THE CREATIVE CITY

CONNECTING PEOPLE, PLACE, AND IDENTITY
IN GLASGOW AND PORTLAND

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"Cities are Cauldrons of Creativity "

— Richard Florida

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Foreword

by **Professor Brian Evans** &
Professor Rudy Barton

Portland and Glasgow are peripheral north-western cities and both have, by necessity, re-invented themselves through a plurality of initiatives including 'the creative economy'.

When we were offered the opportunity to collaborate together through the Fulbright award to the Urban Laboratory at the Glasgow School of Art's Mackintosh School of Architecture, it seemed opportune to conceive of a programme to test this hypothesis.

We were keen to explore this theme together with a research team of senior students from MSA and investigate a number of questions including: the degree to which indigenous culture, climate and urban form can inform the 'creativity' of the city; parallels between the trajectory of Portland and Glasgow in the late 20th/early 21st centuries; and the degree to which techniques of 'co-creation' can be brought to bear on city futures;

This book documents the results of this work undertaken over the autumn of 2014 and the Spring of 2015. It was presented to a wide ranging audience from inside and beyond the Academy at a 'Transatlantic Sessions' seminar in May 2015 and received a warm and encouraging response from those attending as a valuable and insightful contribution of what constitutes 'the Creative City' and, in particular, how this is manifest in Portland and Glasgow. We hope the work is of interest to the two cities in particular and more widely to those with an interest in what constitutes 'the Creative City'.

WHAT IS THE
CREATIVE
CITY?

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1

CITIES AND CREATIVITY

The notion of a creative city emerged as a prominent urban and economic idea thanks largely to the highly influential text by Richard Florida titled *The Rise of the Creative Class*. In this work, he writes that "human creativity is the ultimate economic resource"[1], and therefore cities that can harness and encourage creativity within their population, industries, and activities will flourish. For Florida, cities are natural "cauldrons of creativity"[2], places where connections between people, innovations, facilities, and opportunities are all present and active.

The idea that a strong sense of creativity can benefit the standing and health of a city as a whole has gained widespread acknowledgment and support since Florida's initial text, with many urban thinkers and local governments promoting a 'creative city' agenda. Maurizio Carta writes that "The Creative City should be capable of mobilizing its diverse component parts in the pursuit of a plan for the future"[3], while Charles Landry writes that "Cities have one crucial resource – their people. Human cleverness, desires, motivations, imagination and creativity of those who live and run cities will determine future success"[4].

The proliferation of the number of Creative City Indexes being used by governments and institutions across the globe is a testament to accepting the idea of the 'creative city'. Jose da Silva Costa, in an article that seeks to survey and appraise various creative city indexes, presents no fewer than 12 results, ranging from the Hong Kong Creativity Index, to the Composite Index of the Creative Economy[5].

The initial discussions of this research project considered what constituted a creative city, and generated a list of attributes that helped initiate an understanding of the topic. Our early thoughts on the Creative City presented it as being innovative, informative, inclusive, receptive, cultural, nurturing, welcoming, influential, entrepreneurial, and inventive. It is necessary to ask what the supposed benefits of a creative city are. For many, the heart of the issue relates to the relationship between a city's economic growth and its levels of creativity. While Florida presents The Creative City in economic terms, his writing also suggests that The Creative City is a method of urban regeneration and redevelopment. He writes that "some cities have sponsored special arts districts and diversity festivals as part of their redevelopment policies in an attempt to jump start lagging economies"[6]. There is an idea here that creativity can be a vital ingredient for stimulating business, activity and urban growth. Landry notes this sense of cross-fertilisation or inspiration, writing that "the creativity of others is often an effective means of sparking creativity in oneself, especially in shared experience"[7]. Here we have an idea that creativity in a city is a source of life and energy that can enliven a place, and as such, enliven a place economically.

The Creative City should not, however, be simply seen just in terms of economics. It has been argued that it is an important factor in a place to have a strong sense of community and identity. The prominent urban planner Edward Bacon writes that "true involvement comes when the community and

the designer turn the process of planning and building a city into a work of art"[8], while Landry asserts that "Innovative places ride the paradox of being intensely local and intensely global"[9]. These two thoughts suggest that The Creative City is about participation and collaboration, where the population possess a sense of empowerment and belonging resulting from this involvement, which allows the city to reflect the characteristics and personality of its people. Florida writes that "all human beings are creative, and all are potentially members of the Creative Class"[10], and as such if a city allows this creativity to flourish, a city can gain a strong sense of individuality and identity in a "flourishing of human potential"[11].

The relationship between people and place is central to The Creative City, with The Creative City being a place that, through its diverse and vibrant activities and opportunities, is extremely livable and welcoming. Jacobs writes that, "cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when they are created by everybody"[12]. There is a sense in which The Creative City expresses its people, "Cities are not structure, cities are people"[13]. Indeed, in these terms, The Creative City is closely linked to the livability of a place, and as such should be fostered and encouraged.

What exactly is it that constitutes a creative city? The subject of creativity is complex, and indeed elicits a wide range of descriptions. Creativity is considered by some as an attitude; a Glaswegian musician muses that it is something to do with "being open to new experience, challenging yourself, and taking inspiration from the wider world"[14], while others see it as about new possibilities and options; Picasso asserts that; "Others have seen what is and asked why. I have seen what could be and asked why not"[15]. Some have argued that creativity is about not just the new, but a perspective and attitude towards the old; Landry writes that "being creative does not mean that someone is only concerned with the new. Instead there is a willingness to review and reassess all situations"[16]. From new creation, to problem solving, to imagination, to innovation and adaptation, creativity is a broad topic, encompassing many different disciplines and activities.

What are the attributes that make up a creative city? The subject, as we have seen, has spawned a wide range of indexes and literature concerned with measuring what could be called 'creative attributes'. For Florida, there are three categories, Talent, Technology, and Tolerance[17], which can be examined and understood as reflecting the creativity of a city. While Florida's categories are broad, other indexes seek to narrow down and specify more precisely; Creative Community Index focuses on Outcomes, Participation, Assets and Levers[18], as indicators of a city's creativity. Outcomes are seen as events and activities that a city presents and possesses in its calendar, participation is seen as the level of involvement of the local population in the cultural activities of the city, assets refer to the mix of cultural assets present in the community, ranging from venues to facilities and public spaces, while levers refers to the relationship between institutions, the state and the cultural activities of a place, such as polices, programmes, and education. Elsewhere, the Composite Index of the Creative Economy asserts that there are three key dimensions to The Creative City, which are innovation, entrepreneurship, and openness[19]. It is clear that the field of creative city analysis is large and diverse, with no

definite consensus as to what constitutes a creative city. This is clear when we consider that Landry also posits ten 'domains' for ascertaining creativity within a place, ranging from Strategic Leadership, to Place and Place Making, to Talent Development and the Learning Landscape[20]. Such attempts to measure The Creative City have resulted in a large collection of cities that frequently are deemed to be 'creative cities'. Examples of such cities are many, but stand out cases are worth noting; Bilbao, Gent, Boston, London, and New York consistently score highly across different creative city indexes.

The Creative City is not without controversy, however, with many seeing the adoption of this approach to the city as potentially a damaging and negative endeavour. The adoption of a creative city rhetoric and framework could be argued to be merely image based, a superficial transformation, or branding of a city. In this sense, the rebranding of a place as a creative city is aimed towards investors and tourists, more so than in the interests of the local people. It has been argued that it is predominantly about capitalising on the revenue and development potential of areas, using creative industries and activities as a means to an economic growth focused end. At best this is an inappropriate misuse of public resources, but at worst; this can lead to local people being displaced from areas, when living costs soar following a rebranding of an urban realm. This can lead to a sense of social fragmentation and inequality, not only exacerbating social issues that reside within a city, but also having the capacity to generate gentrified and exclusive pockets of wealth and activity at the cost of a displaced and marginalised local community who find themselves no longer fitting the model of what the city should represent.

