or railway viaduct premises destroyed by demolition, denied them the possibility of relocation. The net result of these processes was accelerated industrial decline.

Housing too had its problems. The 1946 Bruce Plan had envisaged related programmes of house building on the outer periphery, clearance and renewal in the inner area and a revitalised road and rail transport system linking the basic areas. The wider concepts of the Clyde Valley Plan were embodied in an ambitious programme of comprehensive redevelopment. 29 Comprehensive Development Areas (C.D.A.'s) were outlined, covering one-twelfth of the total city area and a substantially higher proportion of the inner peripheral zone. Clearance was to focus on working-class housing areas with their associated industry, while middle-class residential zones were to be largely undisturbed. However clearance was not evenly spread throughout the 29 C.D.A.'s

since their operation was envisaged as a twenty-year programme. Thus by 1969, only nine areas had received formal approval from the Secretary of State for Scotland and the bulk of the demolitions carried out was strongly concentrated in those C.D.A.'s. By 1975 a further five C.D.A.'s had reached approval stage and subsequent large scale demolition had occurred.

It was at this stage that the full social cost of this physical destruction was realised and the C.D.A. programme was terminated in its original form, all or part of seven C.D.A.'s being absorbed in new Local Plan areas, with another five being implemented under housing or education powers. The whole process had swept areas clean of their houses, shops and factories but most importantly, of their people.

By the early 1970's recognition of the desolation of peripheral decanting schemes and of the fearsome cost of the C.D.A. scheme had encouraged the development of a series of finer threads in the approach to urban renewal. This was the production of Local Plans for districts in the city boundary. Implicit in these Local Plans is closer cooperation with the people of the area within which the plan is designed to operate and the reaching of mutual decisions on retention and renovation elements of the urban fabric, including housing. 1975 marks the real beginning of the activities of Housing Associations due to their provision of finance by the Housing Cooperation, as well as a change in attitude to the tenement and its community. Important tenement renovation and rehabilitation schemes have been undertaken all over the city, ranging from a few closes to several hundred houses.

The culmination of this 'new philosophy' in urban renewal was the realisation that it could be embodied in a scheme of large-scale urban planning and management. It was decided that the east end of Glasgow was just the kind of area which could benefit most from an integrated, multi-purpose, large-scale planning initiative and in May 1976 the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (G.E.A.R.) project was set up as part of a national initiative directed at inner cities.

Capital commitment to the scheme from 1977 to 1982 was to be £156 million and a group of participating bodies was set up under the overall coordination of the Scottish Development Agency. The S.D.A. have played a major role in the renewal and regeneration of Glasgow. Indeed some may argue that they are the single most powerful force in financing such schemes. In the G.E.A.R. scheme they came second to Glasgow District Council, with a capital commitment of £39 million. They have also undertaken their own programmes of environmental improvement and regeneration within the city. Their success lies in the fact that they not only inject finance into the physical improvement of Glasgow but they aim to bring outside investment into the city and so stimulate economic activity.

IV. Revitalisation in Glasgow City Centre

The city centre of Glasgow is currently the focus of a whole new range of projects and proposals designed to change the image of what many people believe to be a depressed, industrial city.

"Anyone who left Glasgow in the early 1970's and returned today would experience great difficulty in recognising many areas of the city. The transformation from a run-down industrial area into an efficient city of the 1980's is the result of one of the country's most successful Urban Regeneration Programmes.

"There is a new enthusiasm and vitality in the air. The city is on the move and destined for greater achievements. Both private and public sectors have given Glasgow many new developments in all spheres of the property market and other areas. An increasing number of innovative and exciting initiatives have been completed and are planned for the city."

Jones, Lang, Wooton (1985).

The initiatives and developments include:-

- 1) The opening of the £36 million Scottish Exhibition Centre in 1985.
- 2) The opening of the world famous Burrell Collection in 1984. At a cost of £20 million, it is arguably Scotland's biggest tourist attraction.
- 3) Refurbishment of Theatre Royal to provide an ideal setting for Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet and the arts.
- 4) Construction of a new Academy of Music and Dramatic Art.
- 5) The construction of modern hotels together with renewal, re-design and general upgrading of leisure facilities e.g. Holiday Inn, Hospitality Inn.
- 6) The construction of major office blocks within the central area, including the new Britoil headquarters, Coats Paton H.Q. and new offices for the Ministry of Defence in Kentigern House.
- 7) The general refurbishment and cleaning of many Victorian and Georgian buildings.

- 8) Hosting of the National Garden Festival in 1988.
- 9) The proposed major shopping development at St. Enoch.
- 10) Proposals for major shopping developments at Sauchiehall Street, Princes Square and other peripheral locations e.g. Parkhead Forge.

Perhaps the two single greatest achievements has been the success of the "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign which projected throughout the United Kingdom and abroad, the new image of the city and more importantly the formation of Glasgow Action Group.

Glasgow Action Group, conceived by the Scottish Development Agency, is headed by millionaire businessman, Sir Norman Macfarlane, who leads a 12-person board of businessmen and civic leaders which include the leaders of the District and Regional councils. Councillor Jean McFadden stated that,

"Glasgow Action is arguably the single most important initiative in the city's history and certainly one of the most comprehensive."

The Bulletin (November 1985).

The thinking behind the plan is that the development of a strong business and consumer service industry base will stimulate the economic regeneration of the city as a whole. It draws together existing plans and new projects with the aim of improving both the economy and the environment of the city centre. Glasgow Action aims to make the city not only more attractive to work in and to live in but also as a centre for recreation and entertainment.

In November 1985 the group released their plans for the most ambitious effort yet undertaken to reshape the face of Glasgow's

city centre and to realise the full economic and environmental potential of the city. The plan, more of a vision than a blueprint, is to reshape Glasgow city centre over the next twenty years into an international business and service industry centre. It will cost approximately £300 million, mainly from private-funded property and environmental projects. The plan focusses on Buchanan Street, which will link with a Clydeside chain of squares, houses, shops, pubs and cafes.

The redevelopment concept was drawn up by Gordon Cullen.

"The image to promote is of Glasgow as an available, accessible and open city. Just as the bars are open all day, this should be translated into different aspects of urban life.

"Glasgow should become a marketplace of urban contact. Like C.A.M.R.A., this is a campaign for a real city - Glasgow. It is rough, it rains a lot but it is not pretentious and it is the flipside of Edinburgh."

Glasgow Action (1985).

Cullen's plans include glazed vaulting over part of St. Enoch Square and the southern end of Buchanan Street to provide an urban village. He proposes that a new square should be created - Gordon Square - to 'punctuate' Buchanan Street. He envisages the reconstruction of 'Greek' Thomson's Caledonia Road Church at the top end of Buchanan Street fronting the new proposed development for the area. The plan likens Glasgow to a walled city with two internal precincts - Blythswood New Town and the Merchant City. It is these areas along with the Riverside chain walkway which will be the foci for most of the proposed development.

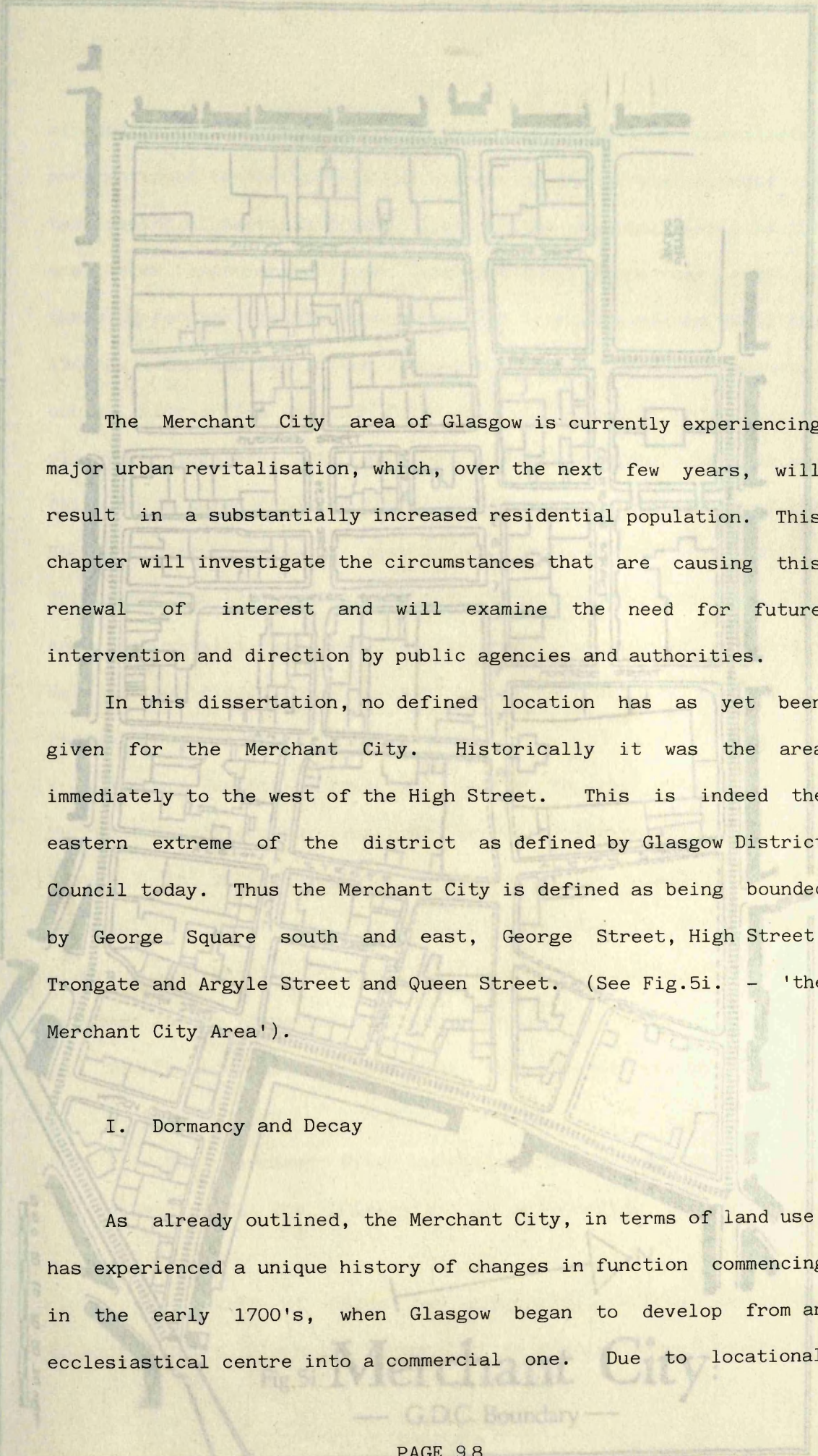
These then are the proposals for Glasgow in an attempt to revitalise the city centre. They have resulted from the original concept of urban renewal which has been gradually altered and

modified to become a process of regeneration and revitalisation.

Having thus identified some of these proposals in Glasgow, the next chapter will deal with the Merchant City today. It will trace the processes of renewal and regeneration which occurred in the area and will discuss the various schemes which have been proposed as the way forward - the direction in which the Merchant City should be promoted.

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 5

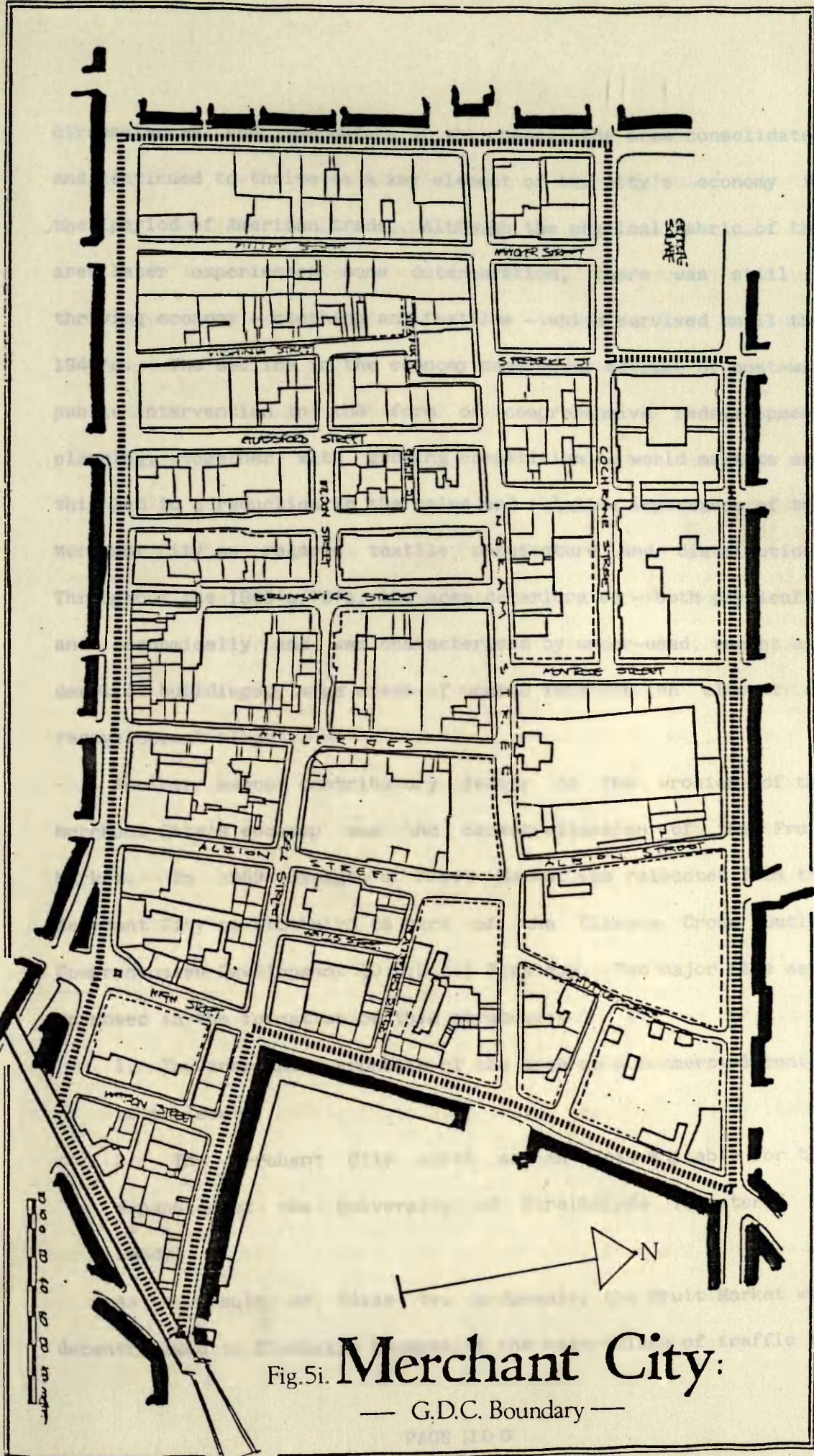


The Merchant City area of Glasgow is currently experiencing major urban revitalisation, which, over the next few years, will result in a substantially increased residential population. This chapter will investigate the circumstances that are causing this renewal of interest and will examine the need for future intervention and direction by public agencies and authorities.

In this dissertation, no defined location has as yet been given for the Merchant City. Historically it was the area immediately to the west of the High Street. This is indeed the eastern extreme of the district as defined by Glasgow District Council today. Thus the Merchant City is defined as being bounded by George Square south and east, George Street, High Street, Trongate and Argyle Street and Queen Street. (See Fig.5i. - 'the Merchant City Area').

I. Dormancy and Decay

As already outlined, the Merchant City, in terms of land use, has experienced a unique history of changes in function commencing in the early 1700's, when Glasgow began to develop from an ecclesiastical centre into a commercial one. Due to locational



circumstances and the nature of the change, the area consolidated and continued to thrive as a key element of the city's economy in the period of American trade. Although the physical fabric of the area later experienced some deterioration, there was still a thriving economy - clothing and textiles - which survived until the 1940's. The decline in the economy came about because of post-war public intervention in the form of comprehensive redevelopment planning, together with growing competition in world markets and this led to a reduction in the value and relative importance of the Merchant City as regards textile manufacture and distribution. Throughout the 1960's/70's, the area deteriorated - both physically and economically and was characterised by under-used, vacant and derelict buildings, large areas of unused land and an element of redevelopment blight.

Another major contributory factor to the erosion of the Merchant City's economy was the decentralisation of the Fruit Market. In 1969 Glasgow's Fruit Market was relocated from the Merchant City to Blochairn as part of the Glasgow Cross Outline Comprehensive Development (O.C.D.A.) Strategy. Two major aims were proposed in the formation of this strategy:-

1. The increasing emphasis of the area as a commercial centre to the south.
2. The Merchant City north as an area suitable for the expansion of the University of Strathclyde (chartered in 1964).

As a result of these two proposals, the Fruit Market was decentralised to Blochairn because of the high volume of traffic it

generated. The Fruit Market was an extremely busy centre of activity and gave the eastern edge of the Merchant City its vitality and life. It encouraged people to come into that part of town and thus there was a focussing of people and activity around the Albion Street area. There were also the secondary dependent businesses situated around or near the market as well as other warehouses in the area. Thus the area in general was a busy, vibrant albeit noisy part of the city which was prone to congestion during the day. This was the problem. It was very busy and often

The combined effect of these most recent changes was to congested. The commercial activity generated too much traffic increase the level of vacant property, particularly in upper floors. This under-use resulted in a quickening of the processes the horse and cart. As this was one of the main 'entrance ways' into the city centre, the City Council decided that the Fruit Market should be moved to a less central site: not far away in fact, but far enough to relieve the roads of much of the heavy traffic generated. The formal street pattern with relatively narrow roads must indeed have created many problems for the articulated lorries supplying the Fruit Market in the 1960's.

During the 1970's, efforts to encourage new uses into the area These in competition with private car owners and other vans met with resistance and were only marginally successful. Those that were attracted were seen to be taking advantage of reduced property values rather than providing a basis for regeneration. increasing size of refrigerated juggernauts and other heavy goods Compounding the problem was the uncertainty over the proposed east vehicles.

flank of the city's inner ring road, which had the direct effect of With the loss of this key function, the local economy began to decline; a 'domino effect' on related uses caused a substantial

The comprehensive development proposals for the Merchant City number of the secondary dependent businesses to move away or to were also abandoned at this time, not least perhaps because of the cease trading completely. As it turned out, the aims of the difficulty of redeveloping in a Conservation Area. The Merchant

City had been recommended for inclusion in a City Centre O.C.D.A. were never realised. The University of Strathclyde did not cross George Street into the Merchant City on the scale expected. Instead the University moved further north and east towards the Cathedral and the Royal Infirmary. No less significant (for reasons of relocation, general economic decline and growing world competition) has been the gradual erosion of clothing manufacture as a further element in the decline of the Merchant City's economy.

The combined effect of these most recent changes was to increase the level of vacant property, particularly in upper floors. This under-use resulted in a quickening of the processes of deterioration in the physical fabric with the inevitability of substantial demolitions, mainly in the north east sector of the area. This resulted in the gap sites discussed in Chapter 3 and along with acquisitions related to the O.C.D.A., caused a substantial proportion of land and property in the Merchant City to come into public ownership.

During the 1970's, efforts to encourage new uses into the area met with resistance and were only marginally successful. Those that were attracted were seen to be taking advantage of reduced property values rather than providing a basis for regeneration. Compounding the problem was the uncertainty over the proposed east flank of the city's inner ring road, which had the direct effect of sterilising the eastern edge of the area.

The comprehensive development proposals for the Merchant City were also abandoned at this time, not least perhaps because of the difficulty of redeveloping in a Conservation Area. The Merchant

City had been recommended for inclusion in a City Centre Conservation Area by Lord Esher in his 1971 report. If this had occurred, it would have been subject to the regulations and protection accorded since 1971.

By the end of the 1970's, certain features were clear:-

a) Approximately 45% of the land area of the Merchant City was in local authority ownership.

b) Approximately 60% of vacant land and property was in local authority ownership.

c) Large scale commercial renewal (in the manner of the historic pattern) was now unlikely to occur and alternative uses should be considered.

d) The public authorities should consider adopting a promotional attitude towards attracting new uses into the area in order to achieve greater benefit from their land and property resource.

e) In association with this, measures were required to remove threats which were causing development uncertainty.

f) An atmosphere of confidence should be created.

Glasgow District Council(1985).