In a highly critical article that analyses the apparent benefits and drawbacks of Glasgow's Merchant City initiatives, the critic Neil Gray touches on several of these points[21]. Gray initially focuses on the economic realities of the Merchant City's artist led strategy, stating "city officials do the leading as they seek to enhance property values through the cultural capital of artists and the creation of a creative cluster." Furthermore, this 'creative fix', that he asserts the council has adopted as a revenue generator and investment catalyst, is at the cost of local residents and local ways of life, with one traditional market place being forced to close, as it does not fit the image of the new Merchant City brand. Gray quotes councilors who speak of the desire to "up the bar of what we expect of a market in the heart of the city", stressing that the adoption of a creative city strategy has forced a significant destruction of a way of life and employment for many local traders and residents, who have been cleansed from the area in order to present a more attractive investment

climate for developers. Such analysis poses a serious threat to the value of Florida's, and other proponents of The Creative City agenda, as a warning that the concept can become entangled in the capitalism driven gentrification of places and people.

In terms of this research project, the focus will be concentrated on five areas of interest. This is not to diminish the validity of the criticisms of creative city agendas, but is more designed to allow us to gain a deeper knowledge of the potential benefits and factors involved in The Creative City. The project seeks, therefore, to work within the framework of the following categories of creative city attributes:
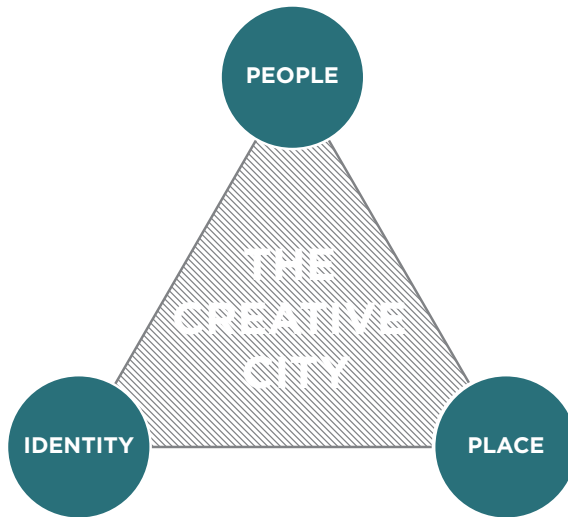
The Creative Industries
What is the presence and scope of the creative industries within a city?

Events and Festivals
What does a city stage and present to its population and to visitors, through events and festivals? How does the cultural life of a city find expression through this?

Assets and Facilities
What can be said about the physical infrastructure, buildings and spaces of a city, which host and aid the cultural and creative life of a city?

A Sense of Place and Identity
To what degree does a city possess a strong and distinctive local, national, and international identity? How does this sense of place stem from the involvement and participation of local people, skills, and local culture, within the city?

Adaptability and Innovation
How does a city adapt and innovate? How does a city respond to its past and its heritage?

There is an intrinsic relationship between cities and creativity, and this book will be looking at the relationship between creativity, people, and the urban realm. In order to investigate this, we have chosen to study two cases of cities that have a reputation for contemporary creativity.

The first city, Glasgow, was awarded the European City of Culture in 1990, and subsequently has been added to UNESCO's Creative City Index for its famous and vibrant music scene. Its calendar of events boasts many famous and celebrated festivals, from the "eclectic roots music festival,"[22] Celtic Connections, to the Glasgow Film Festival, the Merchant City Festival, and its much loved 'Aye Write' literature and creative writing festival. The city boasts the prestigious Glasgow School of Art, as well as an impressive array of "national performing arts organisations"[23], such as the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, the National Theatre of Scotland, Scottish Opera and Scottish Ballet.

There is a perception that Glasgow has a strong contemporary cultural and creative scene. A recent BBC article noting a local government survey stated that "about 30,000 people now worked in the city's cultural and creative industries"[24]. From statistical analysis to personal perception, many consider Glasgow to be a creative hub. Local café and creative centre founder, Rachel Smilie commented that, "People here are open…there's a great receptivity to exploring and looking at new ideas"[25], while local musician Sarah Hayes perceives Glasgow as "a diverse creative environment to be part of"[26].

The second city, Portland, Oregon, has a similar reputation and image of contemporary creativity. According to a local government report, similarly to Glasgow, "Portland's central city is home to many institutions and facilities that both produce art and support the civic and cultural life of the city."[27] The Guardian writes that "the city is now the unofficial world capital of a hyper liberal, artsy and environmentally conscious hipster lifestyle"[28], while a guide to Portland, *Brews to Bikes*, paints a picture of the sense in which there is an inclusiveness and participatory creativity within the city: "other cities have their bohemian districts, but Portland stands alone as an urban economy that has broadly embraced the artisan approach to living"[29].

While it is clear that Glasgow and Portland share an image as creative cities, their activities in this area are distinct from one another. Glasgow is famed for its music scene, and performing arts, whereas Portland is more known for its artisan craft. Discussing the place of handcrafted bespoke products in Portland, local café owner, Austen Tanner, speaks of a city where, "people expect to pay more, because it's artisan work"[30], while Brews to Bikes states that "we are more DIY than shop and buy"[31]. There appears to be a strong sense of community involvement and participation in Portland, with the city famed for its favouring of coops over corporations. Elsewhere, however, there are other strong elements of Portland's contemporary standing as a creative city, in its renowned music scene, huge range of outdoor festivals, celebrated craft beer scene, as well as its graphic design and literature events and organisations.

Beyond the overlaps between Glasgow and Portland's contemporary identity, the two cities share a sense of recent reinvention and rebranding. There has been an effort in Glasgow to reinvent the city in the wake of its industrial decline, and significant, often traumatic, post-war urban restructuring. A series of citywide marketing campaigns, ranging from 'Glasgow's Miles Better', to the current 'People Make Glasgow', have sought to alter perceptions of the city and present Glasgow as a dynamic and creative centre. Portland has similarly reinvented itself, with its creative identity emerging out of several urban restructuring policies and initiatives aimed at making the city a more livable and welcoming environment. For example, the removal of the Mount Hood freeway, the subsequent installation of a civic park on the same riverside stretch, as well as the drafting and enactment of the Urban Growth Boundary in the 1970s, have helped encourage a vibrant inner city life for Portland. Portland has since become known for its distinctive and strong outdoor life, both within and outside the city.

Currently, the cities have a similar population size, with both Glasgow and Portland's populations being around 600,000 in 2013. However, while Glasgow's population has been falling consistently since around the middle of the 20th century, as the post-war era of industrial decline and urban restricting brought about significant depopulation of the city; Portland's population has been on the rise over the same time period. These two opposing population trajectories are at the point of concurrence, with Glasgow's population standing at 596,550, while Portland's population measured 529,120 in the same year. Glasgow's much longer history of industry and shipbuilding brought about a significant urbanisation, swelling the city's population. The subsequent decline of heavy industry coincided with the move to depopulate the city, after the Second World War, contributing to a declining city population. Portland also possesses a shipbuilding heritage, albeit much more brief. The city enjoyed an isolated boom in shipbuilding for the duration of the Second World War, which attracted huge numbers of economic migrants to the city. As a consequence population increased dramatically during this period. After the war, and despite the significant subsidence of shipbuilding, the population continued to grow.

It is as a result of this range of similarities in both the contemporary identity and historical evolution of the two cities, that this project aims to investigate the relationship between the elements that make up the two cities and their creative city standing. The project seeks to understand how creativity, the people that make up a city, and the city's urban realm interact, with a specific focus on the five Creative Attributes that have been identified.

The investigation begins with a series of comparative analysis studies, focusing on a range of topics significant for understanding a city. It is upon this bedrock of research and understanding that the consideration of Glasgow and Portland as creative cities is based. The initial comparative analysis topics cover the following areas of research:

> **Location**
> **Climate and Use**
> **Evolution**
> **Urban Form**
> **Demographics**

The comparative analysis will also incorporate two specific case studies that build on some important issues as a result of the analysis. There will be an in depth look at Cultural Festivals, in which the role and significance of two key festivals in Glasgow and Portland's calendar will be examined in detail. Both cities have developed major festival events that connect the local population with the cultural and creative activity, and the study will look at how such festivals benefit both Glasgow and Portland. The second case study considers the idea of Creative Rivers, and the significance of the riverfront as a key environment within a contemporary creative city. It will focus on the perception of the riverfront and how it is experienced by the city's inhabitants both from adjacent city neighbourhoods and within the riverfront itself.

The comparative analysis research and the case studies draw comparisons and contrasts between the two cities to help build an understanding of them. This allows the project to dwell on and discuss The Creative City attributes of Glasgow and Portland from an informed and researched position. The Creative City Attributes are, in this sense, applied to the research topics, in an attempt to understand Glasgow and Portland as creative cities.

The project then moves on to present a series of case studies based around specific aspects of the urban realm, focusing the broader understanding amassed previously, on particular aspects of Glasgow and Portland. The case studies look at the following topics:

The Urban Living Room

> The main public squares in Portland and Glasgow will be studied to determine the relationship between public space and how it can influence the creativity of its city.

The Creative Street

> The place of the street in The Creative City is investigated, looking at how and why the creative attributes of a city are present in Glasgow's historic and central thoroughfare of Sauchiehall Street.

Creative Café Culture

> Cafés play a vital role in the creative urban life of cities as they provide informal public space for the exchange of ideas and innovation between people. With a reputable tradition of inspiring creatives, the study examines the importance of the café within its historic and contemporary contexts and aims to understand their creative social function beyond the simple provision of coffee.

Street Food

> Portland's food trucks temporarily occupy the urban realm and showcase food from different cultures. Clustered, they provide a platform for spontaneous social interaction in outdoor public space. The study looks to examine the relationship between street food and the urban realm, people and creativity.

By drawing comparisons between Glasgow and Portland, through the various sections of the project presented here, we aim to understand something of the creative nature and identity of these two exciting cities. The work is intended to be exploratory, but also aspires to provide the reader and wider audience with ideas and perspectives on the strengths and approaches of the two cities. The project is forward looking, seeking to explore and provide an understanding of the possibilities and place of The Creative City in the 21st Century. The final section of the book seeks to draw together such points and ideas into a series of remarks and conclusions.

LOCATION

CLIMATE AND

EVOLUTION

URBAN FORM

DEMOGRAPHI

2

USE

ICS

PORTLAND, OREGON

By Rudy Barton

A Personal View of Portland

At 164 years old, Portland, Oregon, is quite young as cities go; yet, it is often held up as a touchstone of urban successes. It has also captured the public imagination for being a state of mind as well as a physical place. Stories in the popular press about Portland's quality of life and quirkiness are ubiquitous. I'm regularly amazed to see articles in The New York Times and The Guardian about my hometown of some four decades.

Sometimes it's hard to remember that Portland hasn't always been regarded as an urban Eden. Fifty years ago its central city was, like most across the U.S., hemorrhaging from battles with suburbanization. As people and business moved out of the core, older buildings were demolished, and the downtown became pockmarked with parking lots. Pollution produced by commuters and industry regularly violated air quality standards and the Willamette River flowing through the city's heart was a veritable sewer. By the mid-1970s, however, Portland made intentional urban design choices to turn around the situation. These included:

- Establishing an urban growth boundary to preserve farmland and natural resources, plus adopting a comprehensive plan for the area within;
- Creating and implementing a ground-breaking downtown plan that fostered the belief that a city could be designed;
- Enacting design regulations that contributed to an active public realm and reinforced the city as a place for people; and
- Canceling decades-old freeway plans and reallocating the funds for mass transit facilities.

I'd like to introduce you to Portland as a city best understood within four frameworks: convergence, ecological resiliency, living on the edge, and entrepreneurship. Like a Shakespearean play, all of Portland's urban design efforts require a minimum of two to three of these frameworks— none can be divorced from the others.

Portland and the Natural World
Portland, like Glasgow, exists because of its natural setting—a river running through a temperate rain forest with vast natural resources. The forest still pierces more deeply into Portland physically and spiritually than in any other large American city. Running through the forest is the Willamette River. From a transportation corridor to industrial workhorse to recreational amenity, the Willamette—along with the larger Columbia River on Portland's

Bicycling Culture

northern edge— defines the landscape. Portlanders remain close to the natural world and that closeness colors so many perspectives.

Transit Mall

Convergence

People have been attracted to Portland for decades. Popular mythology holds that when pioneers on the Oregon Trail reached a fork in the Rocky Mountains, piles of golden rocks pointed the way to California while a hand-lettered sign directed those who could read to Oregon. Since that period of immigration, optimism and civic engagement have been leitmotifs in Portland and indeed the state of Oregon. It seems the second most popular indoor activity in Portland is "going to meetings." It's easy to convene like-minded people and make things happen. In the 1970s, long-time residents with generation-deep roots in Portland and political/economic clout joined young, creative immigrants in a commitment to building a shared vision. They forged the Portland we know today. Unquestionably, the stars were, and continue to be, in alignment for creating and sustaining a new kind of urban experience.

Ecological Resiliency

Portland and Oregon are on the Northwest edge of the U.S., a fact that heightens awareness of limitations. As a result, both have been ahead of the sustainability curve for years. In 1971, Oregon passed a law requiring a refundable deposit on all soft drink and beer containers; two years after that, the Portland metropolitan region mandated that all urban areas enact growth boundaries that delineate where development can and cannot take place. To decrease dependence on the car, Portland created a bicycle plan in 1973, turned a freeway into a riverfront park in 1978, and built a light rail system (instead of a new highway) in 1986. Today, it has the U.S.'s highest percentage of bicycle commuters, over 300 miles of urban trails, and one of the best park systems in the nation. Zoning requirements and incentives are in place for green-roofs and storm-water management. At the larger scale, public-private partnerships have thrived, creating six "eco-districts" and green development projects around the city. Oregon's green design expertise and technologies are exported across the U.S. and the globe.

Living on the Edge—Thinking Large, Making Small

Many urban problems are so large they seem unsolvable or futile to attack— economic downturns, industrial globalization, climate change, and aging infrastructure. But, Portland is lived in a series of small scales. The downtown's Lilliputian blocks (61m x 61m) make the city walkable. It's rare not to run into friends while strolling downtown or stocking up at one of the neighborhood farmers' markets held weekly throughout most of the year.

Street Seating

The city strives to tackle large problems in less intimidating bites through individual action. There is a conviction that small things and small groups can make a difference. Little design experiments focusing on everyday human activities don't require years of planning oversight and usually don't demand prohibitive budgets. Tiny houses (of no more than 23 sq. m.), bicycle corrals, and urban farming are seen as the new normal.

Entrepreneurship—Risk-Taking and Toleration for Failure

There is a strong feeling that Portland still retains a frontier mentality, meaning we have to figure things out ourselves. Many sites are built on for the first time and mistakes can be made. However, being creative is about taking risks and, unavoidably, failing. For example, common wisdom says you need a year's supply of operating costs in order to open a restaurant. In Portland, all you need is funds for a couple of weeks or a month in order to open a food cart in a parking lot or on a street corner, which may eventually lead to a bricks and mortar restaurant. At the city scale, homegrown craft breweries and coffee roasters support a plethora of independent brewpubs and cafés. Bicycle designers spawn a network of independent entrepreneurs providing everything from bike valet and repair services to specialty sportswear makers to pedicab drivers. Independence remains a civic value.