(1981), under "The Review of Major Road Construction to Serve the City Centre." The first issue concerning road proposals to the east and south of the City Centre was to, "assess the feasibility

II. Renewal and Housing

Not since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has the Merchant City been predominantly used as a residential area. How then did residential use in such a depressed and run-down area emerge as a possibility and realise itself as a future important land use in the Merchant City? A number of events coincidentally occurring led to the emergence of housing as a land use in the area.

a) After intense pressure from conservationists and following studies recommended by Esher, the east flank of the inner ring road was realigned further east of the Merchant City. As part of the Structure Plan process, the east flank was reduced in status from a motorway to a combination of expressway and traffic management. The Secretary of State for Scotland had decided there was no justification for a motorway in this part of the city and recommended instead a trunk road. Because of this and the protests of conservationists, Strathclyde Regional Council produced in 1980, after an extensive period of "consultation and investigation", a preferred route and configuration for this road, now named the Townhead/London Road Link. The major benefit to the Merchant City was that the defined area being by-passed, would remain largely intact and therefore free for any redevelopment initiative which might emerge.

The extent of change became apparent in the Structure Plan

(1981), under "the Review of Major Road Construction to Serve the City Centre." The first issue concerning road proposals to the east and south of the city centre was to, "assess the feasibility of identifying an alternative solution with less damaging environmental effects." This is translated in the Glasgow Central Area Local Plan (Written Statement) 1986 under 'Transportation' into the following:-

"Trans.8: Policy: The Townhead/London Road Link has still to be approved by the Secretary of State for Scotland. Until this is confirmed or rescinded, a land preservation order will be retained. If a road is approved detailed planning permission will be required. It should be fully integrated with the urban fabric including a tunnelled section between the Townhead Intersection and Duke Street. Opportunities for improvement of the environment around High Street, Saltmarket, Glasgow Cross and St. Andrew Square will be fully explored."

b) With the major threat of the proposed road scheme lifted from the High Street area the District Council began a renovation and rehabilitation scheme in their tenement properties in Bell Street and High Street. This demonstrated the commitment of the council to housing in the area and that central city locations could provide acceptable residential environments by modern standards.

Also, by the early 1980's the regional authority was pursuing a new strategy which took the form of targeting 'brownfield' sites for new residential developments as opposed to releasing more 'greenfield' sites. This can be seen when one examines the first policy initiative for residential development:-

properties available for conversion at attractive values with the
"RES 1: Residential development on infill or
redevelopment sites within urban areas (excluding zoned
open space) in preference to peripheral 'greenfield'
sites, shall accord with the regional development
strategy."

Strathclyde Regional Council (1981).

c) The District Council accepted that large scale commercial
renewal was not possible in the Merchant City area due to the
nature of the properties and the condition of the physical
environment. Indeed the Council realised that selling their
properties in the area would be more economical sensible than
retaining them and the huge maintenance problems associated with
them.

d) Following the successful rehabilitation of old housing
stock in Bell Street and High Street, investigations were carried
out into the potential for housing conversion of certain
council-owned properties in the Merchant City. Five buildings for
which no commercial future seemed likely were identified, three of
which are examined further:

- i) the Albion Building in Ingram Street
- ii) 113-123 Candleriggs; and
- iii) two adjoining properties at Blackfriars and
Walls streets.

The clear indication to emerge from these investigations was
that while conversion was feasible physically and environmentally,
the unit cost per flat was likely to prove prohibitive and to
undermine any prospect of private investment. Given this
difficulty, the District Council was prepared to make these

warehouse - which, incidentally, closes the view of Albion Street properties available for conversion at attractive values with the "clear objective and express intention of artificially initiating private investment", Glasgow District Council (1985). At this time the legislation regarding housing grants was altered by central government and as a result the Council was able to offer a 'conversion package'. This was a compilation of all housing grants available for conversion and rehabilitation. The value of this, together with property being made available, was considered to be an attractive 'safety net' sufficiently strong to encourage private interests. In 1981/82 when this 'conversion package' was first offered to would-be developers, it totalled approximately £5,100 per dwelling unit of conversion.

e) The redundant Fruit Market building was rehabilitated and opened in the early 1980's as an indoor retail market.

f) 1980 also saw the opening of the Cafe Gandolfi. This was situated directly opposite the Fruit Market in Albion Street. It capitalised on the relaxation of Scotland's licensing laws to introduce 'civilised' all-day eating and drinking. It has since proved very popular with a clientele ranging from the students at the near-by University of Strathclyde to office workers and pre-theatre and cinema goers.

It was the coincidence of these six occurrences in the early 1980's which led to the innovation of housing in the Merchant City. With the financial incentives now available and the backing of Glasgow District Council, it was left to a small local developer to take the initiative. Windex Ltd. bought the Albion Building

warehouse - which, incidentally, closes the view of Albion Street to the north. As already mentioned the District Council had huge maintenance problems and they had estimated that it would cost approximately £100,000 to bring the building up to modern fire standards before it could be let for commercial purposes. Thus the Albion Building (see Plate 5i.) was willingly sold for development to Windex Ltd.. Planning consent was granted in 1982 to convert the building into 23 flats (one and two bedroom). This represented the first major response to the District Council's initiative to regenerate the Merchant City. The fact that this use was for housing not only reflected the incentives available, but also indicated that there was, "a potential market for living in the Merchant City", Glasgow District Council (1985).



Plate 5i. The Albion Building.

This was a scheme of local economic grants for urban projects. It is a property finance scheme modelled on the American Urban Development

III. Glasgow District Council and the Scottish Development Agency

into deprived areas. The L.E.G.-U.P. scheme had more direct involvement in projects than its American counterpart and

its Up until then, the enthusiasm, feasibility studies and finance had all come from one source - Glasgow District Council. The Council had carried out feasibility studies on a number of buildings, namely:- a) the Albion Building, b) 113-123 Candleriggs, c) Blackfriars and Walls Street properties, d) Cochrane Street property and e) Wilson Street property. Having already granted planning consent to the conversion of the Albion Building, the Council were keen to follow this up. Windex Ltd., encouraged by the success of the Albion Building (the flats had nearly all been sold straight from the drawing board), were also keen to instigate further developments. Thus they undertook a much larger project by purchasing the properties on Blackfriars Street/Walls Street for conversion to 69 flats.

The Blackfriars scheme, although initiated by Glasgow District Council, saw the first direct involvement of the Scottish Development Agency (S.D.A.) in the area. The S.D.A. had carried out some site clearance and landscaping on land owned by the District but this was their first involvement in property development in the area. Although the 'conversion package' of £5,100 was a great incentive to developers, there were still substantial costs above this when conversion schemes occurred. Thus this instigated the pilot L.E.G.-U.P. scheme by the S.D.A..

This was a scheme of local economic grants for urban projects. It is a property finance scheme modelled on the American Urban Development (Action) Grant - U.D.A.G., which leverages private investment into deprived areas. The L.E.G.-U.P. scheme had more direct involvement in projects than its American counterpart and its private investment comes in the form of equity participators and soft loans. It can be used to top-up funds for property development where work of a high standard is needed, as in Conservation Areas.

In this first scheme, the Blackfriars Court development, the total grant was £189,000. This took into account the participants finance already committed and allowed for the developers profit based on market sales. £30,000 was also funded by the Land Engineering Section of the S.D.A. (See Plate 5ii. - Blackfriars Court).

Following this development, a third council-owned block was sold to Calno Ltd. for conversion to 23 flats. This was the property at 113-123 Candleriggs, since renamed 'Merchant Court'. (See Plate 5iii. - Merchant Court).

Other conversions followed quickly at Watson Street (14 flats), the Ralston McKell Building in Wilson Street (37 flats) and the Bow's Building in Bell Street (45 flats). Early involvement from the major building societies and lending institutions was of a very supportive nature. In addition to making the maximum mortgages available in many cases, many of the building societies actually allocated mortgage funds to a development, thus making mortgage facilities accessible to individuals who were not members



Plate 5ii. Blackfriars Court.



Plate 5iii. Merchant Court.

of that society. ~~repreneurial development~~, the guidance notes were
As regards planning consent, the District Council Planning Department had a relatively flexible attitude. Because the initial responses had been so successful, it obviously wanted to encourage more developments in the area. The Development Control section needed to be more definite in its judgement, and stated that if the converted housing did not meet adequate planning standards then it would not be sanctioned. Similarly with parking restrictions which come under the remit of the Regional Authority, which asks for 100% parking and 30% visitor parking in residential schemes. This was not possible in the conversion schemes and therefore the District Council gave assurances that, in conversions, car parking would be provided whenever it was at all possible. This meant that in many cases there is no provision of parking spaces. This could be viewed as a 'planning failure'. However the District Council are adopting a balanced viewpoint and if certain features cannot be incorporated into the developments, then the developers must compensate by achieving significantly higher standards elsewhere in their schemes. (This is referred to in the 'Guidance Notes' - Chapter 3 and Appendix A.)

Perhaps one of the reasons that the project as a whole has been working so far has been a combination of the flexible attitude adopted by the District Council and also the fact that in many instances, they are dealing with the same architects. Small local developers were responsible for undertaking the first developments and thus they were able to work with the Planning Department when discussing their ideas and schemes for development. To avoid any

danger of 'entrepreneurial development', the guidance notes were revised in August 1985 and certain standards have become mandatory (see Chapter 3). These have been revised, based on the experience gained by the District Council in the early 1980's, since developments began. This willingness by Glasgow District Council's Planning Department to almost 'barter' for certain standards in effect achieves more than might be the case if they were more strict in their standards. To show this, one need only look at Bristol's Planning Section. At present, the Bristol dockland area is the site of large scale renewal. In one development, the developer was not complying with the space standards laid down by the Bristol authority. However the developer took it to appeal and won, thus the Bristol authority lost out on aspects of development which they could have 'bartered' for. It is this willingness to work with developers which has resulted in Glasgow District Council achieving what they have so far in the Merchant City. Nowhere is this more so than in the 'Ingram Square' development. 'Ingram Square' is the square of land bounded by Ingram Street, Wilson Street, Brunswick Street and Candleriggs. Initially proposals from the developer, Kantel Ltd., related to only one building, the Houndsditch Warehouse. However Andrew Doolan of Kantel Developments realised the potential that lay in the

coordinated, comprehensive redevelopment and with this in mind, he sought the help of the S.D.A. and together they talked to Glasgow District Council - the owners of the remaining properties that make up the total project. As a result of these meetings in the spring of 1983, Kantel Ltd. were just in time to receive the grant aid package offered by Glasgow District Council before the moratorium placed by the Council on future grants. However more finance was needed. For this reason a single project development company was formed jointly by Kantel, the S.D.A. and the District Council - Yarmadillo Ltd.. Effectively Yarmadillo is a partnership scheme between private and public interests, set up as a company to reflect the different interests of the three partners. The board consists of representatives of Kantel, the S.D.A. and the District Council and the board controls the overall finances of the project.

The Council has conveyed the buildings and land in its ownership to Yarmadillo on deferred payment and is providing grant assistance for conversions. The S.D.A. is providing a stone cleaning grant and like the District Council, is providing interim loans of up to £1,000,000 at any one time as working capital. This is done in conjunction with Henry Ansbacher (a London merchant bank). In addition to this, the S.D.A. is funding the 'shared appreciation' scheme offered to the first buyers of the flats created. The S.D.A. will pay 10% of the purchase price, which will enable people whose incomes barely qualify them for an appropriate loan from a bank or building society to buy into the development. No rent will be charged for the S.D.A.'s 10% ownership, nor will any interest be charged. Nothing will be payable until the

property is re-sold, when 10% of the price achieved will be due to the S.D.A.; hence the term 'shared appreciation scheme'.

V. 'Ingram Square' - Commitment to the Townscape

Of all the developments which have occurred in the Merchant City, 'Ingram Square' is the one which encapsulates all those characteristics which make the Merchant City a unique part of Glasgow's heritage. The development (see Fig.5ii. - 'an artist's impression') will be a mixture of old and new. Fourteen individual buildings make up the square as it is envisaged and they will be predominantly residential in use - a total of 247 flats. However the Merchant City always had a variety of land use activities and this it is hoped will continue. Thus the square incorporates a shopping piazza, an underground car park, landscaped courtyards and some small offices.

Of the thirteen buildings needing attention, work has started on only four so far. At present a cavernous building site between Brunswick Street and Candleriggs is divided across the middle by a vast, vacant, windowless factory. This factory, which has its own central light well, is to remain but it will be transformed into flats - most of them with two and three bedrooms. Windows will be cut in the outer walls and the exterior will be clad in brown rustic-facing brick up to first floor level and with light buff render above. This will create two sizeable courtyards north and south of this central building and a third smaller one (the present light well) in the middle of the building (see Fig.5ii.).

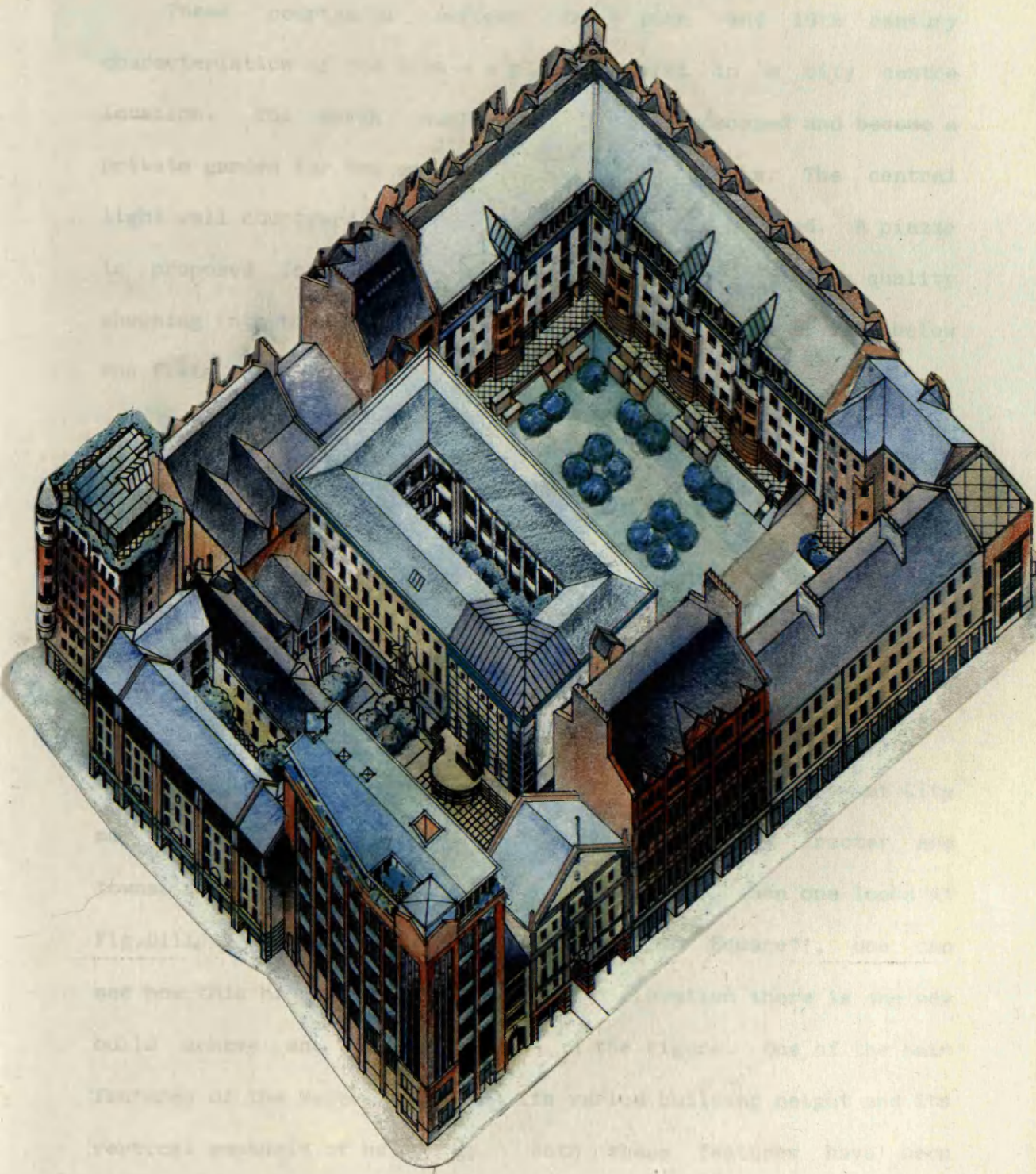


Fig.5ii. Ingram Square - artist's impression.

These courtyards reflect the 18th and 19th century characteristics of the area - a place of quiet in a city centre location. The north courtyard will be landscaped and become a private garden for the use of residents of the flats. The central light well courtyard will also be planted and landscaped. A piazza is proposed for the south courtyard which will bring high quality shopping into the heart of the development (similar to that below the flats in Wilson Court).

Another traditional townscape feature of the area which is being incorporated into the development is that of varied building height and of buildings conforming to a standard line at the heel of the pavement. As already mentioned, there are gap sites in and around the site and it is proposed that these should be infilled in order to retain a closed street pattern on all four sides of the square.

However as stated in Chapter 3, new build in the Merchant City must complement the existing buildings if the character and townscape are to be retained and enhanced. Thus when one looks at Fig.5iii, - 'the Proposed Elevations of "Ingram Square"', one can see how this has been achieved. In each elevation there is one new build scheme and these are marked on the figure. One of the main features of the Merchant City is its varied building height and its vertical emphasis of buildings. Both these features have been satisfactorily incorporated into the development. The new build range from three to five storeys in height and all have a vertical emphasis as regards their exterior design. Also in every case except one, the conforming building line is observed. The

Fig. 5iii. Ingram Square Elevations (partial elevation)

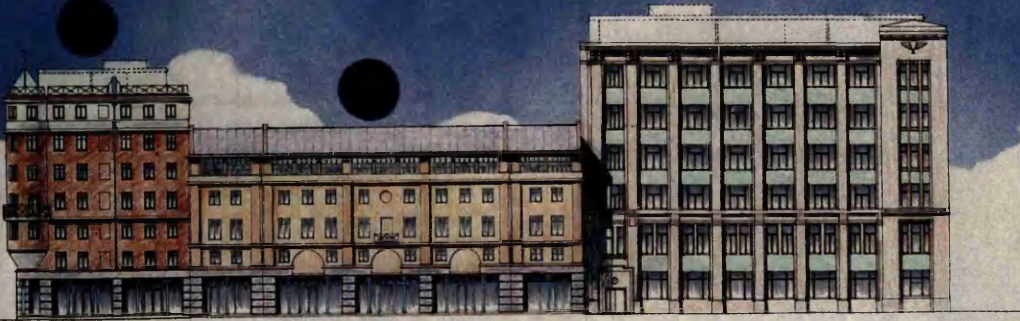
INGRAM SQUARE



ELEVATION TO INGRAM STREET



ELEVATION TO CANDLERIGGS



ELEVATION TO WILSON STREET



ELEVATION TO BRUNSWICK STREET

PLANNING OFFICE
 27 JUL 1904

Fig.5iii. Ingram Square Elevations - artist's impression.

exception is the new build scheme in Wilson Street (see Fig.5ii.). Here the development can be seen to jutt out slightly compared to the two buildings alongside it. However this is so that the courtyard can be incorporated into the development of a size which is comfortable and not claustrophobic. In order to complete this characteristic, it is to be hoped that a variety of building materials will be used in the new build scheme - again, in keeping with the area as a whole.

VI. The Merchant City - the Future and Its Image

As regards other developments in the area, there has been some considerable progress made since the moratorium on all grants was announced by the District Council. From 1982, when the Council first granted planning permission to convert the Albion Building into 23 flats, further planning consent has been granted for nine additional developments involving 561 houses and a retail provision in excess of 2,000m². At the time of writing this dissertation, approximately 390 (70%) of these houses have been completed or are in the process of being developed. In addition, the Council is involved in various stages of negotiation with prospective developers to provide an additional 775 houses, often in association with other complementary uses but on the whole with ground floor retailing. Fig.5iv. shows these proposed developments and also their location within the Merchant City area. A more detailed account of some six of these developments can be found in Appendix B, where information on the developer, dates, funding,

Key:



Schemes approved and complete or under way.



Schemes approved but not yet started.



Detailed schemes under discussion



Potential schemes that have been notified.

(as of April 1986)

In Appendix B

1. Albion Building
2. Blackfriars Court *Building*
3. Bows' Building
4. Merchant's Court
5. Ingram Square
6. Montrose Street
7. Wilson Court

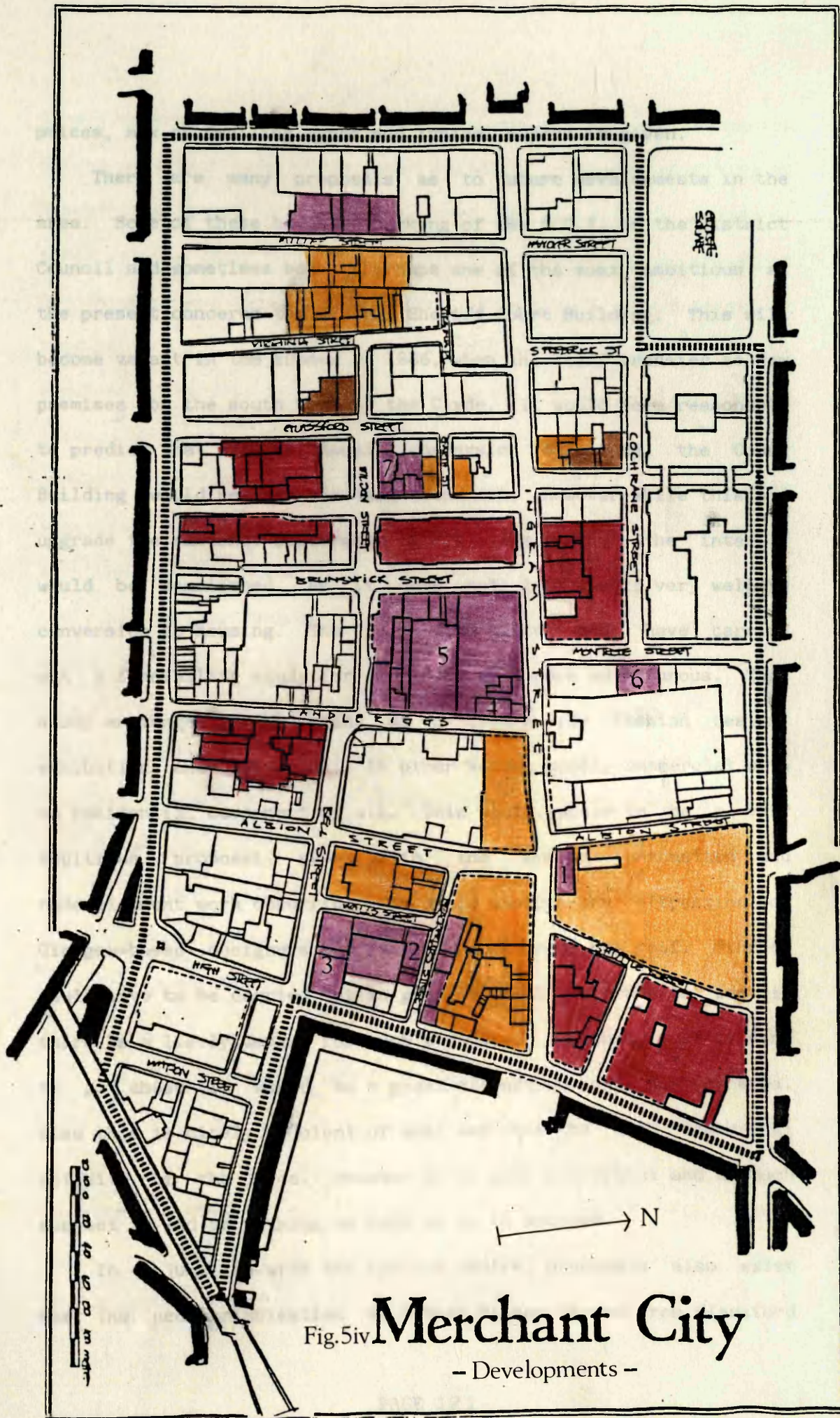


Fig. 5iv **Merchant City**
 - Developments -

prices, mix of dwelling types and typical buyers is given.

There are many proposals as to future developments in the area. Some of these have the backing of the S.D.A. or the District Council and sometimes both. Perhaps one of the most ambitious at the present concerns the Glasgow Sheriff Court Building. This will become vacant in the summer of 1986, when the staff transfer to new premises on the south bank of the Clyde. It would seem reasonable to predict that with all housing conversion occurring, the Court Building would receive the same treatment. However while this may upgrade the external appearance, it is likely that the interior would be demolished, as it does not lend itself very well to conversion to housing. The S.D.A. with Kantel Ltd. have carried out a feasibility study for something much more adventurous. This study envisages the building as a centre for fashion design, exhibition and retailing. In other words, purely commercial with no residential component at all. This would appear to be a very ambitious proposal even with the current enthusiasm and redevelopment work occurring. It would involve the attraction of Glasgow-based designers to come and work under one roof. Studies would have to be carried out in greater detail in order to see if there is a likely demand for such a centre. Undoubtedly if it were to go ahead it would be a great attraction bonus for the area. Also this is nicely redolent of what was once the main commercial activity of the area. However it is only a proposal and as such subject to end as nothing as much as to to succeed.

In conjunction with the fashion centre, proposals also exist for the pedestrianisation of either Wilson Street from Glassford

Street to Brunswick Street or only Hutcheson Street and Brunswick Street on either side of the Court Building. (Pedestrianisation of Blackfriars Street has already occurred, see Plate 5iv.) Either of these options would be of great benefit in "fostering the ambience" of the Merchant City, Cullen (1985). Closing off Wilson Street at this section would in effect create a square in the heart of the Merchant City free from traffic and cars which would allow the new fashion centre to 'spill out' from the Court building on to the street. Planting of trees would also occur if these proposals were finalised and this would add a cheerful burst of green to contrast with the formally built up environment.

As already stated, these are only proposals and what eventually happens to the Court Building remains speculative. This proposal however appears to be quite controversial and is viewed in different ways by the S.D.A. and Glasgow District Council. The S.D.A. see the area as heading in either of three directions:-

- 1) Modest residential area adjacent to city centre.
- 2) Promotion of retailing to the east.
- 3) Encapsulating all that is now the 'Glasgow Style'.

The S.D.A. commissioned a study by D.E.G.W. to see if the opportunity existed for this 'Glasgow Style' option. This study showed that in terms of design and townscape, there are opportunities for the Merchant City to benefit from this. This would undoubtedly be comparable to a 'Covent Garden' type development.



Plate 5iv. Pedestrianisation of Blackfriars Street.
 (showing Babbity Bowster's)

However at Covent Garden there is a large open area for the scheme to work; in the Merchant City it may be too cramped and noisy for such an atmosphere to be promoted. The success of 'Ingram Square' would no doubt have a favourable reception for the Covent Garden image. It appears that Kantel Ltd. are very much in favour of this image for the area however the District Council are hesitant in supporting such a venture. The District Council's main aim is to develop the gap sites - particularly the large Shuttle Street site in the north east (see Fig.5iv.). By achieving this, they regain the original built form of the Merchant City and the area regains its coherence. On the other hand, by backing the Covent Garden image they may lose the chance to redevelop these sites. Also they argue that the city centre location should not be forgotten. The area is extremely busy at present without attracting more people to the area by day and night. It is a city centre location and they see the main streets becoming busier e.g. George Street, Ingram Street, Glassford Street. Thus they view the Agency's adoption of this 'trendy' image as premature - not wrong. This may lead to some conflict. Both bodies are eager to cooperate with the other but this may lead to some antagonism.

One could also compare Glasgow city centre with Paris. In Paris the whole city centre has been conserved and new high rise office development has been located around the periphery of the central area. Thus the centre is still wholly eighteenth and nineteenth century in character. There can be no doubt that this is one of Paris's greatest attractions and charms and it could be

argued that the same would perhaps occur in Glasgow if the city centre area received the same physical treatment but had an injection of cosmopolitan vitality - similar to Paris - in this case in the promotion of the Covent Garden image.

The Region's road traffic proposals should also be outlined at this point. With the completion of the east flank of the ring road then High Street should decrease slightly in traffic volume. However they propose that Glassford Street should increase in importance as a north/south route as should Candleriggs. By anyone's standards for the area this would seem disastrous. Glassford Street is already a busy traffic route therefore the plan may work here but Candleriggs, "is the street which preserves most nearly the character of the heart of the old city" - (Gomme and Walker, 1968) - and as such any increase in traffic would have a ruinous effect on its charming character. Thus this proposal is not seen as a beneficial one in terms of the area's townscape and character.

This then is the situation as it appears today. The residential development appears to have stimulated a degree of new commercial investment in the area. While this has helped to broaden the local commercial base, which has been dominated in the past by home furnishing retailers - especially in the eastern section - this new investment has been largely directed towards providing bar/late night entertainment facilities e.g. Babbity Bowster's (see Plate 5iv.), The Fixx and the Duke of Touraine. There are some new traditional 'High Street'-type retailers along

Trongate, and the Royal and Clydesdale banks have invested in new offices.

A recent factor worthy of consideration is the effect upon the pace and amount of conversion work caused by the moratorium on Improvement Grants announced by the District Council in October 1984. Without grants the viability of some developments will come into question. Perhaps one benefit may be a switch to new build thereby 'filling the gaps'. While the area's revitalisation has gained a creditable momentum since 1982, it would appear that this momentum still depends to a significant extent on public sector assistance. Having said this, the S.D.A. are increasing their responsibility as a funder but are also trying to stimulate private investment in the area, whilst the District Council are withdrawing from direct financial commitments.

It remains to be seen whether sufficient 'momentum' has been created to carry the project, as a whole, through to its final stages. There can be no doubt that the townscape and physical character of the area are not only being retained but also improved and enhanced. With stone cleaning, renovation, conversion and the new build proposals as well as the future proposals concerning the Court Building and the selected pedestrianisation, the Merchant City is becoming a desirable part of the city in which to live and arguably this is, in itself, reason enough to sustain the revitalisation scheme to further the 'vision' and 'image' of the area.

The final chapter attempts to discover if the Merchant City is indeed a desirable place to live. This was investigated using a

questionnaire which attempted to identify public perceptions of the area and the conclusions of this questionnaire will form the basis of the conclusions of the dissertation as a whole.

CHAPTER 6

CHAPTER 6

According to this, perceptions of the environment around us help to create an individual's own particular 'niche' - their 'life-space'. Obviously these perceptions will differ depending on the environment being perceived and with familiarity of that environment. For this reason it was decided that two groups would

As discussed in the previous chapter there are many proposals concerning the future of the Merchant City. All of them require finance in order to become a reality. But what is the justification for the allocation of large sums of public money into the area? The concept grew out of an act of faith based on a vision of what the area might be as seen by Glasgow District Council Department of Planning. The proposals outline how this vision is to proceed but perhaps a more pertinent question is: should this vision be realised? Should the Merchant City receive such a commitment, enthusiasm and finance? Obviously Glasgow District Council Department of Planning think it should and the S.D.A. have also invested heavily in the area. But what of the general public? Is public perception of the area such as to justify furthering this 'vision'?

To try and discover if this was the case, a questionnaire and an associated simple test were designed in order to ascertain public perceptions of the Merchant City. What do these perceptions represent?

Goodey (1971) has approached this subject through a schematic representation. "Perceiving and representing the environment, acting on it, and reviewing the consequences are the processes by which we create our personal city of the mind - our own 'life-space' as it has been called."

The most detailed is Proshansky et al (1970).

indi According to this, perceptions of the environment around us help to create an individual's own particular 'niche' - their 'life-space'. Obviously these perceptions will differ depending on the environment being perceived and with familiarity of that environment. For this reason it was decided that two groups would be asked to participate in the test.

place 1. Residents of the Merchant City - chosen randomly from the that Albion Building, Merchant Court and Wilson Court.

2. Non-residents - chosen randomly from the general public in the and around the city centre.

It was decided, quite arbitrarily to test fifty individuals in each group.

I. Familiarity and Perception the additional information on which their perceptions are based.

When someone lives in an area it is reasonable to assume that they become more familiar with that area than any other. Lowenthal (1961) argues that the individual knows more about his specific micro-area than about the rest of the world. He also suggests that the group view of the world must include some generalisation and stereotyping, whereas the individual image of an individual's micro-area is more complex.

Goodey (1971) has approached this subject through a schematic representation of the perceptual places available to the individual. This may be divided into three areas of informational complexity. The most detailed is the personal space of the

individual which includes all the environmental features and people associated with their behaviour within this micro-area. Secondly there is a median area about which the individual may claim familiarity, although their image is dependent also on secondary sources of information such as the media. Finally the most diffuse area contains images of 'far places'. Information about these places is gained from secondary sources alone and Goodey assumes that images of 'far places' will be vague, hazy and ill-defined.

With regard to this study, the two participating groups could be seen to belong to the first two of Goodey's "areas of informational complexity". Thus the resident group will perceive their personal space i.e. the Merchant City area and the non-residents will perceive an area with which they claim to be familiar but also rely on other sources of information. It is a combination of this familiarity and the additional information on which their perceptions are based.

Having identified the two groups who would be asked to participate and outlining why they were chosen, the next step was designing the questionnaire and the test.

II. Formulation of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire and associated test are illustrated in Appendix C. As can be seen from this, the questionnaire formed the introductory section to the test which was seen as the main emphasis of the study i.e. the perceptions of two groups to the Merchant City. The test will be discussed later in the chapter.

Research however has shown that various groupings of individuals often have similar views or perceptions; Michelson (1975), Burgess (1978). Lynch (1960) states that the probability of a given form evolving a strong image can be stated with greater precision as, "the observers are grouped in more and more homogenous classes of age, sex, culture and occupation..." Thus it is important to collect some basic information on those individuals responding in order to determine if differences exist within a group dependent on age, sex etc.. Thus the questionnaire was designed with this in mind.

The questionnaire and test were posted to randomly selected individuals within the Merchant City and because of this, a letter of introduction was necessary in order to establish contact with them. This contact would become more personal due to the fact that questionnaires were collected in person so that the respondents would have the chance to ask any questions regarding the research and also to obtain additional information or views which they had a desire to express.

The first question asked was whether the individual knew that part of Glasgow called 'the Merchant City'. This was asked with the assumption that residents would know the area so called because the flats were marketed as being part of new developments in Glasgow's Merchant City. As a result, all 'glossy information' produced to advertise the flats described the area as such. It was also an interesting question to ask the non-resident group to find out if they were familiar with the term. It is reasonable to assume that most Glaswegians are familiar with the area but how

development in the area as being part of the G.E.A.R. scheme.

resident group a 100% response rate was achieved by virtue of the fact that the interviews were conducted in person, and if someone did not know the area, then another was asked until fifty questionnaires were completed. However the total number of individuals questioned, before fifty full replies were obtained, was recorded. Argyle Street, Queen Street and George Street. With this in mind, it is interesting to compare these boundaries with those of the 'resident' group and the 'non-resident' group.

a) Negative Responses

i) The Boundary as Perceived by Residents

With the resident group, 4% of the total 50 questionnaires were returned with a negative response to Question 1. This could perhaps imply that they were the second owners of the flat and therefore did not receive any of the original 'glossy' advertising brochures and were unaware of the area's identity.

Within the non-resident group, a very important factor became apparent with regard to Question 1. A total of 152 people had to be asked if they knew the Merchant City (as termed by Glasgow District Council) before 50 positive responses were achieved. Thus 67% of the total asked did not realise that an area they were probably familiar with was called the Merchant City. This becomes even more apparent when one realises that nowhere, in or around the Merchant City area, are there any notices or signs identifying the area as such. Yet in a scheme such as G.E.A.R. (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal) there were numerous boards identifying any work or

development in the area as being part of the G.E.A.R. scheme.

b) The Merchant City Boundary

The 'official' boundary of the Merchant City is defined by Glasgow District Council Planning Department as the area between High Street, Argyle Street, Queen Street and George Street. With this in mind, it is interesting to compare these boundaries with those perceived by the 'resident' group and the 'non-resident' group.

i) The Boundary as Perceived by Residents

Fig.6i. shows the accumulated results of the perceptions of the Merchant City boundary as viewed by residents. The bar chart shows that the most commonly proposed boundary streets are:-

East: High Street --	80%	of	respondents	chose	this
West: Queen Street --	40%	"	"	"	"
North: George Street --	64%	"	"	"	"
South: Argyle Street --	64%	"	"	"	"

It appears that the High Street is seen by most residents as the eastern boundary to the Merchant City. This is not really surprising if one visits the street. The west side is still fairly built up (there are a few gap sites to the north), however the east side was the former site of the College Goods Yard, which has been cleared and as a result the area is just one big gap site

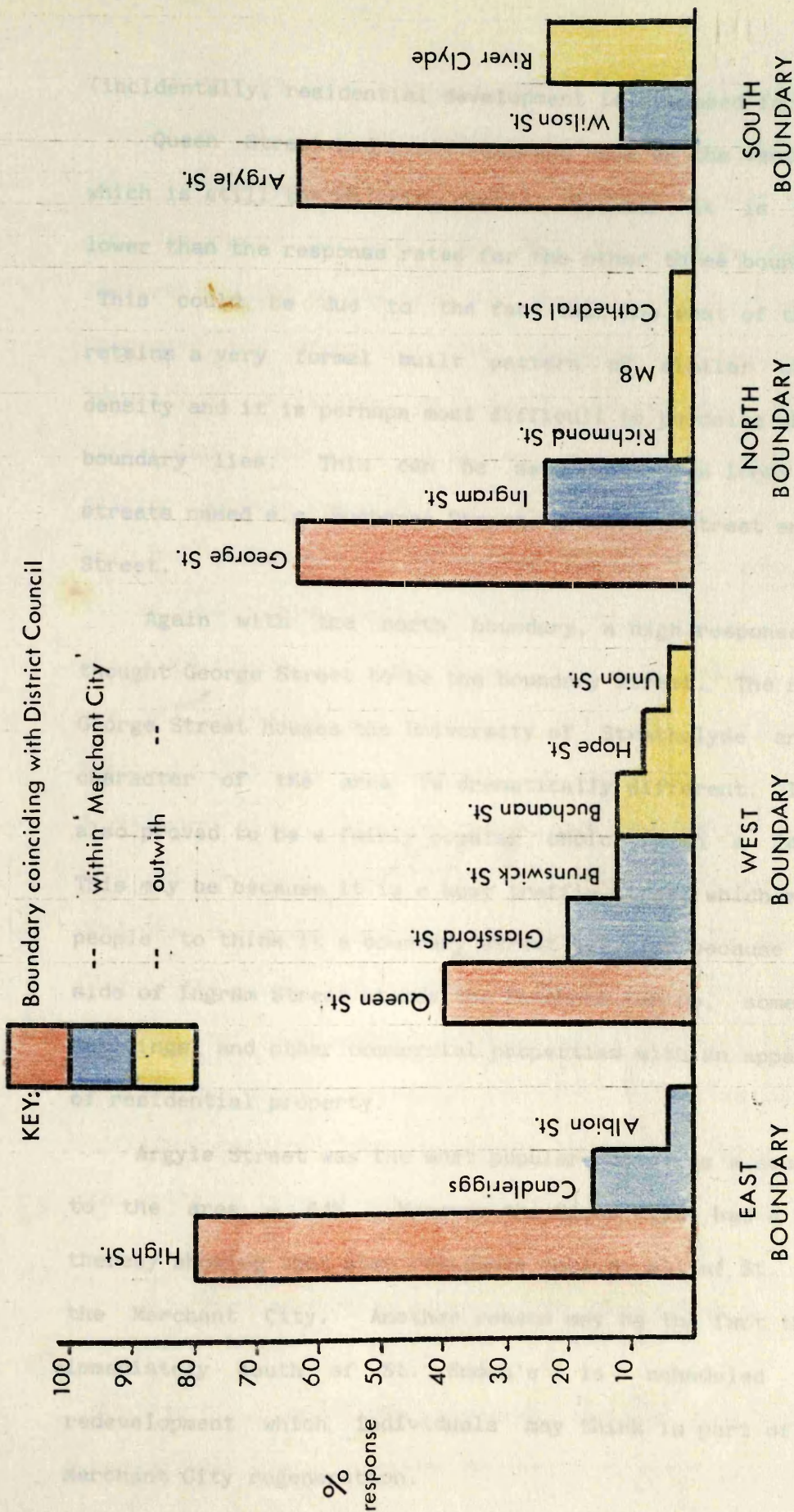


Fig. 6i. The Resident's perceptions of the Merchant City Boundary

(incidentally, residential development is proposed for here).

Queen Street had a 40% response rate as the western boundary, which is still the majority choice. However it is significantly lower than the response rates for the other three boundary streets.

This could be due to the fact that the west of the city still retains a very formal built pattern of similar character and density and it is perhaps most difficult to perceive where the west boundary lies. This can be seen when one looks at the other streets named e.g. Buchanan Street, Glassford Street and Brunswick Street.

Again with the north boundary, a high response rate of 64% thought George Street to be the boundary street. The north side of George Street houses the University of Strathclyde and thus the character of the area is dramatically different. Ingram Street also proved to be a fairly popular choice with a 24% response. This may be because it is a busy traffic street which may lead some people to think it a boundary street and also because on the north side of Ingram Street stands the Ramshorn Centre, some University buildings and other commercial properties with an apparent absence of residential property.