An Urban Work-in-Progress

In the late 1960s through the 1970s, Portland made deliberate choices that demonstrated that national urban trends do not have to determine local destiny. Portlanders assume that it is possible to find common goals and purpose-built solutions. It is not unusual to hear calls to take a stand rooted in a "the idea of Oregon" or more informal discussions about furthering a "Portland state of mind." In this light, the Portland experience is ultimately an argument for the value of design, the importance of risk-taking, and the power of self-confidence. Whether Portland remains a mythical place "where young people go to retire" has yet to play out—that's for its citizens to decide.

SW Waterfront

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

By Brian Evans

A Personal View of Glasgow

Over the last 50 years Glasgow has been transformed and yet to those visiting for the first time today, the City seems nothing out of the ordinary: a friendly, 'buzzy' city with a Victorian legacy and a 'Celtic' twist situated on the Atlantic North-west of Britain. Just one of many pleasant and distinctive cities of Europe, but to anyone who knows Glasgow's recent back-story, this modest recognition is rather remarkable.

The Second World War had left Glasgow bombed, with a shattering industrial base and an increasingly impoverished population. The 1950s saw a raft of well-meaning, but misguided, planning instruments whose unforeseen consequences were to further undermine, and all but extinguish, the viability of this great million people plus city that had 50 years before been proud to describe itself as the 'Second City' – the second most prominent city of the British Empire.

The first document – the Clyde Valley Regional Plan – was published in 1946 and was led by Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie assisted by a young Scot later to be a gifted and well-loved chief planner of Scotland: Professor Sir Robert Grieve. The Abercrombie/Grieve plan had many excellent attributes. Its environmental policies, for example, were well ahead of its times. For Glasgow it shifted one severe and potentially fatal lever in advocating the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of Glasgow's citizens and removing them to a series of 5 new towns – Garden Cities – across the central belt of Scotland: East Kilbride, Glenrothes, Cumbernauld, Livingston and Irvine. The 6th and last, Stonehouse, was stillborn by the turn in policy of the early 1970s. Nonetheless these new towns dealt Glasgow a cruel blow by removing the young and economically active from the City and undermining the tax base and thus the ability of Glasgow to sustain itself.

The City of Glasgow was concerned about the potential loss of so much of its population hollowing out the city and conceived its own plans to address the future. The City's plan was published a year earlier in 1945 and was named for the then 'City Engineer and Master of Works', with a hero's name: Robert Bruce. The 'Bruce Plan' or more accurately the 'Glasgow Corporation First Planning Report' envisaged the comprehensive redevelopment of the City through 3 programmes: (a) the demolition and rebuilding of the entire City Centre; (b) the demolition and rebuilding of all of the neighbourhoods of the City in a series of 'comprehensive development areas'; and (c) the construction of a series of edge-of-city and in-city new towns. These three programmes were predicated on the best planning wisdom of the time – the 'brave new world' of Corbusian modernism.

Together, the combined effect of the Abercrombie and Bruce Plans were to prove nearly fatal for Glasgow. The 1950s and the 1960s saw the Government and the City prosecute their respective and competing plans with all vigour. The City was hollowed out, demolished, and then rebuilt with the crude technology of the time. Meantime, the City's industrial base of heavy engineering that had artificially bolstered Glasgow's wartime economy was enduring a systemic collapse.

By the end of the 1960s, the City was a 'hell-on-earth'. A metropolitan-scale construction site, a eulogy to modernism and an increasingly frantic attempt to retain steel works and heavy engineering in the face of overwhelming competition from more modern plant and cheap labour in eastern parts of the world.

The nadir in the City's postwar fortunes point came at the end of the 1960s. A severe and wayward storm from the western Atlantic (Hurricane Low-Q) hit Glasgow and Central Scotland in January 1968 ripped the roofs from many of the remaining tenemental properties of the City. This provided the government of the day with the reason to implement the recommendations of Professor Barry Cullingworth for the euphemistically titled 'Older Housing Stock in Scotland'. From this work a policy of renewal and regeneration was formed leading to establishment of a citizen involved Housing Association movement in Glasgow in turn giving birth to community architectural practices such as ASSIST made up of staff members from the Department of Architecture at Strathclyde University. This in turn embraced the increasing awareness of the importance of heritage and its conservation. In 1975, a Scottish Development Agency was established with the team from the stillborn Stonehouse new town transferred to the 'Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project' – the largest urban renewal project in Europe at the time. Over the next 20 years the City was renewed, cleaned and in parallel with this physical renewal, the City and the Government faced up to the much harder task of economic and cultural renewal.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, Glasgow had been known internationally as having the worst statistics of multiple urban deprivation in Western Europe. But the renewal effort began to pay off. In 1983, the Burrell Museum was opened to huge critical acclaim – the first time that the City could meet the covenant of Burrell's bequest for clean air to house his collection. An international conference and congress hall was opened in 1985 and in 1988 the City staged the third, and with over 4 million visitors, the most successful of Britain's 5 Garden Festivals.

HOME, ROTTEN HOME
What it's like in the worst corner of Britain.
This woman was photographed
from the block of Glasgow flats where she lives.
OBSERVER