Argyle Street was the most popular choice as a south boundary to the area - 64%. However the River Clyde had a 24% response thereby showing that some residents include all of St. Enoch's in the Merchant City. Another reason may be the fact that the area immediately south of St. Enoch's is scheduled for major redevelopment which individuals may think is part of the general Merchant City regeneration.

It is significant to note that of all the streets perceived as boundaries for the area, the greater majority were either the recognised Glasgow District Council boundary or else streets within the designated Merchant City. This, it could be argued, throws a favourable light on the idea that the area has its own individual character and identity. The townscape in effect can be clearly identified. An interesting point to note was that the only time particular respondents of the same residential location gave some similar response was with regard to the boundary. In this case it was the residents of the Merchant Court, which forms part of the Ingram Square development. If Fig.6i. is referred to, one can see that Candleriggs, Brunswick Street, Ingram Street and Wilson Street are all perceived by certain residents to be the boundary of the Merchant City area. This is in fact the 'Ingram Square' development site. These residents, by virtue of the fact that they live in Merchant Court must be aware of the work currently in progress on the site and this may have led them to perceive these four streets as the boundary of the Merchant City Identity Area. This 'square' development also compromises one of the most complete 'four street block' developments within the area and as such has a definite character and coherence which may have led to this similarity in perceptions.

ii) The Boundary as Perceived by Non-Residents

Fig.6ii. shows the assessed results obtained from the non-resident group. As can be seen from the figure, most of this

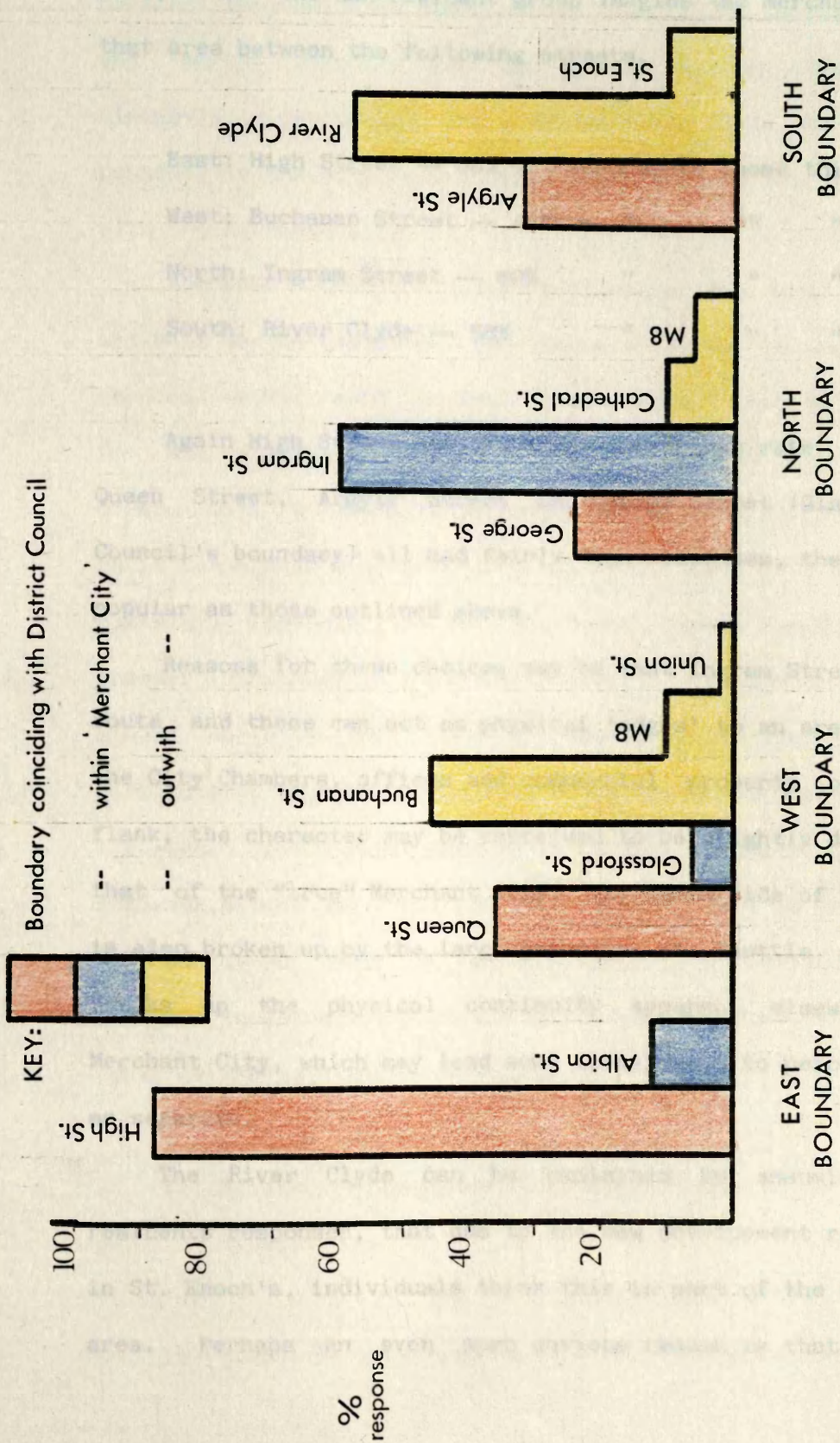


Fig. 6ii. The Non-Resident's perceptions of the Merchant City Boundary

group differed in their perception of the Merchant City boundary. Again, taking the boundary to be that of highest perceived response rate, then the non-resident group imagine the Merchant City to be that area between the following streets.

East: High Street -- 88% of respondents chose this

West: Buchanan Street -- 46% " " "

North: Ingram Street -- 60% " " "

South: River Clyde -- 58% " " "

Again High Street had the highest response rate and although Queen Street, Argyle Street and George Street (Glasgow District Council's boundary) all had fairly high responses, they were not as popular as those outlined above.

Reasons for these choices may be that Ingram Street is a busy route and these can act as physical 'edges' to an area. Also with the City Chambers, offices and commercial property on the north flank, the character may be perceived to be slightly different from that of the "true" Merchant City. The north side of Ingram Street is also broken up by the large gap site at Shuttle Street which breaks up the physical continuity apparent elsewhere in the Merchant City, which may lead some individuals to perceive the area as separate.

The River Clyde can be explained by assuming, as with residents responses, that due to the new development recently begun in St. Enoch's, individuals think this is part of the Merchant City area. Perhaps an even more obvious reason is that the physical

boundary of the River Clyde, which may be perceived to be a more distinct boundary to the Merchant City than Argyle Street. This becomes apparent when one realises that the M8 is listed in 'west' and 'north' boundary sections. The M8, in effect, encloses Glasgow's city centre and with the River Clyde, makes an obvious boundary to the city centre which some perceive to be synonymous with the Merchant City.

Buchanan Street as the most popular choice of a boundary to the west may be explained by the similarity in nature of the physical environment between Queen Street and Buchanan Street. They are only one, very compact, densely built block from each other, with no dramatic variation in building height or materials or in the atmosphere created by the architectural style of the buildings (perhaps the Buchanan Street facade could be said to be grander than those in the Merchant City). Buchanan Street could indeed be a suitable western boundary to the Merchant City - particularly in view of the Princes Square development occurring in the middle of the block made up by Argyle Street, Queen Street, Buchanan Street and Royal Exchange Square. This is in keeping with the courtyard theme of the Merchant City townscape which is so actively promoted. The street is also named after one of Glasgow's early merchants - Andrew Buchanan.

c) Relevant Information Concerning Employment and Personal

Details usually the age one would expect a couple to raise a family. However, in this case the couples who responded had no children. The questions regarding residence, occupation, age and marital

status yielded information which was considered important to the study of the Merchant City, with respect to residents.

Of the non-residents interviewed, 63% worked in the immediate area of the Merchant City but this is of no apparent significance in any particular respect. On the other hand, Fig.6iii. shows the tabulated information collected concerning the 'residents' of the area. As can be seen from the bar chart, most of those who responded are in the '25-39' age group (68%). The 'under-25' and '40-54' age groups are almost evenly represented (12% and 16% respectively).

The most significant factor to emerge was that of marital status. 80% of those who responded were single and only 20% were married. Examining this factor with that of 'age groups' then one can see quite clearly that the intention of the District Council that the area not be promoted for family living is being achieved. To take this further, 'age' was correlated with married respondents and the following obtained:-

Under 25	-- 12%
25-39	-- 68%
40-54	-- 16%
55+	-- 20%

One can see that 80% of married respondents are aged 39 and under, which is usually the age one would expect a couple to raise a family. However, in this case the couples who responded had no children living with them. This could mean either two things:-

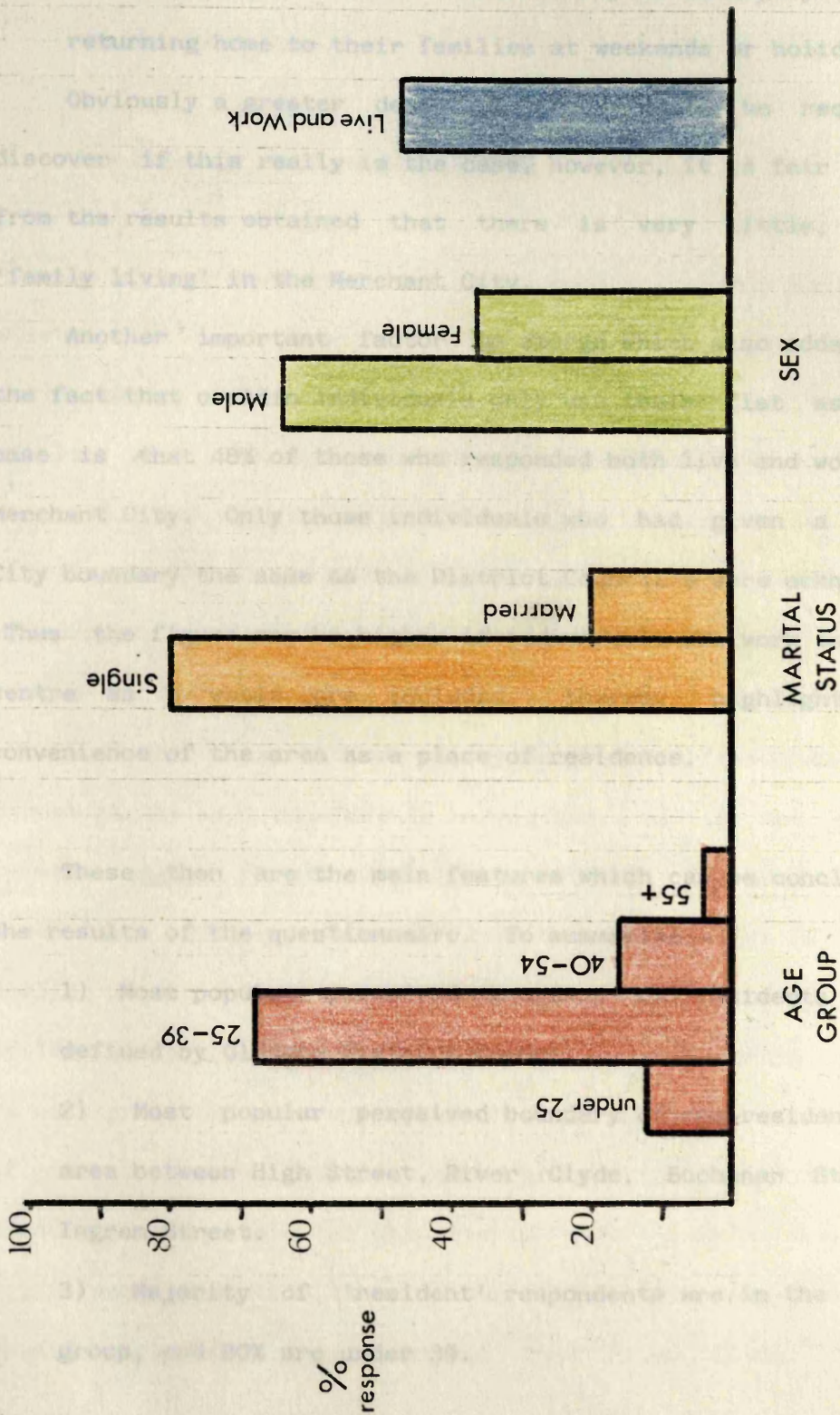


Fig.6.iii. 'Residents' - additional information

1. They had as yet not started a family and were living in the Merchant City for convenience.

2. They already had a family and only used their accommodation in the Merchant City as an employment base - returning home to their families at weekends or holidays.

Obviously a greater depth of study would be required to discover if this really is the case, however, it is fair to assume from the results obtained that there is very little, if any, 'family living' in the Merchant City.

Another important factor to emerge which also adds force to the fact that certain individuals only use their flat as a work base is that 48% of those who responded both live and work in the Merchant City. Only those individuals who had given a Merchant City boundary the same as the District Council's were acknowledged.

Thus the figure may be higher if individuals who work in the city centre as a whole are included, thereby highlighting the convenience of the area as a place of residence.

These then are the main features which can be concluded from the results of the questionnaire. To summarise:-

1) Most popular perceived boundary of residents is that defined by Glasgow District Council.

2) Most popular perceived boundary of non-residents is the area between High Street, River Clyde, Buchanan Street and Ingram Street.

3) Majority of 'resident' respondents are in the 25-39 age group, and 80% are under 39.

4) Majority of 'residents' are single: 80%.

5) There were no families with children among those who responded.

6) Almost 50% of those residents who responded also work in the Merchant City.

The Semantic Differential

As already mentioned, the questionnaire was only half of the survey. It was also desirable to find out if the two groups, residents and non-residents, had differing or similar perceptions of the area. To discover this, the 'Semantic Differential Test' was used. Before discussing this test, it is important to point out the fact that there is a degree of variance in the 'perceived' area of the Merchant City. Most residents identified a boundary similar to that defined by the District Council. Non-residents did not. However the difference between Queen Street and Buchanan Street as the west boundary is negligible, as is the difference between Ingram Street and George Street. The area between the River Clyde and Argyle Street/Trongate is fairly wide but there are similar retail outlets, small outlets, rehabilitation projects, new residential proposals and new late night entertainments: thus there is no significant discrepancy which would alter the results. Also if one considers that in both groups the next most popular boundaries given were the opposite of each group's first choice e.g. 'non-residents' chose River Clyde then Argyle Street and 'residents' chose Argyle Street then River Clyde, then the

difference in boundary is unlikely to be a major factor in any differential perceptions people may have of the Merchant City area.

'slightly' and 'quite a bit'. However in this case, because the

"The semantic differential is the most widely used instrument in the study of subject responses to architectural stimuli," Michelson (1975). In his comprehensive study on the perceptions of selected townscape, Morris (1981) used the semantic differential because "it is easy to administer, can yield data which are quantitative and may be analysed easily and, most importantly, is multi-dimensional." He argues that this is a crucial characteristic since individuals' mental images, "subsume numerous impressions and dimensions of judgement." Morris (1981, pp261).

The technique was formulated by Osgood in the 1950's and he realised that words possess meanings assigned to them through other words. Thus he developed the semantic differential to explore the implications of mental associations generated by words.

Burgess (1978) states that the semantic differential is thought to be preferable for studies which aim to aggregate individual responses, while problems of scale selection may be overcome through prior selection. As the aim of this exercise was to compare the responses of two groups of individuals then the semantic differential was thought to be particularly suitable.

for use in describing architectural environments developed by

The technique consists of a series of bi-polar adjectives (and in this case, short phrases because "it is impossible to convey every nuance in pairs of single words," Morris (1981)), arranged on a five-point scale. Normally a seven-point scale is used and

Burgess (1978) points out that Osgood et al (1957) found that five points irritate respondents unable to distinguish between 'slightly' and 'quite a bit'. However in this case, because the questionnaire and semantic differential were posted to residents, it was felt that there was a greater chance of people responding if everything was kept to a minimum thereby not using up too much of their time. It is also a valid point that some people may find the seven-point scale more irritating than the five-point scale and that they may not feel able to distinguish between 'slightly' and 'quite a bit'. Thus a five-point scale was used.

Each set of scales is applied to each stimulus word or phrase. The subject then considers the applicability of each scale to the concept and checks the appropriate division. The extremes of scale correspond with the closest applicability of the scale to the concept. Employing an uneven number of scale points allows for a mid-point or 'neutral' point to be used when the subject finds neither adjective especially appropriate to the object or concept in question.

Pocock and Hudson (1978) point out that the semantic differential, "requires prior selection of descriptors", thus the semantic differential scales in this exercise were made up with 33 bi-polar adjectives selected primarily from an adjective checklist for use in describing architectural environments developed by Kasmar (1970). Kasmar uses adjectives which are understandable to most laymen and this was considered important in this particular exercise as the general public were the subjects of study. Those adjectives considered appropriate to the Merchant City were chosen

and some other adjectives and phrases added to complement those given by Kasmar.

The method of presentation of this semantic differential test can be seen in Appendix C. Each respondent was asked to look at the list of adjectives and to mark the scale which they felt best described their views of the Merchant City e.g. if they felt it was an appealing area, then they marked the scale nearest to 'appealing' but if they felt it was rather unappealing, then they marked near to 'unappealing'.

The scales were randomised in order to inhibit possible response sets:- the favourable attribute was not always on the left hand side of the page, which, in effect, means that the respondent has to read every line and cannot merely give a cursory glance and mark any scale nearest the left hand side because it is favourable (which residents may have been prone to do and vice-versa for non-residents).

Although the sheet looks crowded and rather daunting, it was felt having just one sheet was better than two. This was done because most people are more likely to be put off attempting such a test if they see it covers a number of pages and is likely to use up quite a bit of time.

Also by virtue of the fact that they do reside there one would expect that their perceptions of the area are based on first-hand knowledge regarding their own experiences and that this is a continual process.

Results of the Semantic Differential

"Perception is an active process of interaction between the perceiver and the environment..."

The reactions of the residents and non-residents were

evaluated in terms of image traces, which as Morris (1981) points out are, "an invaluable descriptive tool in research involving the semantic differential." The mean value of every scale was assessed and the thirty-three scales were then traced diagrammatically to represent the image of the Merchant City visually (see Fig.6iv.). The outline frame within which the image is drawn expresses the range of the image from the left-hand to the right-hand extremes of the scale, in order that the character of each image may be easily judged by eye. Also for clarity of judgement, the various bi-polar adjectives and phrases were altered where possible so that those with a negative inference are on the right-hand. (Compare Fig.6iv. with the semantic differential in Appendix C.) It should also be noted that to increase the ease of comparability between the 'resident' and 'non-resident' groups, the scale was doubled in the final diagrammatical stage.

Different Perceptions?

Again bearing in mind that residents of the Merchant City have a vested interest in the area, then one would expect a more favourable view than that obtained from non-residents. Also by virtue of the fact that they do reside there one would expect that their perceptions of the area are based on first-hand knowledge regarding their own experiences and that this is a continual process.

"Perception is an active process of interaction between the perceiver and the environment..."

Pocock and Hudson (1978).

Fig.6iv. The Merchant City - Perceived Images.

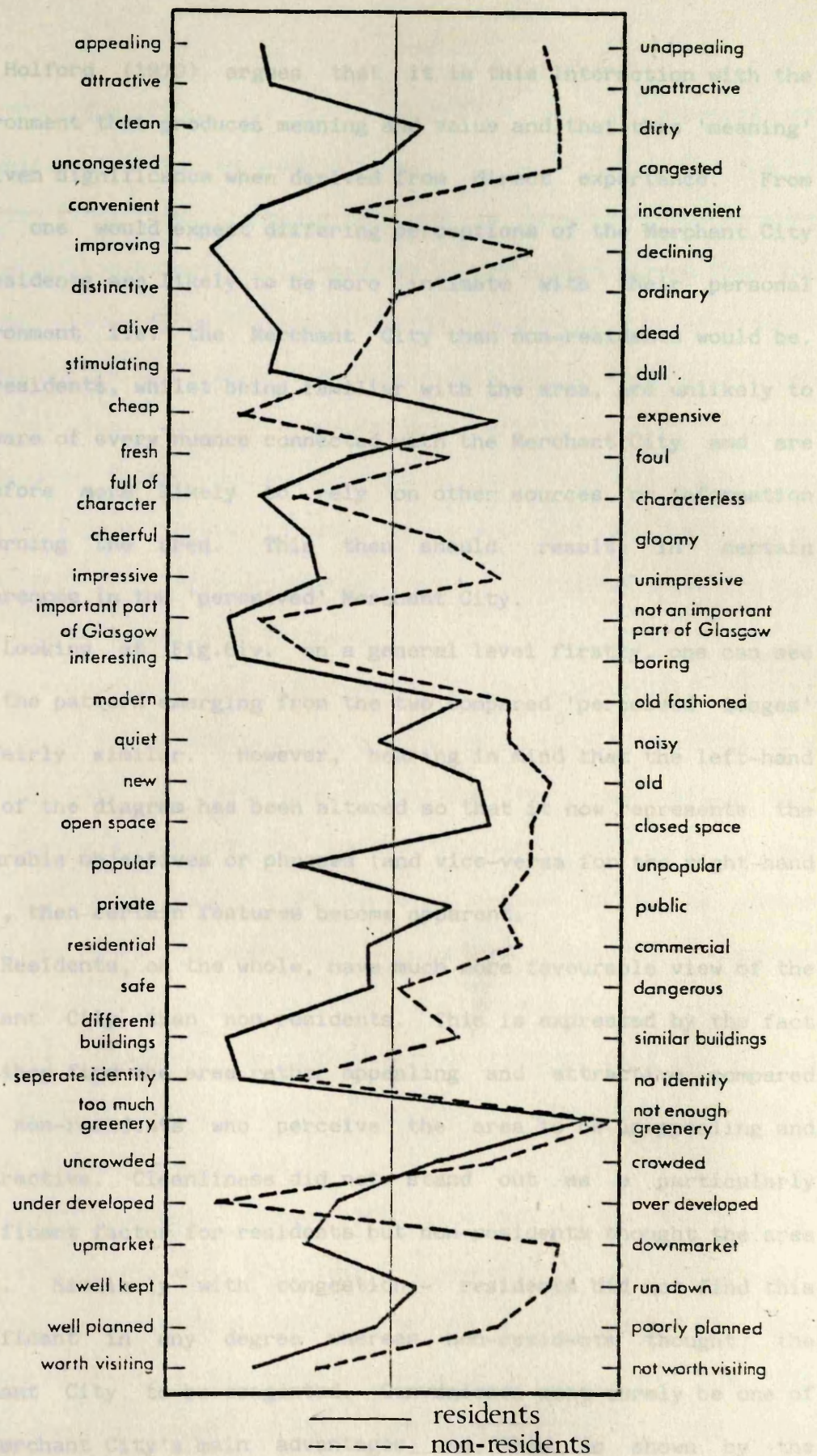


Fig.6iv. The Merchant City - Perceived Images.

Holford (1970) argues that it is this interaction with the environment that produces meaning and value and that this 'meaning' is given significance when derived from direct experience. From this, one would expect differing perceptions of the Merchant City as residents are likely to be more intimate with their personal environment i.e. the Merchant City than non-residents would be. Non-residents, whilst being familiar with the area, are unlikely to be aware of every nuance connected with the Merchant City and are therefore more likely to rely on other sources for information concerning the area. This then should result in certain differences in the 'perceived' Merchant City.

Looking at Fig.6iv. on a general level firstly, one can see that the pattern emerging from the two compared 'perceived images' is fairly similar. However, bearing in mind that the left-hand side of the diagram has been altered so that it now represents the favourable objectives or phrases (and vice-versa for the right-hand side), then certain features become apparent.

Residents, on the whole, have much more favourable view of the Merchant City than non-residents. This is expressed by the fact that they find the area rather appealing and attractive compared with non-residents who perceive the area to be unappealing and unattractive. Cleanliness did not stand out as a particularly significant factor for residents but non-residents thought the area dirty. Similarly with congestion:- residents did not find this significant in any degree whereas non-residents thought the Merchant City to be congested. Convenience must surely be one of the Merchant City's main advantages and this is shown by the

residents who found the area convenient but it appeared an insignificant factor to non-residents.

The first significant divergence in results appears with regard to improvement. All residents who responded agreed that the Merchant City is definitely improving compared with non-residents who still view the area as declining. This may in part be due to the fact that much development is still to be carried out which corresponds to the view of non-residents that the area is under-developed. Residents perceive the area as being distinctive, alive and stimulating, whereas non-residents think these are not particularly significant factors.

Another significant difference in perceptions is with regard to cost. Non-residents, in keeping with their views that the Merchant City is declining, unattractive, unappealing and under-developed, think that the area is cheap. This is given more force when one considers that they also imagine it to be rather unpopular, very run-down and down-market. However, in contrast residents were of the opinion that the Merchant City is rather expensive, which is in keeping with their views that the area is attractive, appealing, improving and they also think it is rather popular and quite up-market.

Again residents thought the area was quite cheerful but non-residents did not. This could be regarded as a factor with associations outwith the physical nature of the Merchant City e.g. to some residents it may be the first home of their own and this leads them to think of the area as quite cheerful, due to the positive associations it has with their own lives.

Residents are quite impressed with the area whilst non-residents seemed to think the area was rather unimpressive. This again corresponds with their views of it being run-down, under-developed etc..

Noise was not a significant factor to the resident group but non-residents imagined it to be quite noisy. This may be due to the fact that most non-residents are in or around the area during the day, when the city centre is bound to be busy. Thus they perceive it to be very noisy. Residents on the other hand may be at work elsewhere in the city during the day returning home at night once the centre has quieted down. Also the flats are usually double-glazed which reduces the noise level significantly.

The 'image pattern' is fairly similar from here, with the exception of popularity. As already mentioned, residents have a more favourable view of the Merchant City. Thus their image line lies farther to the left and see it as being more residential than non-residents who see it as a commercial area. Residents also see it as slightly safer than non-residents.

Another major point to emerge is the fact that both groups gave their most extreme response to the question of greenery. Everyone tested was of the opinion that there was not enough greenery in the area. This may seem obvious due to the city centre location but what of the 'quiet, integral courtyards' which have been discussed? Surely the residents would be aware that there was some greenery around. However it should be noted that of the residents tested only one of the buildings has courtyard proposals i.e. Merchant Court, which forms part of the Ingram Square

development and this courtyard has not yet been formed due to current work on the site. The Albion Building and Wilson Court have no courtyards and thus no 'private' green space. This may account for the view that there was not enough greenery. However, if the proposed pedestrianisation occurs, this would offer a good chance for planting to be initiated in the public spaces created.

Finally, perhaps one of the most significant factors to emerge was the favourable response to the character and identity of the Merchant City. Having argued the fact that the area has its own intrinsic characteristics, townscape and architecture, it is particularly significant that all the respondents were of the opinion that the Merchant City had a character of its own, that it was a very important part of Glasgow and that it had a separate identity. Again, the residents were more positive in their responses to these phrases than non-residents but one would expect this, due to the fact that they live there and the area has, arguably, more meaning and significance to them. The residents also perceived the area to have different buildings whereas the non-residents thought the buildings were slightly similar. This may be due to the fact that, again, they are not as familiar as they think with the area and the variety in architectural style is, to some extent, unnoticed.

However, when the responses of non-residents who worked in the Merchant City were compared with those who did not work there, it could be seen that they had a slightly more positive view of the area. To those non-residents working in the Merchant City, the buildings were slightly more different, the area had its own

character and identity and it appeared to them to be an important part of Glasgow. (However, this view was not as strong as that of the residents.)

Nevertheless, regardless of their perceptions of the area, all who responded thought the area was worth visiting. With the proposed schemes and developments still in the pipeline, surely this opinion will increase as they hopefully come to fruition.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

It would be a relatively simple task to draw the conclusions with regard to questioning the 'success' of the Merchant City. However there is more to the project than its apparent 'success'. Also the conclusions could only be based on what has happened so far. The Merchant City should really be looked at in its entirety. Thus the 'success' must become speculative and any proposals put forward from the dissertation should be judged as speculative, since they are in part based on future proposals for the area.

This dissertation has set out to show how townscape is an important feature in our everyday lives - something that is often taken for granted. As well as this, it has shown how the individual and unique townscape of the Merchant City has benefited from Glasgow District Council's promotion of the area as a desirable place to live. At the same time, however, the difficulties of achieving such a task in an area which is in the heart of a busy city centre have been discussed.

As already mentioned, the District Council and the Scottish Development Agency have slightly differing views as to how the Merchant City should be promoted and the direction the project, as buildings are obviously more attractive. Externally they have been restored, cleaned, repainted and generally improved, making them a whole, should follow. The District Council wish to see people living in the Merchant City but are aware that the area is a part of the city centre and as such they also want to promote commercial activity. Thus the residential nature should not interfere or constrain any developments.

The S.D.A., on the other hand, are of the opinion that the Merchant City should be hailed as a Scottish 'Covent Garden' - residential, with a 'trendy' image; a Parisian left bank in the heart of Glasgow!

It would be a relatively simple task to draw the conclusions with regard to questioning the 'success' of the Merchant City. However there is more to the project than its apparent 'success'. Also the conclusions could only be based on what has happened so far. The Merchant City should really be looked at in its entirety. Thus the 'success' must become speculative and any proposals put forward from the dissertation should be judged as speculative, since they are in part based on future proposals for the area.

There can be no doubt that the developments already completed have been successful (if they are judged in terms of what they set out to do, namely, attract people to the city centre). But does this apparent progress and success have the potential for sustained improvement to continue over a period of time until the Merchant City Project is completed? Hopefully this will come to light in the following conclusions.

As regards the townscape and physical fabric of the Merchant City, there can be no doubt that the work undertaken so far has had very positive effects. Or has it? At first appearance, the buildings are obviously more attractive. Externally they have been restored, cleaned, repainted and generally improved, making them more attractive not only to those people living in them but also to passers-by. However if one takes a more rigid stand then perhaps there is cause for concern. The most obvious example of this is in Ingram Street. Here the Houndsditch Warehouse with its splendid Gothic-style facade has been completely demolished and only the facade retained. Many important architectural details would have been lost in such a case and there are those who may argue that the

interior was vital to the exterior. However in this case, the interior did not lend itself to residential development therefore a choice had to be made. Either the building was left undeveloped; or it was completely demolished; or the facade was retained and new developments built behind. This is not an easy decision to make, yet the District Council had to bear in mind that this was one of the key elements of the Ingram Square development and if it did not go ahead then a great opportunity would be lost. Thus they argued for the retention of the facade and achieved this. In this case, they could not afford to have a rigid viewpoint or they may have lost any chance of redevelopment. This highlights the difficulty in retaining older buildings and trying to re-use them for something they were not built for. It is this flexibility which has led to much of the development in the area occurring. The fact that Glasgow District Council have issued their guidance notes and are willing to discuss proposed schemes must surely relieve many of the worries that some people may have about the effects of development in this area of important townscape and character.

Ultimately it must depend on the individual's point of view. There will be many who see the demolition of some of these interiors as a great loss which cannot be justified.

There is also the difficulty of developing these buildings to accommodate commercial premises which, in some cases, may have to even alter the facade. Again this proves the difficulty of trying to retain the architectural quality and townscape in a city centre area with the associated pressures of development.

Overall the schemes undertaken so far would seem to imply that

the project has been successful but the test is whether this success has the capacity to stimulate further growth and sustain it.

The fact that the Merchant City is an area with its own identity and character is something which should not be ignored. But should this be retained at the expense of economic development?

Again the answer depends on the individual's point of view but Glasgow District Council are trying to reconcile the two.

It is obvious from the results of the Semantic Differential that many people are aware of the area's unique character and identity, as this was one of the most significant factors to emerge from the results of the test. All who responded were of the opinion that the area was an important part of Glasgow and that it was worth visiting.

The threat to this identity lies in the new build schemes. These could be called the 'make or break' of the project as a whole. This can be seen in two instances:-

- 1) If they are architecturally inappropriate to the area then they may threaten the identity and character of the Merchant City to an extent, which will lessen the appeal of the area to visitors.
- 2) By reducing the appeal of the area then people will be reluctant to move in to them, thereby contradicting the aim of the District Council in desiring their being built.

Obviously this is one of the greatest problems facing the local authority. If the gap sites are designed unsuccessfully,

then the character which has been so skilfully retained, will be spoiled. Again, because there have as yet been no new developments on the gap sites, it is difficult to judge whether or not they will compliment the existing structures. One can only look at the 'artist's impressions' (Fig.5iii.) of some of these proposed schemes and judge from them. Given the few restrictions in design that the District Council require one would think that the designers/architects would leave a relatively simple task. However this has not proved to be so. The Wimpey proposals for their site at Ingram Street/Albion Street have been very much out of context for the area i.e. a building stretching from one end of the street round into Albion Street then Blackfriars Street of a continuous height - a monotonous four-storey block development. As Glasgow District Council point out, one of the main features of the area is its varied building height, yet a large developer such as Wimpey fail to observe this in their preliminary proposals.

In schemes such as this one can appreciate the need for guidance and cooperation on behalf of the District Council Planning Department.

It should be pointed out that perhaps any development is better than none at all. If developers are continually rejected, they may decide to abandon proposals for the area altogether. Thus the area does not achieve its full potential. This is where the future image of the Merchant City becomes important. Which direction should it take?

As the S.D.A. point out, it could take two main directions:-

- 1) Become an ordinary residential area within the city centre or;
- 2) Become an exciting, innovative, highly desirable residential/Covent Garden-type centre.

If the second option is to be followed, then the care with which new proposals are given planning consent will have to be considerable. For the second option to work the Merchant City as it exists will have to be complimented by new build of a high quality and design which reflects and adds to the overall townscape.

With regard to the District Council's aim of encouraging people back into the city centre, there can again be no doubt that this has been achieved. All developments so far completed have proved very popular and have sold very quickly, some even, 'off the drawing board'. The Ingram Square development has also proved to be one of the most popular schemes undertaken. There are four penthouse flats incorporated into it and there were approximately forty offers to buy them. All the flats are proving to be immensely popular and this must surely be a healthy sign for the proposed developments yet to be started. Proposals are being discussed which amount to approximately 3,600 dwelling units and it is estimated that by the late 1990's, over 5,000 people will be living in the Merchant City area.

Problems may arise however if all these people do move in to

the area. Perhaps the single biggest problem facing the local authority is car parking.

At present only the Albion Building has provided car parking spaces for the residents of the building. The other developments have provided none. Thus residents must compete with other members of the public for the limited amount of street parking spaces. This would seem to imply that the provision of car parking in what is already at times a highly congested area should become a priority. This had led to the initiative that all new build schemes must provide 100% car parking and conversions must incorporate spaces where possible.

As already mentioned, car parking is already a problem in the area and some residents of Merchant Court mentioned their complaints during interviews. These residents, unlike the Albion Building residents, have no private car park and are therefore obliged to park in the street. However Candleriggs is a busy street and there are meter charges which have to be paid. Surely this is unfair for residents in the area. Also they are not guaranteed a space especially at weekends and during the day when other people working in the area may use all the available spaces.

Perhaps some form of 'free pass' should be distributed to residents thereby allowing them to park in and around the area at no charge. Obviously non-residents could not be banned from using the spaces provided as they would be left without anywhere to park.

The problem is complex and contentious and will need a great deal of skill and foresight to be overcome; if such a problem can be overcome.

There are discussions taking place for the development of a multi-storey car park on the Shuttle Street site as part of the proposed residential scheme. This car park would have two main functions:-

- a) It would act as a buffer to the major noise source of the newspaper offices in Albion Street; and
- b) It would serve as the Merchant City car park.

Obviously if such a scheme went ahead, the problems of residents parking would be greatly reduced. However the design of such a structure would have to be very careful. Negotiations are taking between Glasgow District Council, the National Car Parks and Strathclyde Regional Council. As yet nothing definite has been decided.

From the studies carried out concerning the area, the most significant factors to emerge were that many people were unaware of the Merchant City as a name and people supposedly familiar with the area did not know that there were new developments in process.

This indicates that some form of high profile marketing should be undertaken by the S.D.A., Glasgow District Council and developers involved in the area - or least any form of publicity would be advantageous in making people aware of the Merchant City as a concept.

Although people recognised the area to have a distinct character and identity, they were ignorant of the 'new name' given to the area and of work now in progress. There are many examples of campaigns which publicise certain features and from these the general public derive greater appreciation of what is happening.

To explain this one need only look at the "Glasgow's Miles Better" Campaign. This was geared primarily at the rest of Britain and overseas to attract visitors to Glasgow but also it had the effect of making local people believe that the city was indeed better and a greater appreciation of Glasgow was achieved.

To a lesser extent the highly publicised 'G.E.A.R.' scheme had a similar psychological effect concerning Glasgow's East End. Many people are familiar with the scheme due to the appearance of large signs on all developments occurring in the area. Whilst the G.E.A.R. scheme had obvious physical benefits which could be seen and felt, there must have been the psychological effects whereby people had a greater appreciation for the area and developed an interest in what was going on.

Maybe this is what is needed in the Merchant City. Perhaps the erection of large signs in strategic locations at the boundary areas of the Merchant City would have the effect of not only letting people know what is taking place but also of making them interested to find out what is going on and thereby stimulating them to have a walk around the area. The Garden Festival site has signs up informing people that, "you are now entering the site of the Glasgow Garden Festival". Perhaps signs similar to this could be erected informing the public that they are now entering, "Glasgow's Merchant City."

In this way a greater degree of interest could be stimulated, which may result in the general public having a higher perceived opinion of the area, similar to those people living there. This is reinforced by the fact that many residents who live in Merchant

Court (which forms part of the Ingram Square development) were of the opinion that the boundary of the Merchant City was Candleriggs, Ingram Street, Wilson Street and Brunswick Street - in effect, the boundary of the Ingram Square development. This may be due in part to the fact that there are large signs displayed on certain buildings within the 'square' publicising the fact that this is the Ingram Square development and that, "the Square has come full circle". Bold, colourful signs attract attention and ensure that the public are aware of what is happening and they also generate interest in what is going on. ~~have important social and economic aspe~~

The Merchant City has been the focus of a great deal of investment from Glasgow District Council, the S.D.A. and other developers involved in the area. This investment must be seen in the light of a much larger project entirely - that of "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign. Along with the numerous renovation and refurbishment schemes, the formation of Glasgow Action to attract business headquarters to the city and to help the city realise its full potential, the improvement of Glasgow Zoo, the new Scottish Exhibition Centre and perhaps most importantly the Glasgow National Garden Festival of 1988, Glasgow is set to promote itself as a major world city in the late 1980's. Indeed Alan Devereux, Chairman of the Scottish Tourist Board, only recently proposed that by the mid-1990's, Glasgow would be in the top ten tourist cities of the world - possibly among the top five. Glasgow's image of violence, poverty and depression is changing to one of attraction, investment and optimism.

The Merchant City has an important role to play in this new

"Glasgow package". As already mentioned, it forms the eastern perimeter of the city centre and as such it will be the first impression to many incoming visitors from the north, east and south. It also comprises part of the city centre and as such will be seen by those walking around. It is important therefore that the townscape is enhanced and that the area is seen to be a vibrant, attractive and vital area of the city. The Merchant City is an exciting and ambitious project and if followed through to 'successful' completion, will not only improve the physical fabric of the city but will also have important social and economic aspects vital to Glasgow. An influx of people will add to the economy and provide added income to the city.

Glasgow's Merchant City is a good example of sensitive urban revitalisation - a gentle incremental process that has taken over from the grandiose plans of the 1960's. In this respect, the area is a microcosm of planning theories of the last twenty years.

- i) The application of rigid zoning policies removes the wholesale market.
- ii) This causes decay exacerbated by the blighting effects of road plans.
- iii) Resurgence results paradoxically from a national economic decline which forces the abandonment of Utopian plans.
- iv) This results in the adoption of a small scale, pragmatic approach culminating in the Merchant City revitalisation project.

This last factor is perhaps one of the most crucial. The

An important point to note is that to a great extent the pressures of redevelopment have been transferred to the west of the city centre - the area around Blythswood New Town. Without this it is doubtful whether the Merchant City would have escaped major redevelopment in the 1970's. Thus the area would not have experienced the more natural decline it underwent and the subsequent decay which allowed for the revitalisation scheme to commence.

Obviously to the residents who have committed themselves to the Merchant City the project as a whole must appear successful but the initiative, although it has been underway for some time, still has a considerable way to go before it is completed and it is only then that the area may be judged fully in terms of success. Until then, those agencies and developers involved will have to ensure a number of factors:-

- a) that the initiative to provide housing is still appropriate.
- b) that satisfactory forms of development are being achieved, and that there are suitable new build schemes constructed on the gap sites.
- c) that the demand for residential car parking is resolved; and
- d) that the environmental quality of the Merchant City remains good enough to support a residential population e.g. more greenery.

This last factor is perhaps one of the most crucial. The

District Council initiative to bring people back to the city can only be worthwhile if the people remain. If the environmental quality is not adequate then the scheme could be said to have failed this can be viewed at two levels.

1) The Converted Housing - in one instance the development of 61-81 Miller Street from warehouses to flats has resulted in 'studio flats', which are extremely limited in space. Indeed the District Council has stated that no further flats of this size will be given planning consent.