By the end of the 1980s, there was the beginning of a belief that perhaps the turning point had been reached. It is hard to be precise about the time when this belief returned to Glasgow. Inevitably this is a process that evolves over time, but for many, it was the selection of Glasgow to be the 5th recipient of the award for European City of Culture – after Athens (85), Florence (86), Amsterdam (87), Berlin (88) and Paris (89) – 4 European capitals and the jewel of the European Renaissance and then – Glasgow? It was a unique moment – nothing before or since has had quite that effect on the self-belief of the City. Furthermore, Glasgow redefined the award. 'High Culture' was mediated with the rich, deep and inclusive of culture of the everyday and the everyman that led on to Glasgow representing the UK at the 18th International Trienalle of Milan in 1992.
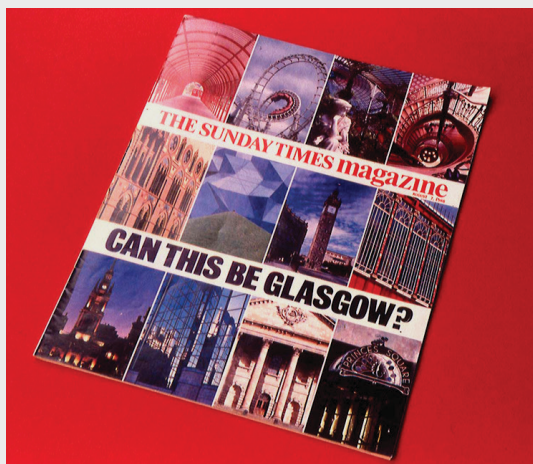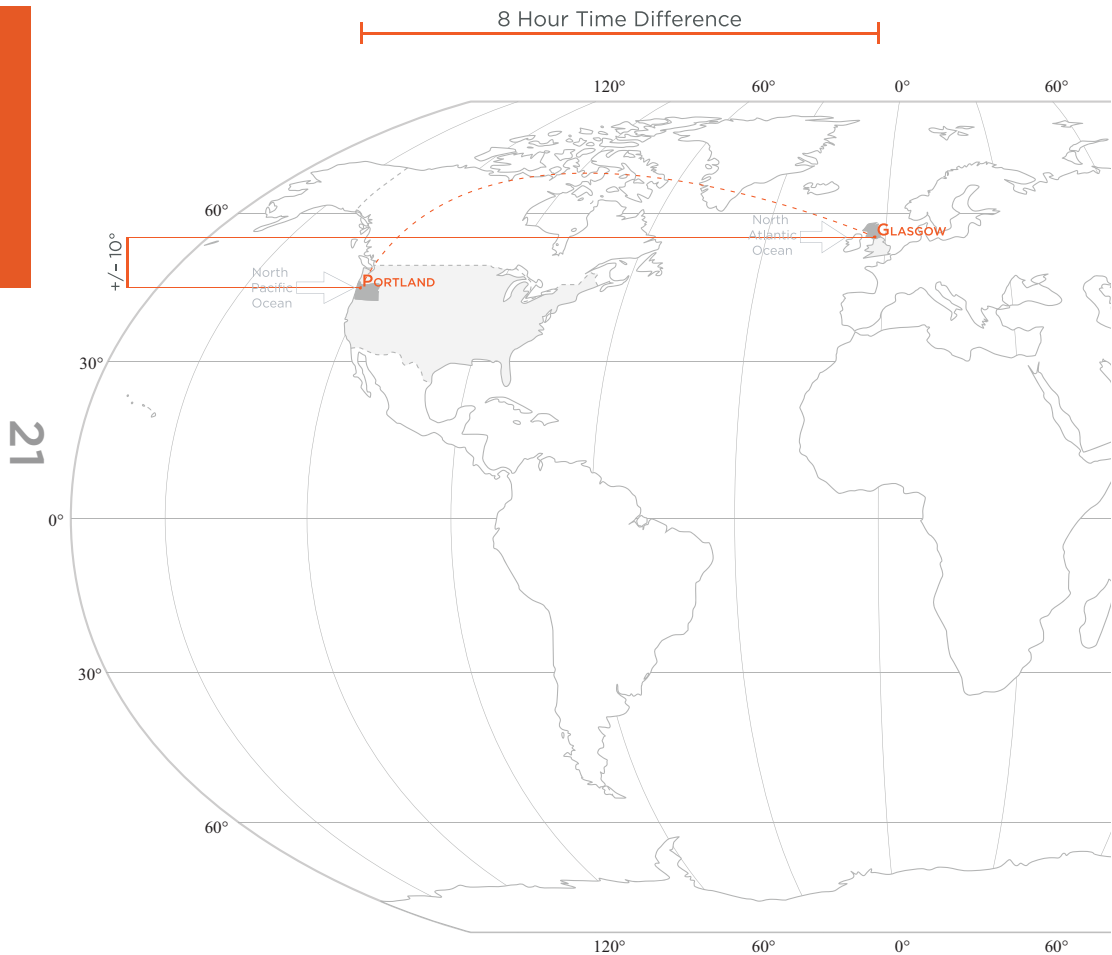
The City has attempted to sustain this programme of renewal with a series of 'milestone projects' or 'pacing devices'. In 1999, Glasgow was awarded UK City of Architecture and used this designation to promote its renewal internationally. The City now has many successful festivals, 'Celtic Connections' (a music festival), a jazz festival, a 'West End Festival' and in 2014 a hugely successful Commonwealth Games – Glasgow again transforming an established event and taking it to another level. Hope for the future lies with the raft of new small indigenous businesses in the creative and technology sectors – still small but significant and growing.

The 50-year journey for Glasgow has been arduous, uncomfortable and at times ill advised, but it has been transformational. To the young planner who gazed across the industrial wasteland of the East End of the City in the 1970s, it is almost unbelievable that people today freely accept Glasgow as a dynamic and creative City.

So in fact it is fine that Glasgow is nothing out of the ordinary. However, the journey from 'No Mean City' (the 1935 novel by Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley Long) to 'Scotland with Style' (the last but one branding of Glasgow) is far from complete and the City must not stop the continuous and arduous process of renewal, rediscovery and reinvention. Glasgow's reputation and its award of 'Resilience' made recently by the Rockefeller Foundation (2014) is hard won. It is remarkable that Glasgow can be mentioned at all as a meaningful comparator to Portland in Oregon. Constructive criticism is welcome, needed in fact, especially if accompanied by a willingness to commit to the journey. But 'hell mend' anyone who takes an unknowingly ignorant shot at the transformation of this City, this 'Creative City' – my City!

Location Comparison

8 Hour Time Difference

120° 60° 0° 60°

60°

+/– 10°

North
Pacific
Ocean

Portland

North
Atlantic
Ocean

Glasgow

30°

21

0°

30°

60°

120° 60° 0° 60°

Portland: 45.5200° N, 122.6819° W
Glasgow: 55.8580° N, 4.2590° W

120° 180°

60°

30°

0°

30°

60°

120° 180°

The cities of Glasgow and Portland share many similarities. They are both maritime cities with direct connections to the ocean via rivers that flows through each. They are also both in the northern hemisphere with only a ten-degree difference between them longitudinally.

UK
Area: 241,930 km²

This map shows the connections between Glasgow and other creative cities around the UK. Glasgow is part of a network of creativity within the UK.

GLASGOW
EDINBURGH
NEWCASTLE
BELFAST
LIVERPOOL
MANCHESTER
LONDON

ABERDEEN
DUNDEE
GLASGOW   EDINBURGH
CENTRAL BELT

Scotland
Area: 78,387 km²

Glasgow is one of 4 major cities in Scotland, and though it is the largest, it is not the capital. It is located in the 'central belt' and has a direct connection to the Atlantic Ocean via the River Clyde. It is known today as Scotland's creative capital.

U.S.A.

AREA: 9,147,420 KM²

The U.S.'s creative connections cover much more land area than those in the UK, but there is still a perceived connection between these cities that is implied, even if it takes 10+ hours to get to many of them from Portland.

SEATTLE

PORTLAND

SAN FRANCISCO

LOS ANGELES

DENVER

CHICAGO

NASHVILLE

AUSTIN

NEW ORLEANS

BOSTON

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON D.C.

MIAMI
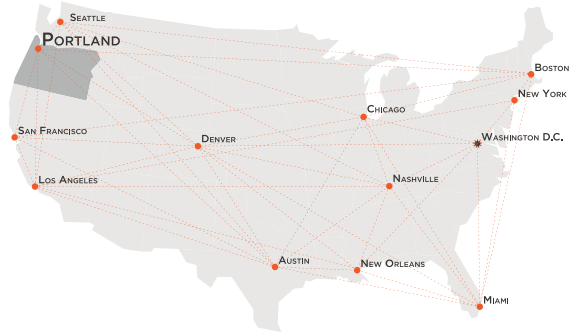
OREGON

AREA: 254,805 KM²

Oregon's capital is Salem, but Portland is its most prominent city. This is in part because of its connection to the Willamette River, and from that the Pacific Ocean, though now it is known more for its vibrant city life and connection to citizens.

ASTORIA

PORTLAND

SALEM

EUGENE

PENDLETON
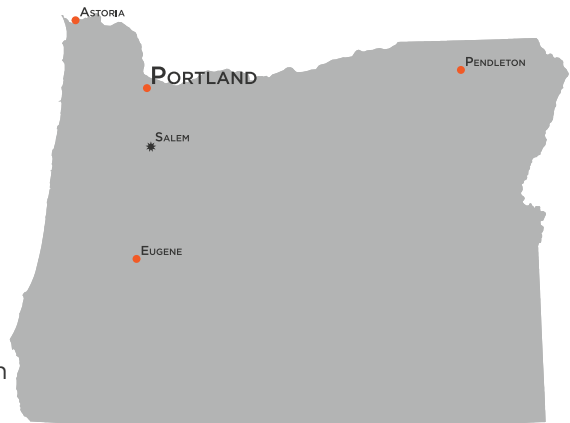
Area|Size Comparison

Glasgow
175.5 км²

N

0 0.5 1   2   Miles

0 0.5 1   2   Kilometers

Portland

376 км²

N

0 0.5 1 2 Miles

0 0.5 1 2 Kilometers

Evolution
HISTORIC PARALLELS AND CONTRASTS

Establishment and 19th Century Formation

The origins and narrative of Glasgow and Portland, are in many respects vastly different. Glasgow was established as a settlement in the 6th century, while Portland was not settled until the mid 19th century. Glasgow has been around a lot longer, and therefore has a much richer and full history. From the late 19th century and into the 20th century they share many of the same characteristics. At the beginning of the 19th century Glasgow was building parks, museums and public amenities, generally making Glasgow a more livable place.