2) The Mixed Land Use - this has the potential to develop into a serious conflicting issue. Residents will desire the area to be relatively quiet yet if such activities as pubs, discos and other late night activities are to be encouraged then it is unlikely that relative silence will be a feature of the area.

One pub in particular, The Fixx in Miller Street has had to stop offering live music due to complaints about noise levels in the area. However as Greg McLeod, the owner, points out, surely the builders have a responsibility to ensure their flats are well insulated from noise. As Mr. McLeod argues, it is the pubs that are putting life back into the city centre.

Wimpey, who refurbished Canada Court in Miller Street, opposite The Fixx, say that they conformed to the planning and building regulations. In an article by McLean (1986), Charles Horsburgh, Clerk to Glasgow District Council's Licensing Board, states that,

"people moving into the Merchant City will have to be aware it is the city centre and as such it is impossible to have a ban on pubs, discos and other sources of noise."

Needless to say, the problem is receiving top priority treatment. However other publicans are worried by the investigations into noise being carried out by the council's environmental health teams.

Obviously such a problem like this could develop into a major conflict between residents and commercial/leisure property owners. Glasgow District Council would appear to be caught in the middle. They want both the residents and the commercial business. Perhaps the problem lies with the developers and it is up to them to ensure that their developments are adequately sound-proofed e.g. do all flats have double-glazing? After all, it is not only the design and architecture of the Merchant City which is bringing vitality to the area, it is also the other land uses.

One final factor which could also decide whether the scheme could be judged a success concerns investment. Revitalisation of the Merchant City was initially led by public money. Once this had proved 'successful' private finance was keen to enter into the scheme. At the moment the project is progressing under the joint force of public finance and private investment. Surely a more positive sign of success would be to see the Merchant City developing with private finance alone.

If this occurred and the mixed land uses were not in conflict, then surely the Merchant City Project could be said to have succeeded. Only time will tell.

Total 33,750 words.

APPENDIX A

GUIDANCE NOTES FOR SMALL RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CITY CENTRE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the District Council has been actively promoting the City Centre for residential use, both by converting existing buildings and by developing vacant land. This promotion is now producing results and for it to continue, must ensure the highest standard of residential environment possible within the constraints of a City Centre location. Accordingly, proposals to develop housing will be considered within the proper planning of the street block and every endeavour made to rationalise non-conforming uses and remove backland buildings in favour of open space and/or car parking.

GUIDANCE NOTES
SMALL RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE CITY CENTRE

These guidance notes identify which applicants should satisfy. In terms of the quality of life required by City Centre residents, it must be a policy in favour of City Centre housing. Proposals must achieve an acceptable residential environment before being granted planning permission. This does not mean that all standards have to be achieved: some will be mandatory while others will be considered as targets. These are identified in the report and labelled 'M' and 'T' respectively. In instances where preferred standards are not achieved, a compensatingly higher level of provision will be expected in other aspects of the development. The level of discretion applicable to new build schemes when considering targets will, however, be more limited.

It must be remembered that these notes are for guidance only. Applicants should contact the Planning Department, 84 Queen Street, Glasgow, (to discuss their proposals prior to application for planning permission), and the Building Control Department, 249 George Street, Glasgow, (prior to application for a Building Warrant).

URBAN DESIGN

Reference to the physical appearance and character of the urban environment, should be clear in any new build proposals or conversion of existing buildings. Developers should first consider the character and appearance of the surrounding environment before drawing up proposals in order to understand fully the urban design context. Any proposal should consider the following:-

New Build Proposals

1. "Does the proposed development fulfil requirements for the site?"

J H Rae DipTP FRTPI
Director of Planning
84 Queen Street
Glasgow G1 3DP

August 1985

Developers should ensure that the proposed development respects the existing character of the area in terms of building line, massing, rhythm, detailing, materials, etc.

2. "Does the proposed conversion constitute an appropriate alteration to the existing building?"

GUIDANCE NOTES FOR SMALL RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CITY CENTRE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the District Council has been actively promoting the City Centre for residential use, both by converting existing buildings and by developing vacant land. This promotion is now producing results and for it to continue, must ensure the highest standard of residential environment possible within the constraints of a City Centre location. Accordingly, proposals to develop housing will be considered within the proper planning of the street block and every endeavour made to rationalise non-conforming uses and remove backland buildings in favour of open space and/or car parking.

These guidance notes identify standards which applicants should satisfy. In terms of the quality of life required by City Centre residents, it must be recognised that although there is a policy in favour of City Centre housing, individual proposals must achieve an acceptable residential environment before being granted planning permission. This does not mean that all standards have to be achieved; some will be mandatory while others will be considered as targets. These are identified in the report and labelled 'M' and 'T' respectively. In instances where preferred standards are not achieved, a compensatingly higher level of provision will be expected in other aspects of the development. The level of discretion applicable to new build schemes when considering targets will, however, be more limited.

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New Build Proposals

1. "Does the proposed development fulfil the urban design requirements for the site?"

T Developers should ensure that the proposed development respects the existing character of the area in terms of building line, massing, rhythm, detailing, materials, etc.

Proposed Conversions

2. "Does the proposed conversion constitute an appropriate alteration to the existing building?"

M Developers should ensure that any proposed conversion respects the character of the existing building, especially if the building is listed. Where an existing building is not of a high standard, developers will be expected to improve the visual appearance of the original.

NB: In order to expand on the above requirements, site specific advice is available upon request from the Planning Department, 84 Queen Street, Glasgow G1 3DP. More general information is contained within Chapter 7, Image and Environment of the Draft Written Statement of the Central Area Local Plan.

CAR PARKING

For any application, the basic requirements of car parking provision are:-

- (a) it must be off-street and be acceptable in terms of location, allocation and level of provision;
- (b) it should be located as close as possible to the development;
- (c) it should be reconciled with the provision of other amenities;

In addition any proposal should consider the following:-

3. "Is the car parking ratio in the proposed development acceptable?"

T The standard normally required by the Regional Roads Department in the City Centre is one space per household (ie 100%), however a lower standard may be acceptable for new developments, depending on individual circumstances. For conversions to residential use the developer will be obliged to provide the maximum number of spaces that are feasible up to the new-build standard. Visitors will be expected to make their own parking arrangements. The cumulative effect of under provision of parking will necessitate periodic review.

4. "Are any car parking spaces located unacceptably far away from the housing to which they are allocated?"

T Normally this is a very important factor for residents, but may not be a problem in the City Centre where any parking space is at a premium. Consideration should still, however, be given to residents' having good access to their parking space.

5. "If the provision of car parking spaces is below standard how are the spaces allocated to residents?"

M Some form of allocation procedure must be set up by the developer which is capable of continued operation in the future, and is understood by the residents (see Item 36).

6. "Are the car parking areas secure from unauthorised pedestrians and illegal car parking?"

M The security of residents' car parking from vandals, theft, and from illegal parking, (ie commuters avoiding paying parking fees) is important. Car parking areas must, therefore, be made secure, eg lockable bollards, card-operated controls etc. Parking areas could also be controlled either formally or informally through self-policing by residents in order to ensure that unauthorised access is prevented. The title deeds should restrict the use of parking spaces to 'bona fide' residents (see Item 36).

7. "Is the visual amenity of the proposed car parking areas suitable in design terms?"

M Car parks are seldom attractive features and efforts to reduce the impact of large areas of parking by screening and landscaping should be given a high priority. If parking areas are located in basements, this problem does not apply.

8. "Are proposed car parking areas safe for both vehicles and pedestrians?"

M Both vehicles and pedestrians will of necessity require to share these areas, but the extent of vehicle/pedestrian segregation should be balanced against the effects on amenity. Measures should be taken to reduce any possible conflict, and the layout of the parking areas should fulfil the relevant road standards, etc. If car parking is located in a basement, Part K of the Building Regulations will come into force. In conversion proposals, some relaxation may be possible but compensating factors would be required; though in this event there would be an obligation to consult the Fire Authority. The safety of residents from personal attack must also be considered (see Item 36).

ACCESS

The organisation of access suitable for both pedestrians and vehicles is very important to the overall success of a residential development. Circulation areas form a large part of the space around buildings and should contribute favourably to the overall appearance of a development and not detract from it. Proposals should consider the following in association with parts E and Q of the Building Regulations:-

9. "Are vehicle access points suitably located?"

T The location of vehicle access points should observe the surrounding pattern of traffic routes and the proximity of major junctions. They should also be in accordance with relevant road standards, etc and contribute to the appearance of the development.

10. "Is the internal circulation layout suitable?"

T If used, a pedestrian/vehicle courtyard should be designed to suggest pedestrian rather than vehicular use. This can be achieved by reduced road width, different surfacing materials, road design and landscaping to create a courtyard of more intimate character.

11. "Is the entrance to the proposed development visually attractive?"

T The entrance to the development should be well located functionally and, in design terms, be visually prominent and attractive. Bin stores, storage rooms, etc should not be directly visible from the entrance hall.

12. "Is access to the proposed development secure?"

M In order to reduce the possibility of crimes against property and individuals, access to internal and external parts of the development by the public should be strictly controlled (eg through the use of entry phones, hall porters, etc). Vehicular access should be controlled by gates secured against pedestrians. Barriers are not acceptable (see Item 6 and 36).

13. "Is there adequate service access to the proposed development?"

M In the interests of safety and convenience there should be adequate provision for Fire Access, the removal of refuse, etc. The proposed development should, therefore, conform with the relevant standards and requirements.

14. "Is there adequate access for the disabled?"

M In new build proposals, access for the disabled must be provided. In the case of conversions developers must make every reasonable effort to allow easy access for disabled persons.

HOUSING MIX AND DENSITY

Housing developments in the City Centre will be of medium to high density in order to fulfil townscape requirements. This type of housing is attractive to many adult families and single persons because of its central location, visual environment and associated social lifestyle. In providing such accommodation, however, a broad range of house types should be available.

15. "Does the proposed development contain any single-person apartments?"

M If the proposed development does contain single-person apartments it will be a condition of planning permission that living rooms and bedrooms will be structurally separate, with each capable of enjoying natural daylight.

16. "Does the proposed development provide an adequate range of accommodation?"

T The over provision of any one type of dwelling should be avoided. Developers should attempt to provide as wide a range of size and choice as possible.

NOISE

Protection from noise is a necessary aspect of residential design. In the City Centre this has to be reconciled to an extent with other needs and cannot be considered in isolation. Noise pollution can normally be resolved by:-

- (a) reduction at source;
- (b) distance separation;
- (c) controlled aspect; or
- (d) insulation of the structure.

Due to the nature of the City Centre the first two methods are inappropriate, therefore the use of controlled aspect and the provision of noise insulation are the methods considered most useful. Generally the problem of traffic noise need not be of concern unless the development is subject to an external noise level approaching an L10 (18 hour) reading of 68dB(A). L10 (18 hour) is the arithmetic mean of all the hourly L10 levels from 0600 to 2400 hours as defined in the SDD Memo of Advice and Instruction No.1/75 (see also DOE Design Bulletin No.26 'New Housing and Road Traffic Noise'). Any development should consider the following:-

17. "Does the external noise level as experienced on the site exceed an L10 (18 hour) reading of 68dB(A) (or is it likely to in the future)?

M If the answer to this question is yes then some form of noise reduction measures should be taken to ensure that noise levels within the site are acceptable. If controlled aspects designs are used, care should be taken not to produce a 'blank frontage' elevation to the street.

18. "Do the external noise levels as experienced within the proposed dwellings exceed an L10 (18 hour) reading of 40dB(A)?"

M Within the dwellings (with windows closed) the average hourly noise levels in habitable rooms will not exceed 40dB(A). If they do, internal insulation should be carried out to bring the noise levels down to an acceptable standard.

19. "If required have the appropriate noise reduction measures been taken?"

M Apart from the careful selection of house types and the use of controlled aspect, noise reduction can probably best be achieved by sound insulation and especially multiple glazing. If the proposed development exceeds the standards given in items 17 and 18 appropriate measures should be taken. Part H of the Building Regulations makes reference to noise control between houses.

PROSPECT

Residents will prefer to look out over attractive, interesting areas rather than the backs of other buildings, car parks etc. People generally like to watch what is going on, providing there is no immediate loss of privacy. Any development should consider the following:-

20. "Do the habitable rooms in the proposed development have a suitably attractive prospect from at least one window?"

M There should be no habitable rooms which have an unattractive prospect; developers should attempt to provide either a view to the street or to an attractive rear courtyard if it is big enough. Single aspect flats overlooking rear courtyards will be considered only if the courtyard is substantial and properly landscaped.

21. "Do the kitchens in the proposed development have a suitably attractive and interesting prospect?"

M Very often in the conversion of existing properties to residential use developers are forced to locate kitchens away from an external wall and, therefore, from a view out. Where internal kitchens are proved to be necessary they should be designed to be an extension of the living space thus allowing an indirect prospect. Kitchens of this type must be capable of being partitioned from the living room and separately (mechanically) ventilated. (see also Item 24).

PRIVACY

Privacy can be defined as freedom from visual, aural or social intrusion. The use of distance standards to control privacy from passers-by has not only proved to be cumbersome but also ineffectual since so much depends on levels, the position and detailed design of windows, screening, and the source of intrusion. The achievement of privacy is therefore less a matter of spacing for remoteness (this would be an unacceptable solution in the City Centre) than that of design and disposition. Any development should consider the following:-

22. "Have adequate measures been taken to ensure the privacy of any ground floor dwellings?"

M In the City Centre, ground floor privacy is essential and developers should ensure that these dwellings are free from overlooking by pedestrians. This should not, however, be achieved at the cost of prospect which could create a feeling of isolation. The degree of screening for visual privacy should be within the control of the resident.

23. "Have adequate measures been taken to ensure the privacy of all habitable rooms?"

T Freedom from overlooking is an important consideration in all residential developments. All habitable rooms should be visually private, especially bedrooms which should allow for the maximum possible privacy. In support of these aims it is recommended that windows directly opposite each other should be separated by an appropriate gap of approximately 18 metres.

DAYLIGHTING

The latitude, climate and density of development of Glasgow's City Centre are such that it will be difficult always to ensure good daylight on and between the faces of buildings. Developers must aim to achieve the highest possible degree of daylight penetration into dwellings, with due consideration to such other factors as privacy, prospect, townscape, etc. Any development should consider the following:-

24. "Do habitable rooms in the proposed development receive an appropriate level of sunlighting?"

M The City Centre can be considered a special case in terms of daylighting. The handicap of a poor disposition or overshadowing can be overcome by having large enough windows (see Building Regulations) therefore, developers must achieve an acceptable level of daylighting. Failure to do so may result in some buildings being considered unsuitable for residential use. In some conversions, the wide use of internal kitchens which fail to meet the daylighting requirements of the building regulations would be looked on unfavourably.

NB: The daylighting indicators issued by the DOE will be used to assess performance. It is therefore important that developers provide sufficient information regarding the height and location of surrounding buildings. In the case of semi-basements and other local critical situations developers are required to demonstrate adequate daylighting.

REFUSE STORAGE

Refuse collection can either be by:-

(a) house collection; or

(b) bulk collection.

House collection is where refuse is stored in bins, or non-returnable sacks adjacent to each dwelling and is collected by going to each individual house. Bulk collection is where residents either empty their domestic waste containers at a central storage location, or where a chute is provided which empties into a large centrally located communal container specially designed for automatic loading. In Glasgow City Centre the method considered acceptable is the centrally located store of individual non-returnable sacks. Individual collection is considered inappropriate because of the excessive time and manpower involved, and large communal containers are similarly

inappropriate because of the special loading vehicles required. Any development should consider the following in association with part R of the Building Regulations:-

25. "Is there an adequate provision of refuse storage facilities for the proposed development?"

M There should be sufficient storage space to allow each household to store their domestic refuse, (ie approximately 1 square metre) and occasional bulk waste.

26. "Is the refuse storage area(s) suitably located?"

T For ease of collection, all refuse storage areas should be located at ground floor level. They should also be located in such a way that they are not visible from outside the site, and do not adversely affect the amenity of any dwelling. Carrying distances should comply with current Building Control legislation.

27. "Is the refuse storage area(s) suitably ventilated?"

M The appropriate standards for the ventilation of refuse storage areas are contained in the Building Regulations; if adequate natural ventilation is not possible, some form of ducting or mechanical ventilation should be provided.

NB: It is essential that developers contact the Departments of Cleansing and Building Control in order to discuss fully their refuse disposal details prior to any application for planning permission.

OPEN SPACE

A measure of open space appropriate to the specific needs of residents should be provided where possible in proposed developments. The nature of this open space need not be in the form of traditional private or public garden(s), but could be more innovative in terms of its location, character, etc (eg a glazed, landscaped atrium or a roof garden). Small residual open spaces with no obvious function or value should be avoided, not only are they wasteful in terms of land but also lead to maintenance problems.

28. "Is there an adequate provision of open space in the proposed development?"

T The amount of open space considered adequate in any proposed development will vary depending on the specific circumstances (eg type of accommodation, housing mix, new build or conversion, etc). It is important however that the developer gives careful consideration to the need for open space, and has made an appropriate provision where possible.

29. Is the amenity of the open space of a suitable quality?"

M Not only is the amount of open space important but also the quality. In situations where only a small amount of open space can be provided (as is often the case in the City Centre), the need for high quality is even greater. Careful consideration should be given to the character and especially the detailed design of such open spaces.

30. "Is the design and type of landscaping proposed considered suitable?"

M Landscaping can contribute much to the creation of an attractive residential environment, and it requires a high degree of professional skill to create an attractive and practical landscape. The use of plant material should be restricted to species which are sturdy, pleasing and which are best suited to the nature of the local conditions. The use of hard landscaping is also encouraged as it is easier to maintain and is more urban in character (see Item 36).

31. "Have adequate measures been taken to maintain amenity open spaces?"

M The proper and continued maintenance of planted areas contributes towards visual appearance and environmental health. Details of maintenance arrangements should be provided at an early stage.

LAUNDRY AND OTHER COMMUNAL FACILITIES

Within the City Centre it is often very difficult and sometimes visually undesirable, to provide outdoor drying facilities. This has led recently to the comprehensive provision of warm-air tumble driers in new residential developments, and while generally this is considered to be beneficial both to the resident and to the visual environment, developers should consider the following in association with part Q of the Building Regulations:-

32. "Are there adequate emergency drying facilities provided for residents?"

M Tumble driers can often break down or at a later date might not be replaced. Developers should ensure that they provide some form of emergency drying facility which is suitably ventilated. This facility can usually be provided in those areas (eg semi-basements) which might be unsuitable for living accommodation.

33. "Are all warm-air tumble driers suitably vented?"

M Most, if not all, tumble driers require to be vented. Vents should not be visible from the street as they usually form ugly appendages to the frontage of a building. This is especially important in the conversion of existing buildings, which are often listed. In general, all services, gas vents, soil pipes, flues, etc should not detract from the building frontage.

34. "If the development is large enough have communal laundry facilities been considered?"

T Many developments could support communal facilities such as a laundry. Developers should investigate the feasibility of such facilities, which could be operated under a factoring agreement (see Item 36).

35. "Are there adequate ground floor storage facilities?"

T Residents often require secure storage space for bikes, bulky items etc. Developers should ensure that they provide some form of suitable storage facility at ground level.

36. "How is the development to be managed in the future?"
"Have necessary factoring arrangements been considered?"

M A distinctive feature of tenemental and flatted housing in the inner and Central City is the management and maintenance of the property. The conversion of former commercial buildings to housing is no exception. It is essential, if living in the City Centre is to remain attractive in the longer term, that a regular, consistent and competent repair and maintenance programme is carried out by an appointed factoring agency. Early consideration should be given as to how this is to be achieved and what areas of maintenance should be included, details of which should be submitted for the consideration of the Director of Planning.

As a guide the following items should be examined.

- all external and internal common parts
- all amenity spaces including car parking and landscaped open space
- security and access to and from the building
- access for refuse collection
- the general appearance of the building externally and internally eg painting windows or corridors and landings.

Any other relevant aspects mentioned in the report should also be considered within the context of future maintenance. In general developers could consider a maintenance agreement as part of the 'after sales service' and as a means of enhancing the prospects of further City Centre housing developments and maintaining the merits of City Centre living.

An 'in principle' management plan will be expected as part of any planning application.

37. "Does the proposal consider the problems of non-conforming uses?"

M The City Centre is one part of the City where no one land-use predominates - rather it is a mixture of complimentary uses co-existing in high density activity. As a place to live, the City Centre will present an environment which is exciting and stimulating to some people but unattractive to others. While it is vital that the range of housing choice in the City is

supplemented by City Centre housing, there are clearly difficulties involved in establishing this type of area as an attractive place to live.