Figure 1 – Historic Portland Street

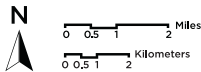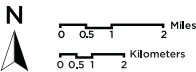When Portland was settled in the 19th Century, one of the first things they did as a city was to buy a section of land to be used as a public park, which today is a beloved piece of the city. It was also in the early years of Portland's formation that the 200 x 200 foot street grid was established. Another similarity between these two cities is that they were both known as places that suffered unsanitary urban conditions during the 19th century. It wasn't until the mid 20th century, though, that either city began to actively try to improve their images in terms of this stigma that they had become known for.

Figure 2 – Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis

Post War Urban Renewal Projects

In Glasgow, the Bruce Report (1945) and the Clyde Valley Regional Plan, also known as the Abercrombie Plan (1949) had a great influence on shaping the city between the 1950's and 1970's. Both plans dealt with reshaping of the city centre, rehousing of Glasgow's 'slum' population and implementing new roads and methods of public transport. Similarly, Portland started implementing the Robert Moses Plan from 1943 onwards.

In Portland, electric trolleys were removed to make way for the automobile, a one-way street grid system was established and the construction of a freeway loop around the downtown area was proposed. In 1964 the Minnesota Freeway was opened, as the only part of the Comprehensive Freeway System Plan due to lack of funds. As early as 1968, it was

Figure 3 – Mt. Hood Freeway in Portland

recommended in the Downtown Waterfront Plan for Harbour Drive to be closed and replaced by a riverfront park. However, it wasn't until 1974 that Harbour Drive was closed and 2 years later the Mt. Hood Freeway project was canceled. In 1979 an Urban Growth Boundary was established.

Figure 4 – Estates built on perimeter of Glasgow

In Glasgow, an inner city ring road was also proposed – now the M8. Many areas of Glasgow were partially or fully demolished – Anderston, Gorbals and Calton. They were then inhabited with tower blocks like Red Road or the high rise towers in the Gorbals designed by Basel Spence.

From the 1950's onwards, the Glasgow slum clearing programme displaced 500,000 people. Some were moved to new towns such as East Kilbride or Cumbernauld, while others were moved to new suburbs, like Castlemilk, Pollok or Easterhouse, on the fringes of the city boundary In 1957, the South Auditorium Urban Renewal Project displaced thousands of Portlanders due to the redevelopment of 'blighted' areas.

Agriculture and Industry
Shipbuilding

Both Glasgow and Portland had significant involvement in shipbuilding and heavy industry that, to an extent, defines their present day identities. For Glasgow, the relationship with heavy industry and, in particular, shipbuilding spans over 100 years. With the widening of the Clyde, the construction of an array of wharves and dry docks culminating in a period of intense and prolific shipbuilding that contributed hugely to the economic prowess of Glasgow in the second half of the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th Century. Glasgow's shipbuilding industry was renowned throughout the world and supplied countries and businesses. For Portland, the history of shipbuilding is far shorter, but not without impact on the city.

Figure 5 – The Kaiser Shipyards in Portland

Portland's construction of ships exploded during the Second World War. It worked with feverish productivity to supply what became known as 'liberty ships', simple cargo vessels that would be immediately engaged in the provision of vital supplies transported across the Atlantic to Britain. For a period of time Britain was cut off by German U-boats and from much of the outside world. Britain required intense American supplies of goods and foods to sustain itself during the war time years. The famous shipyards that sprang up along Portland's shores, such as the Swan Island Shipyard and St. Johns, employed somewhere in the region of 194,000 people. Sparking a huge migration of people to the city, which hugely

Figure 6 – Flying Eagle Tugboat Dwarfed by Queen Elisabeth, Glasgow

expanded the population. For both Glasgow and Portland, shipbuilding greatly contributed to the employment and economic growth of the cities and was a key factor in the expansion of populations and city infrastructure.

For Glasgow, which had a much longer history of shipbuilding until its steady decline during the course of the 20th Century, this left a legacy of craft and city infrastructure. This was built on the profits of the industry, and these two elements play an important role in the creative practices and facilities of the contemporary city. For Portland, the shipbuilding era was brief. Limited almost exclusively on the period of the Second World War.

Figure 7 – Liberty Ship Launch, Portland Ship Yard

The legacy and relevance to The Creative City lies in the migration and population increase that shipbuilding brought, which not only increased numbers, but increased diversity. In terms of a legacy of craft, a strong aspect of contemporary Portland's creative identity, this is possibly more connected to Portland's longer, and more established agricultural industries. This is perhaps more influential to Portland's outdoor and handcraft scene than their brief but intense spell of heavy industry.

Industrial Decline

The clearly identifiable decline in industrial activity and production seen in the first half of the 20th century was mildly ameliorated by the Second World War. The need for renewing many shipping vessels destroyed in the conflict meant that the shipping industries in Glasgow were able to extend their great industrial days a few decades further. However, by the end of the 1960's the lower labour costs of overseas competitors unraveled in a severe de-industralisation process for Glasgow and the West of Scotland. This decline was further accentuated by the move of a large number of residents to the new peripheral towns devised within the Abercrombie plan. Glasgow was classed as a "depressed area".

Figure 8 – Tenements knocked down for tower blocks

Although Portland is also an example of a post-industrial city that was drastically changed by a similar de-industrialisation process, it was not as severe. Portland's economy in the second half of the twentieth century wasn't as dependent as Glasgow's on the shipbuilding industry.

Consequentially, the transition of Portland into a post-industrial city saw a smaller drop in employment and less recovery measures than in Glasgow's case. Instead, the city focused on environmental strategies which affected both the infrastructure and superstructure of the urban nucleus in terms of its approach to residential development and the creation of public spaces.

Figure 9 – Motorway cutting through Glasgow

Arts and Entertainment Heritage

Both Glasgow and Portland hosted World's Fairs around the turn of the 20th Century during the time of the Industrial Revolution. When the Alaska Gold Rush and railroad development led to a boom in Seattle, Portland decided to promote the city's growth by holding the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in 1905. This attracted millions of people, many of whom would stay and contribute to the rapid expansion of the city, subsequent to the fair. A little earlier in Glasgow, the 1888 International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry was the first of 4 international exhibitions held in Glasgow, aimed to draw attention to the city's achievements in science, industry and arts. The event was held in Kelvingrove Park and attracted almost 6 million visitors, over double the attendance of the Lewis and Clark Fair in Portland. The money generated from the fair also contributed to the International exhibition in 1901 and the opening of Kelvingrove Art Museum, which provided a new cultural and arts centre to the city.

Figure 10 – King's Theatre, Glasgow

Following this, both cities also have prevalent histories in the entertainment industry. The first theatre in Glasgow was built in 1764 whereas Portland's first theatre, the New Market Theatre, was built much later in 1872. This was around a similar time as the opening of Glasgow's Brtiannia Panopticon in 1857, which is the last surviving music hall of its kind in Scotland. Several major theatres opened in Glasgow within a couple of years of each other, such as the Kings, Pavilion and Royal Theatres between 1904-05, while large theatres in Portland, such as the Arlene Schnitzer Concert Hall which opened in 1928, came later.