Every endeavour should be made, therefore, to reduce the adverse impact that many normal City Centre activities may have on a living environment. Careful detailed design will often minimise these problems. In addition land uses that create noise, smells and other forms of disturbance will normally be discouraged as part of any housing development, eg discos, pubs, betting shops, hot food carry out shops etc.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

1. ALBION BUILDINGS

Conversion of warehouse previously occupied by textile factory to flats and one shop unit

Windex Ltd.

June 1982

September 1983

Windex and Glasgow District Council through Improvement Grant package

23 flats

19 one bedroom, 4 two bedroom

£21,000-£23,000. Four flats have subsequently resold at prices ranging from £22,750-£26,000

All 23 sold within 6-9 months of completion

Very wide spectrum from young single and married to middle aged and elderly single and married. Some flats bought by individuals to rent out

24 space car park provided to rear

No open space. One shop unit provided in residual ground floor space has been leased to an interior furnishings retailer.

SITE:

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT:

DEVELOPER:

START DATE:

COMPLETION DATE:

FUNDED BY:

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED:

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

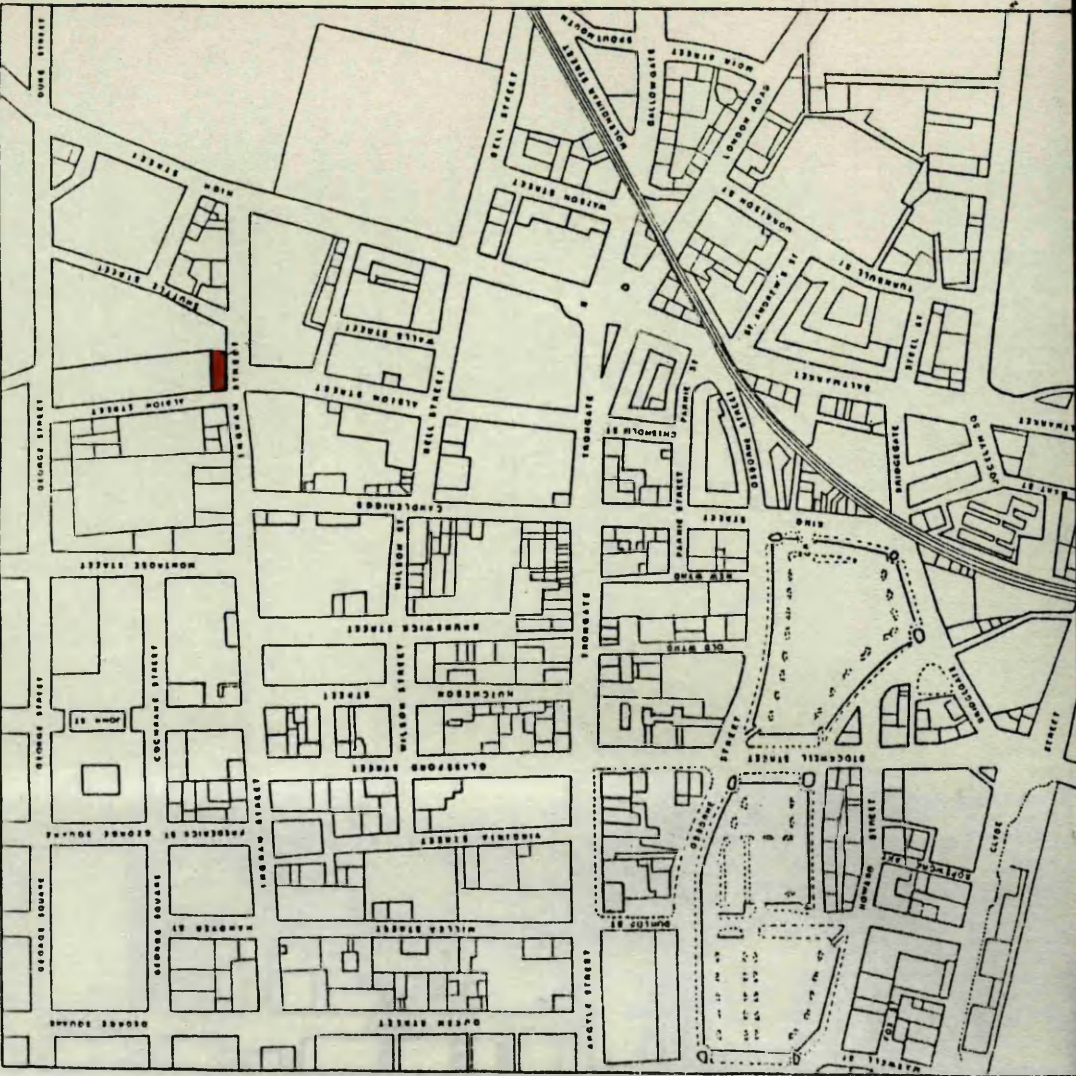
PRICE:

TAKE UP:

TYPICAL BUYER:

CAR PARKING:

MISCELLANEOUS:



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

SITE:

2. BLACKFRIAR'S COURT

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT:

Conversion of various warehouses, workshops and fruitstore and rehabilitation of one tenement block at east end of Blackfriars Street

DEVELOPER:

Windex Ltd.

START DATE:

August 1983

COMPLETION DATE:

Late September 1985

FUNDED BY:

Windex, Glasgow District Council and SDA through LEG-UP (£189,000) and Land Engineering (£30,000)

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED:

69 flats

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

50 one bedroom, 19 two bedroom

PRICE:

£15,000-16,000 for rehabilitated flats, £25,250-30,500 for converted flats

TAKE UP:

59 sold since April

TYPICAL BUYER:

Mainly professional people

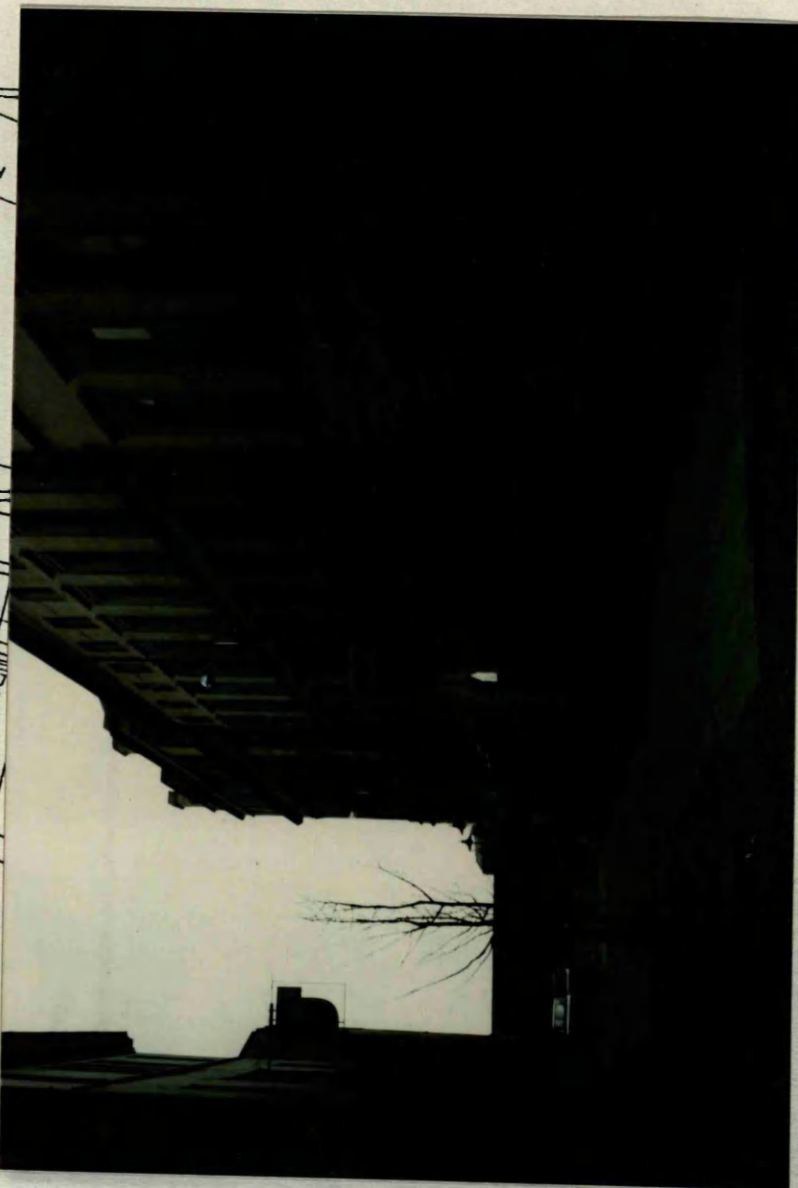
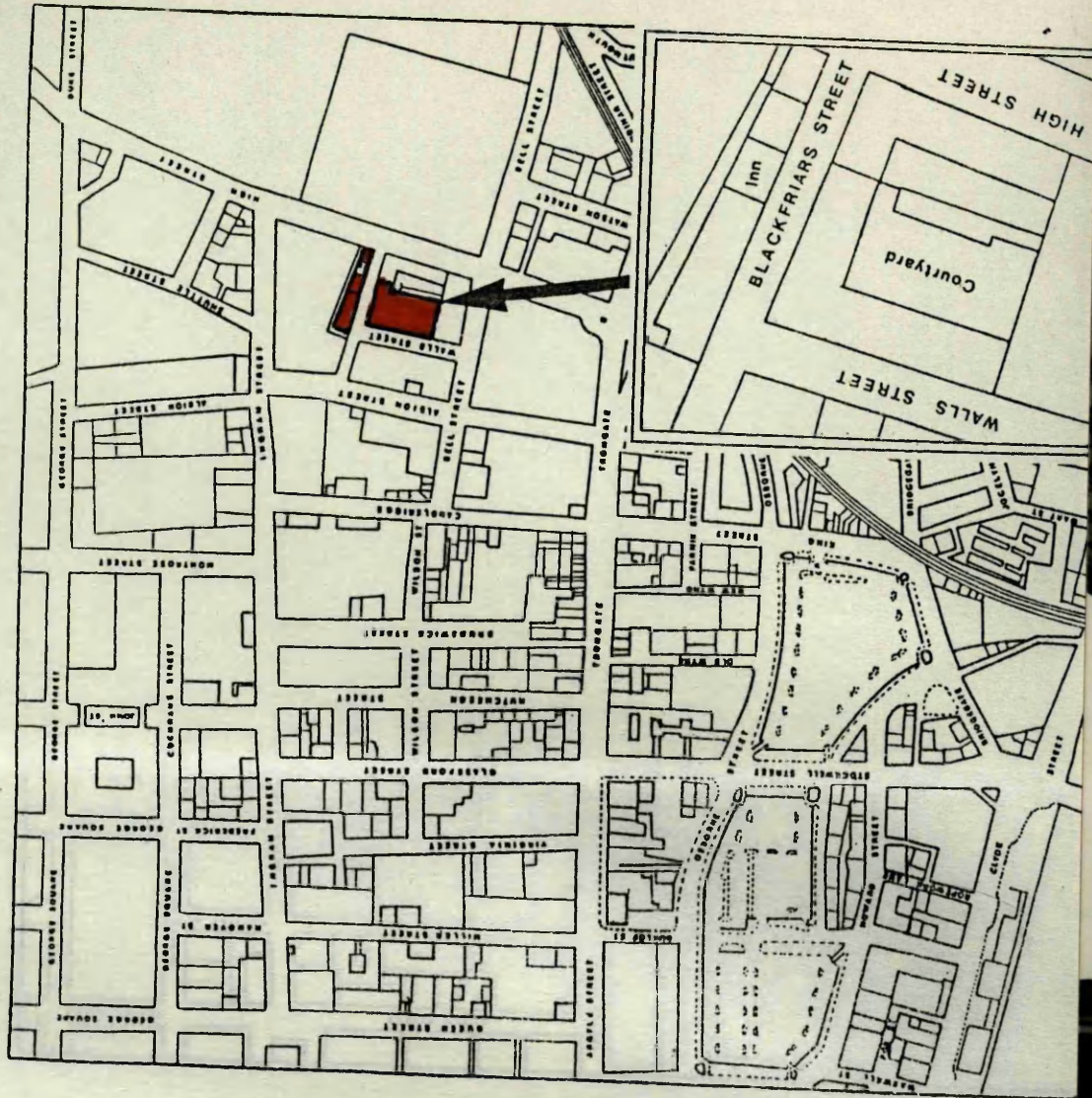
CAR PARKING:

No car parking for flats.

MISCELLANEOUS:

Large landscaped courtyard behind Walls Street building, pedestrianisation of Blackfriars Street, provision of residents' laundry in Walls Street building.

16-18 Blackfriars Street (listed Robert Adam Town House circa 1792) being restored and converted to 'Babbity Bowsers' Inn. This development will comprise a Bar, Function Suite, Dining Area, and 6 bedrooms. Six parking spaces to be provided in adjacent courtyard. Estimated Completion Date September 1985.



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

3. BOW'S BUILDING

Conversion of furniture warehouse to flats

Taylor Woodrow Ltd.

June 1984

September 1985

Taylor Woodrow and Glasgow District Council through Improvement Grant Package

45

3 studio flats, 28 one bedroom, 14 two bedroom

£17,500 for studios, £25,500-26,500 for one bedroom, £31,500-33,000 for two bedroom

37 flats sold since February/March 1985

Mainly young newlyweds with some retired people

No car parking

Courtyard to rear being landscaped jointly with Windex

SITE:

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT:

DEVELOPER:

START DATE:

COMPLETION DATE:

FUNDED BY:

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED:

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

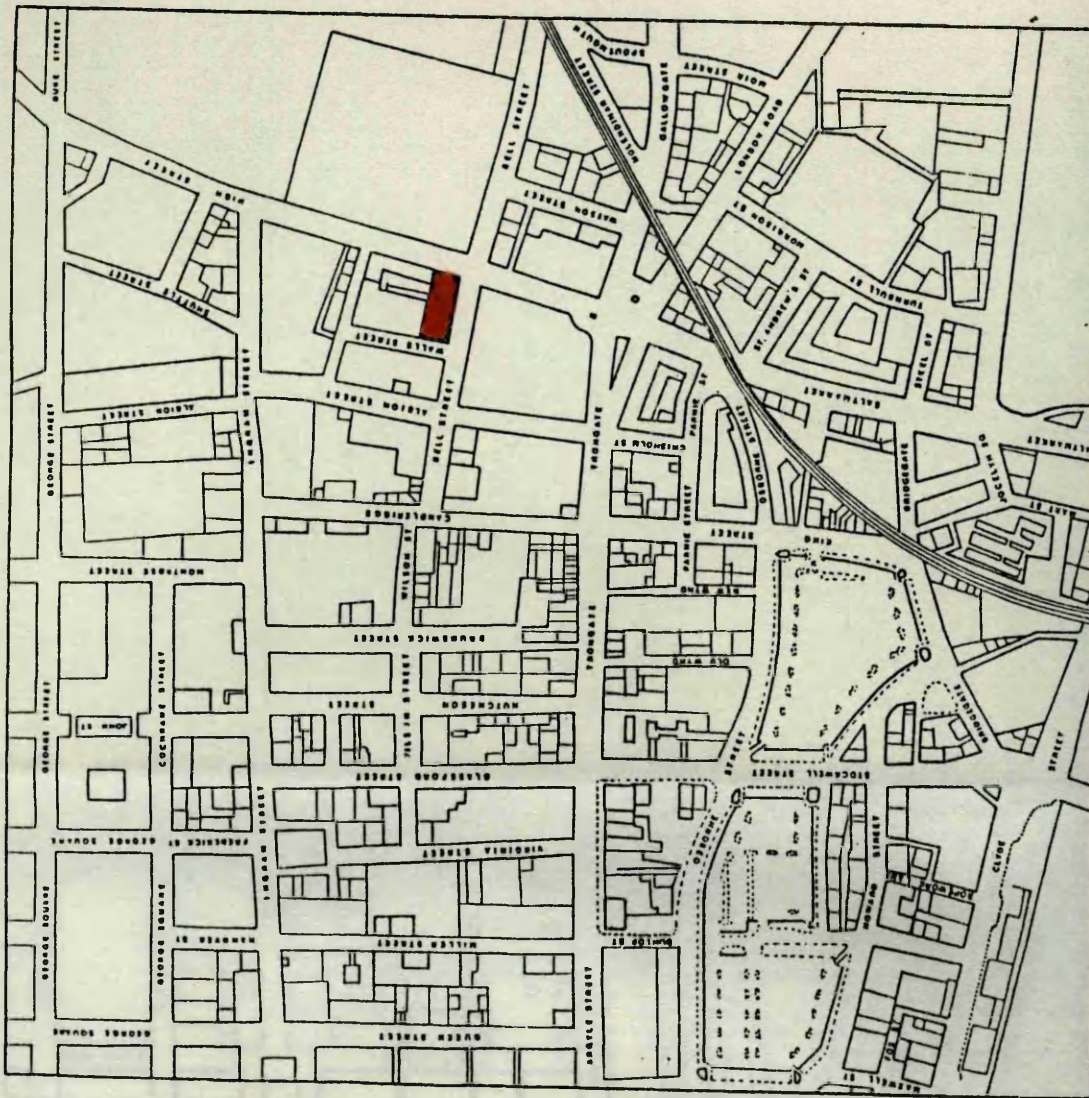
PRICE:

TAKE UP:

TYPICAL BUYER:

CAR PARKING:

MISCELLANEOUS:



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

SITE:

4. MERCHANT COURT, CANDLERIGGS

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT:

Fabric rehabilitation and conversion of warehouse previously containing flatted factories to flats and six retail units

DEVELOPER:

CALNO (NC Construction & Demolition Ltd.)

START DATE:

August 1983

COMPLETION DATE:

April 1984

FUNDED BY:

NC Construction & Demolition Ltd. and Glasgow District Council through Improvement Grant package

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED:

21

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

6 studio flats, 15 one bedroom

PRICE:

£19,000-23,000

TAKE UP:

7 units pre-sold, remainder sold within two months

TYPICAL BUYER:

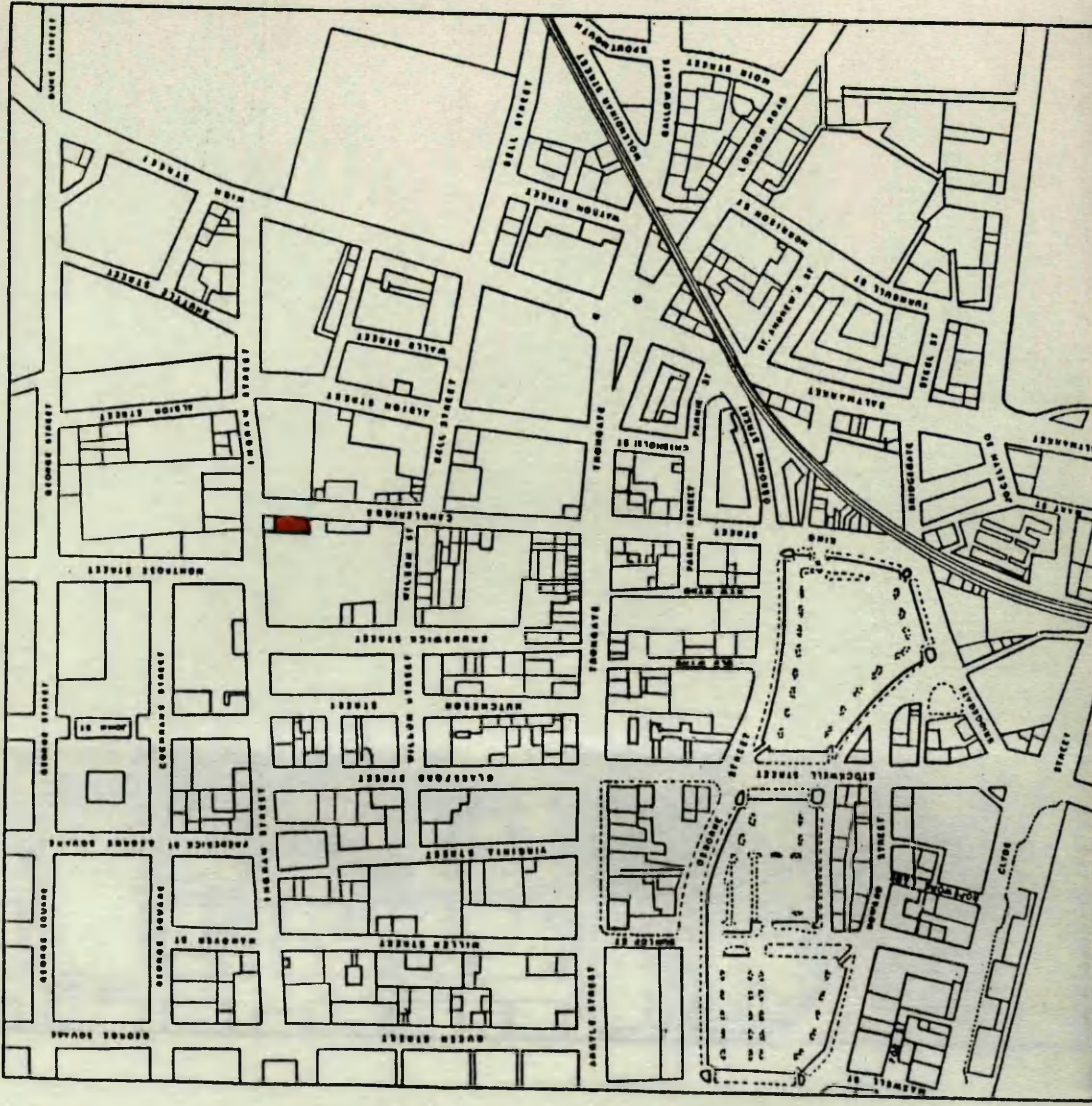
City centre based professional people, some retired people, some investors buying flats to let them out

CAR PARKING:

No car parking

MISCELLANEOUS:

Small courtyard to rear of building. Six retail units on ground floor which are presently being let to daytime retailers



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

5. INGRAM SQUARE

Conversion of two warehouses, new build on five gap sites, new build behind one retained facade (Houndsditch Building) - total of eight blocks phased over two years to provide flats and commercial space

Developer: Kantel Ltd.