Cinemas have always been popular in Glasgow and at the turn of the 20th century the city had more picture houses than any other city outside of America, with around 114 cinemas at its peak. Today there is only a handful left in Glasgow, which is a stark comparison to Portland where you can find countless old and restored vintage movie theatres that still function as cinemas.

Figure 11 – Portland Theatre, Portland

Reinvention/Regeneration of the Cities

The wish to re-invent post-industrial Glasgow in the 1980's led to a number of major initiatives utilising the city's distinguished cultural heritage such as The Miles Better Campaign in 1983, which shed Glasgow's negative images and literally put a smile back on the citizens. The Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988, a massively influential event significantly improving the image of the city nationally and internationally; the European City of Culture in 1990, a year-long celebratory event incorporating over 3,400 public events and advancing the city as a cultural destination. Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opened in 1990, and was the largest investment in Glasgow's cultural infrastructure that year, at £29.4m, and annually hosts the eclectic Celtic Connections music festival.

The Gallery of Modern Art, which opened in 1996, is home to the city's principal modern art collection. The building is set on four floors, each one representing an element: earth, water, fire and air. The Glasgow Auditorium was built in 1997 and is locally known as The Armadillo. The building is a major music venue for the city hosting everything from rock concerts to classical ensembles. Glasgow was also awarded the UK City of Architecture and Design award which led to a year-long programme of exhibitions and events showcasing the city.

Figure 12 – Scottish Independence Rally, George Square

Glasgow's rebuilding and re-imaging has sustained well in to the new millennium, with a range of city-wide advances. The Glasgow Harbour project in 2001 was one of the largest regeneration projects lasting over 10 years. The aim was to significantly improve the city's waterfront by providing housing which allowed people to live and work in the city. The regeneration continued in 2003 with plans of a new entertainment arena, now known as The Hydro.

In the 1980's and 1990's the traditional manufacturing industries of Glasgow went into a steep decline but the service industries grew. Industries such as retail, finance and tourism flourished. The music and arts scene continue to experience growth and expansion. An abundance of restaurants and cafés have sprung up city-wide for tourists and residents to enjoy. Upwards of 4 million tourists now visit Glasgow annually. Today, Glasgow is known by it's branding, 'People Make Glasgow'.

Figure 13 – Keep Portland Weird

During the dot-com boom of the mid-to-late 1990's, Portland saw a flood of people in their 20s and 30s who were drawn to the city by the promise of abundant nature, cheaper rents, and opportunities to work in the graphic design and Internet industries. Companies like Doc Martens, Nike, Adidas and Wieden+Kennedy were large players in this. When the economic bubble burst, the city was left with a large, young, and creative population. In 2000, the U.S. census indicated there were over 10,000 artists in Portland. With this, the city saw a growth in independent galleries, site-specific shows and public discourse about the arts. Several arts publications were founded–the Portland millennial art renaissance has been described, written about and commented on in publications such as Artnews, Art in America and Artforum as well as discussed on the CNN. Portland has also been branded, however unofficially. The 'Keep Portland Weird' slogan, appointed by the citizens, that has appeared across the city has helped support local businesses grow as well as encourage the rise in creativity and culture within the city.

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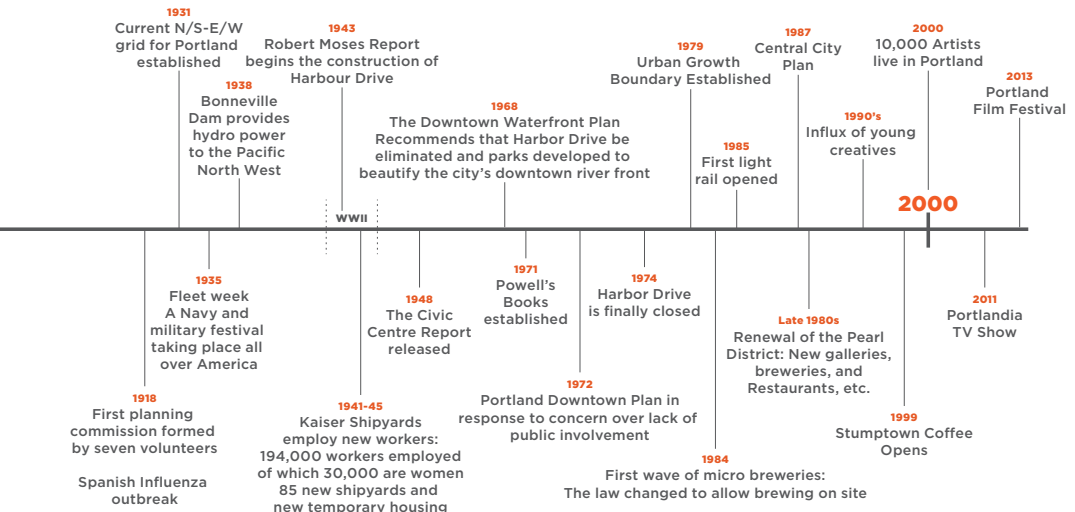PortlandOregon.gov – portlandoregon.gov/bps/34249

PORTLAND TODAY

GLASGOW TODAY

Portland's Timeline

1845
Portland gets its name with the toss of a coin between Petty grove's home town in Maine, Portland winning over Lovejoy's Birthplace in Boston

1889
The Oregon called Portland "The most filthy city in the northern states", due to the unsanitary sewers and gutters.

1905
Lewis & Clark World Fair partially responsible for doubling Portland's Population

1840
Survey and assessment of the Willamette Portland is considered suitable of a port

1851
Portland's first public school is opened

1891
Port of Portland Created

1909
First Rail connection between Seattle and Portland

1868
First Railroad

1900

WWI

1843
The land on the west of the Willamette is claimed and the 200 by 200 foot block is established

1853
First Ferry across the Willamette

1888
Christened the City of Roses

1907
First Rose Festival. It still continues today, attracting 500,000 people every year

1859
The state of Oregon is established

1890
First electric streetcar

1830
'The Clearing' Pre-Portland

'A small stopping place along the west bank of the Willamette River used by travelers on route between Oregon City and Fort Vancouver

1850
Population is 821 of which 653 are men

1896
Union Street railway station opens

1873
On the second of August a fire originates in the furniture factory of Hurgen and Shindler. It Destroyed 20 blocks and caused 1.075 million dollars in damages

33

1869
Glasgow University expands and moves from the High Street to Gilmore Hill

1780
The Construction of Forth and Clyde Canal is complete

1842
Glasgow slums declared the filthies in Europe

1901
The International Exhibition and opening of Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

543
First Church established

1625
First Quay built at Broomielaw

1777
Trade with America Booms

1807
Huntarian Museum opens

Queen Street Station opens

1896
Opening of the Glasgow Underground

1136
Cathedral is founded

1707
Act of Union

1865
Last public hanging

1700

1800

1900

1114
Glasgow is a Farming Village

1688
Dredging of the Clyde

1800
The Clyde now holds 200 wharfs and jetties

1844
Stock exchange opens

1898
Opening of the People's Palace

1451
University is founded

1718
First Boat to the USA

1814
Glasgow Green is the first public Park

1866
The city starts slum clearance

1900
Glasgow Reaches its peak of industrial production and is the major contributor to Scottish industry

1888
World Fair Festival of art, science and industry

1857
The Britannia Panopticon is built. (the oldest surviving music hall in the world)

Glasgow's Timeline

Portland Timeline (top)

1931
Current N/S-E/W grid for Portland established

1943
Robert Moses Report begins the construction of Harbour Drive

1979
Urban Growth Boundary Established

1987
Central City Plan

2000
10,000 Artists live in Portland

1938
Bonneville Dam provides hydro power to the Pacific North West

1968
The Downtown Waterfront Plan Recommends that Harbor Drive be eliminated and parks developed to beautify the city's downtown river front

1985
First light rail opened

1990's
Influx of young creatives

2013
Portland Film Festival

WWII

2000

1935
Fleet week A Navy and military festival taking place all over America

1948
The Civic Centre Report released

1971
Powell's Books established

1974
Harbor Drive is finally closed

Late 1980s
Renewal of the Pearl District: New galleries, breweries, and Restaurants, etc.