Start Date: January 1985

COMPLETION DATE:

Block 1 May 1987, Block 2 May 1987,
Block 3 Nov 1986, Block 4 May 1987,
Block 5 July 1986, Block 6 Oct 1985,
Block 7 Sept 1986, Block 8 Nov 1985

FUNDED BY:

Kantel, Glasgow District Council and SDA (up to £1.65 million LEG-UP and £225,000 from Land Engineering). Total package of £7M

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED: 233

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

Block 1: 20 one bedroom
Block 2: 4 studio flats, 12 one bedroom, 8 two bedroom
Block 3: 15 one bedroom
Block 4: 2 studio, 10 one bedroom, 2 two bedroom
Block 5: 54 one bedroom, 29 two bedroom, 1 three bedroom
Block 6: 3 studio, 7 one bedroom, 2 two bedroom
Block 7: 3 one bedroom, 27 two bedroom
Block 8: 20 one bedroom, 14 two bedroom

PRICE: To be determined

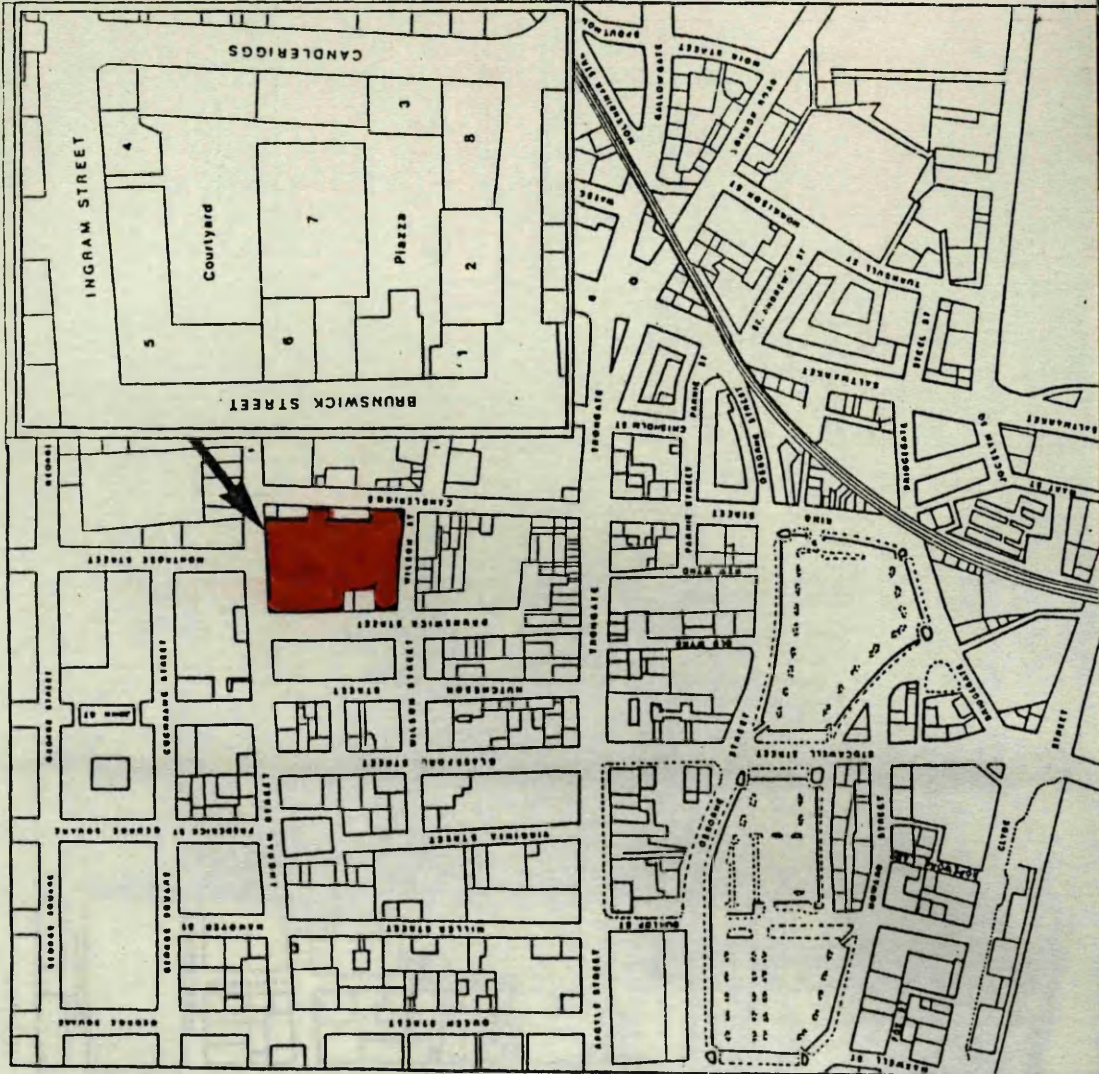
TAKE UP: -

TYPICAL BUYER: -

CAR PARKING: 108 car parking spaces on basement and ground floor of Block 7

MISCELLANEOUS:

Three additional existing blocks to remain in commercial use. 15-20,000 sq ft of new commercial space to be provided on the ground floors of Blocks 1, 2, 3, 4 and possibly 7. One landscaped courtyard to be provided to the rear of Block 5 and one commercial piazza between Blocks 2 and 7



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

SITE: 6. MONTROSE STREET

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT: Conversion of warehouse previously occupied by clothing and millinery factories to flats and commercial units

DEVELOPER: Miller Construction (Northern) Ltd.

START DATE: December 1984

COMPLETION DATE: November/December 1985

FUNDED BY: Miller Construction and the Scottish Development Agency

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED: 30 flats

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES: 5 studio flats, 15 one bedroom 10 two bedroom

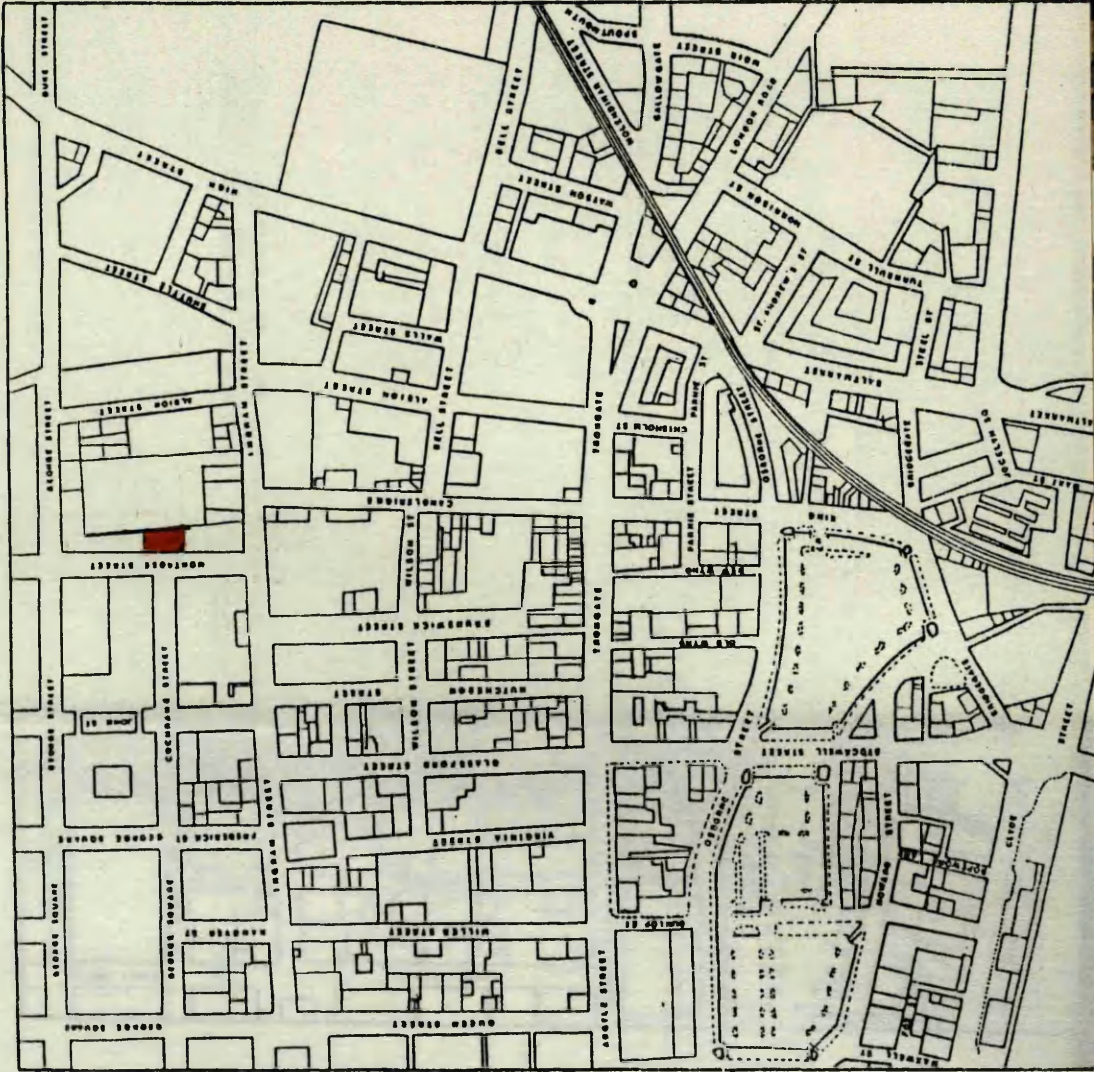
PRICE: £25,000-36,000

TAKE UP: -

TYPICAL BUYER: -

CAR PARKING: No car parking

MISCELLANEOUS: New commercial units on basement and ground floors. No. of units to be decided



RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLETED/UNDERWAY

SITE:

7. WILSON COURT, WILSON STREET/
HUTCHESON STREET

TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT:

Conversion of warehouse previously occupied by textile workshop into flats and commercial units

DEVELOPER:

Sheerhall (Credential Holdings) Ltd.

START DATE:

September 1984

COMPLETION DATE:

Flats completed April 1985. Some landscaping work to rear outstanding

FUNDED BY:

Sheerhall, Historic Buildings Council, Glasgow District Council and SDA (£35,000 from Land Engineering)

NO. OF DWELLINGS CREATED:

37 flats

MIX OF DWELLING TYPES:

4 studio flats, 17 one bedroom, 16 two bedroom (3 with mezzanine)

PRICE:

£25,000-42,000

TAKE UP:

Majority sold within 2-3 weeks of showflat opening

TYPICAL BUYER:

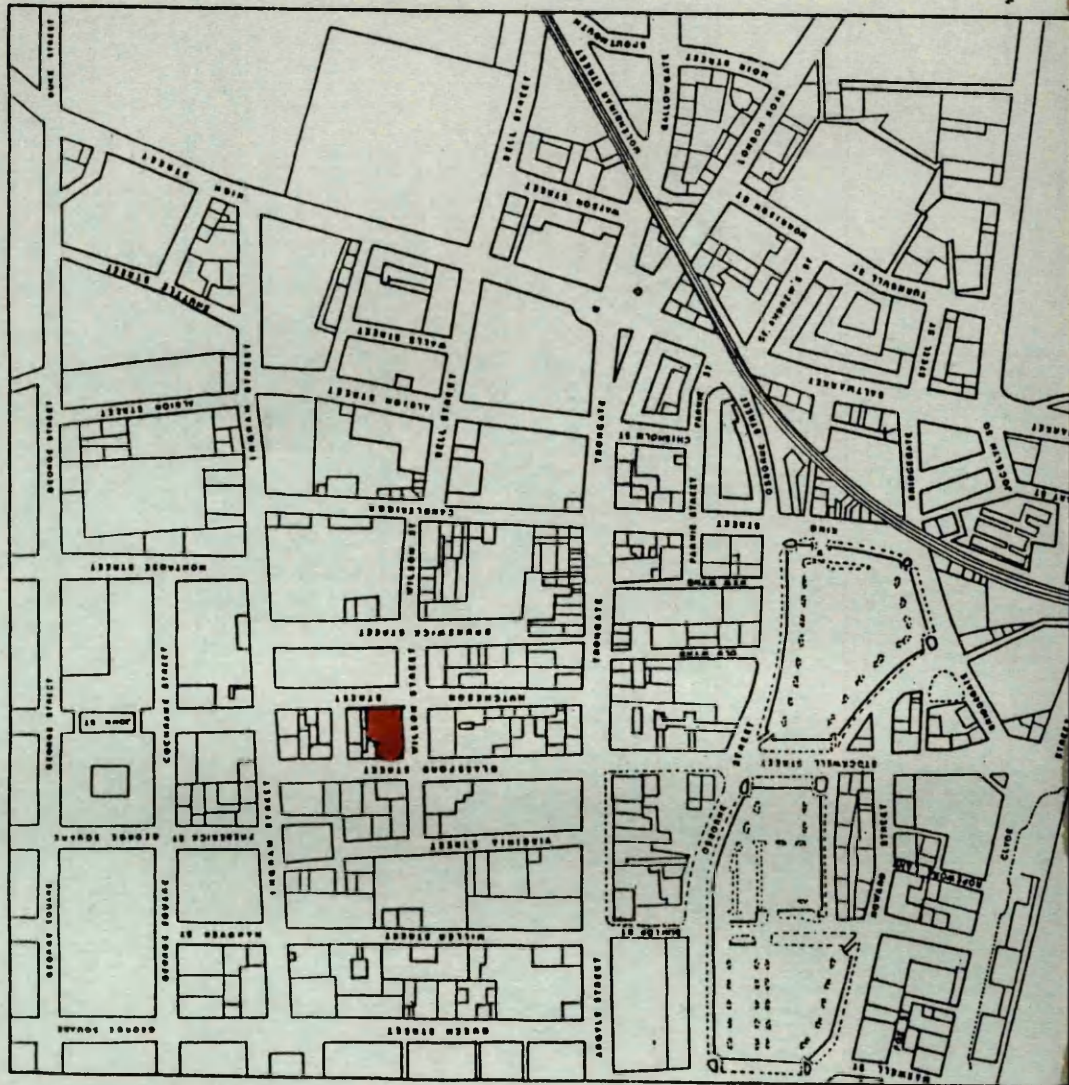
Single professional people and young couples

CAR PARKING:

No car parking

MISCELLANEOUS:

Courtyard to rear. 5 commercial units being let to daytime shops on basement and ground floors



APPENDIX C

DEPARTMENT OF
TOWN & REGIONAL PLANNING

GLASGOW, G12 8RT
Tel. STD 041-339 8855



Student

Extension

7122

22 January 1986

Resident,
"Merchant City",
Glasgow.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a postgraduate student in the Department of Town and Regional Planning in the University of Glasgow. As part of my studies I am researching into the regeneration of the Merchant City.

I am particularly interested in the perception people have of the Merchant City, and should be most grateful if you would be prepared to respond to the attached questionnaire to help me to find out what people think about the area.

Any information you give will be treated as confidential and used only for my research.

I will call to collect the questionnaire and answer any questions you may have on Wednesday 29th and Thursday 30th January between 6 p.m./8 p.m.

Yours faithfully,

Graham Stewart.

Encl.

Please look at the following words/phrases and mark the scale which you feel best describes your THE REGENERATION OF THE MERCHANT CITY

eg. If you think it is an appealing QUESTIONNAIRE mark the scale nearest to "appealing"

appealing _____ unappealing

1. Do you know the part of Glasgow called "The Merchant City"? YES NO

appealing _____ unappealing

1a. IF YES, what streets would you say marked the boundaries of the Merchant City?

Appealing _____ Unappealing _____ Noisy _____ Quiet _____
 i. _____
 Attractive _____ Unattractive _____ Old _____
 ii. _____
 Clean _____ Dirty _____ Open space _____ Closed space _____
 iii. _____
 Congested _____ Uncongested _____ Popular _____ Unpopular _____
 iv. _____
 Convenient _____ Inconvenient _____ Private _____ Public _____

1b. IF NO, close interview.

Distinctive _____ Ordinary _____ Safe _____ Dangerous _____

2. Do you live in the "Merchant City"? YES NO

Dead _____ Alive _____ Shabby buildings _____ Different buildings _____

2a. IF YES, how long have you lived there? _____ months

Expensive _____ Cheap _____ Separate identity _____ No identity _____

3. Do you work in the "Merchant City"? YES NO

Keen _____ Bored _____ Too much greenery _____ Not enough greenery _____

3a. IF YES, how long have you worked in the "Merchant City"? _____ months

Character _____ Uncharacteristic _____ Congested _____ Crowded _____

4. To which age group do you belong? Under-developed _____ Over-developed _____

Impressive _____ Unimpressive _____ Unmarked _____ Downmarked _____

Important part of Glasgow _____ Not important part of Glasgow _____ Well kept _____ Run down _____

Interesting _____ Boring _____ Well planned _____ Poorly planned _____

Modern _____ Old fashioned _____ Worth visiting _____ Not worth visiting _____

5. Are you:- Married Male

Single Female

Thank you for your cooperation

Please look at the following words/phrases and mark the scale which you feel best describes your view of the Merchant City.

eg. If you think it is an appealing area then mark the scale nearest to "appealing"

appealing _ _ _ _ _ unappealing

If you think it is rather unappealing then mark near "unappealing"

appealing _ _ _ _ unappealing

Appealing	_ _ _ _ _	Unappealing	Noisy	_ _ _ _ _	Quiet
Attractive	_ _ _ _ _	Unattractive	New	_ _ _ _ _	Old
Clean	_ _ _ _ _	Dirty	Open space	_ _ _ _ _	Closed space
Congested	_ _ _ _ _	Uncongested	Popular	_ _ _ _ _	Unpopular
Convenient	_ _ _ _ _	Inconvenient	Private	_ _ _ _ _	Public
Declining	_ _ _ _ _	Improving	Residential	_ _ _ _ _	Commercial
Distinctive	_ _ _ _ _	Ordinary	Safe	_ _ _ _ _	Dangerous
Dead	_ _ _ _ _	Alive	Similar Buildings	_ _ _ _ _	Different Buildings
Dull	_ _ _ _ _	Stimulating	Separate Identity	_ _ _ _ _	No Identity
Expensive	_ _ _ _ _	Cheap	Too much Greenery	_ _ _ _ _	Not enough Greenery
Foul	_ _ _ _ _	Fresh	Uncrowded	_ _ _ _ _	Crowded
Full of Character	_ _ _ _ _	Characterless	Under-developed	_ _ _ _ _	Over developed
Gloomy	_ _ _ _ _	Cheerful	Upmarket	_ _ _ _ _	Downmarket
Impressive	_ _ _ _ _	Unimpressive	Well kept	_ _ _ _ _	Run down
Important part of Glasgow	_ _ _ _ _	Not important part of Glasgow	Well Planned	_ _ _ _ _	Poorly Planned
Interesting	_ _ _ _ _	Boring	Worth Visiting	_ _ _ _ _	Not worth Visiting
Modern	_ _ _ _ _	Old fashioned			

Thank you for your co-operation

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