2011
Portlandia TV Show

1918
First planning commission formed by seven volunteers

Spanish Influenza outbreak

1941-45
Kaiser Shipyards employ new workers: 194,000 workers employed of which 30,000 are women 85 new shipyards and new temporary housing

1972
Portland Downtown Plan in response to concern over lack of public involvement

1984
First wave of micro breweries: The law changed to allow brewing on site

1999
Stumptown Coffee Opens

34

Glasgow Timeline (bottom)

Celtic Connections is founded

1911
International Exposition Scottish exhibitions of national history, art and industry

1985
Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre opens

1999
Glasgow is voted the United Kingdom's City of Architecture and Design

1949
Abercrombie Plan

2011
Opening of the new Transport Museum

1939
Glasgow Film Theatre opens

1962
Basil Spence constructs the high rise towers int the Gorbals

1988
Glasgow Garden Festival

2002
Merchant City Festival

1905
Theatre Royal opens

1934
Queen Mary Launches

1945
Bruce Report

1997
Pride Glasgow

2008
Voted UNESCO City of Music

2013
'People Make Glasgow'

1971
Red Road constructed

2000

WWI

WWII

1904
Kings and Pavilion Theatre opens

1914
Tram-cars cover wide routes around Glasgow

1941
Bombing raids on Clydebank

1964
University of Strathclyde established

1989
Beginning of 'Doors Open Day'

1996
West End Festival

2001
Science Centre opens

2012
First demolition of 'Red Road'

1909
Charles Rennie Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art opens

1938
Glasgow hosts Empire Exhibition at Bellahouston Park

1956
New towns: Cumbernauld East Kilbride Livingston

1990
Glasgow is Voted Cultural Capital of Europe and holds a year long festival of over 3,000 events

Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opens

2004
'Glasgow, Scotland With Style'

2014
Glasgow hosts the Commonwealth Games

Scottish Referendum

Glasgow Hydro opens

1983
Launch of the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign
Burrell Collection opens
Mayfest Began

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Evolution of the Cities at a Glance

Portland

Known by many as 'the clearing', the area on which modern day Portland stands, was cleared and identified as a place to build. Portland's history is short in relation to Glasgow's, and reflects the relatively recent history of settlement of Europeans upon the American mainland.

The grid structure of contemporary Portland was largely established during this era, with the city emerging in a structured 200ft x 200ft grid format. Fundamental aspects of the city come into being during this era, such as the construction of an initial port, the founding of the city's first school and railroad system.

During this period the city's infrastructure expanded, with further railroad connections and the construction of the nearby Bonneville Dam provided bedrock of cheap and reliable electricity supply which future industry could rely upon.

1830s
Establishment

1850-1900
Formation of City

1918-'39
Inter-war Period

Establishment

500s

The first church in the area is established, around which a small scale religious settlement is formed.

International Trade

1600s-1700s

The Clyde River is dredged and widened, and trade with the newly discovered America flourishes, with Glasgow based merchants finding success and profits that help expand and establish Glasgow further.

Rapid Urban Expansion

1800s

Industry and trade expands rapidly on the Clyde, and the city population and size expands as a result. Large Scale urbanisation and the formation of city institutions such as the underground subway, the Hunterian Museum, the city stock exchange, and the expansion of the University occurs.

City of Entertainment and Arts

1900s

The new Mackintosh designed Glasgow School of Art is opened, proliferation of theatres, as well as international festivals, celebrating and presenting both Glasgow's art and industry to the world.

Glasgow

The war brought huge migration to Portland, in response to the booming shipbuilding industry that sprang up in response to British orders of transport ships. The industry brought people and economic growth to Portland, leaving a lasting legacy.

Major modernist infrastructure developments occur, such as the construction of the freeway, known as 'Harbour Drive', that brought the car and vehicular traffic into the heart of the city.

Major regenerative schemes seek to enhance the city's livability, such as the replacement of the Harbour Drive freeway with accessible civic park-space, and the enactment of an urban growth boundary, aimed at maximizing vibrant urban density and limiting urban sprawl.

Creative workers attracted to Portland through employment opportunities offered by Nike headquarters in area. The city fosters and develops a distinct and creative identity, with a rapid growth in artists living in Portland, microbreweries, and proliferation of festivals public events.

1939-'45
WWII

1950-'60s
Post War Urban Renewal

1970s
Urban Re-Structuring

1980s-Now
Creative City

International Exhibitions

Post War Urban Renewal / Industrial Decline

Strategic Regeneration

Creative City

1900s

1950-'70s

1980s

2000-Now

A series of large-scale international exhibitions showcase Glasgow's industrial and technological prowess and innovation, and cement the prestige and power of the city on a national and international stage.

A series of reports and initiatives seek to address urban overcrowding and unsanitary conditions, and results in major urban restructuring of the city and displacement of urban population. Industry based around the Clyde decreases steadily, impacting on employment and wealth of city.

The beginning of a succession of Council led attempts to re-brand Glasgow, to address Glasgow's perceived image problems through a promotion of the arts, culture and creativity. A halt to the construction of high-rise developments, and attempts begin to re-use industrial heritage infrastructure.

The establishment of a calendar of festivals, celebrating the arts. The identity of Glasgow as a vibrant creative city forms, and challenges the post-industrial decline that the city is associated with.

Climate and Use

In the Koppen climate classification Glasgow's climate is described as **Oceanic**, and Portland's as **Cool-Summer Mediterranean**. Both of these classifications sit within the same group, group C, and are described as temperate/mesothermal climates, with an average temperature above 10 degrees C in April-September and with an average of -3 to 18 degrees in the coldest months.

Glasgow's oceanic classification is translated as **CFB** and Portland's is **CSB**. The letter c refers to the group, the 2nd letters refers to precipitation and the 3rd, to the degree of summer heat. The main difference in regard to the classification is that Glasgow has significant precipitation in all seasons while Portland has dry summers.

Glasgow
166 days

Portland
155 days

annual precipitation

Glasgow
1245 h

Portland
2340 h

annual sunshine hours

In Glasgow, the sunniest month of the year is May with 180.1 sunshine hours. In Portland, the sunniest month is August with 298.1 sunshine hours.

Despite their northernly latitudes–Glasgow lies on the same latitude as Moscow, and Portland is in line with Montreal–they both have a mild climate and mild winters.

In Glasgow's case, a westerly position and proximity of the Atlantic Ocean makes it milder than the rest of Scotland. A higher temperature than Moscow is due to the warming influence of the Gulf Stream. Glasgow has less distinct seasons than much of Western Europe.

Portland, despite being in line with Montreal, is 13 degrees warmer in the winter. The Western Canadian mountains shield Portland from the full force of arctic blasts. The Jet Stream also has a warming influence. Additionally, the Oregon Coast range to the West of Portland makes its summers less susceptible to the moderating influence of the nearby Pacific Ocean. The seasons are distinct in Portland, unlike Glasgow.

	Glasgow	Portland	
annual ave. high temp. (celsius)	12.9	17.3	
annual ave. low temp. (celsius)	6.2	7.6	
hottest month (celsius)	19.7 July	27.3 Aug	
coldest month (celsius)	1.7 Dec	1.8 Dec	
driest month (days of rain)	11.1 June	3.9 Aug	
wettest month (inches)	5.8 Jan	5.6 Nov	

CLIMATE AND PLACE

Initial Research & Analysis
Key climate characteristics of Glasgow and Portland

TEMPERATURE

1.1 Average maximum temperature / month

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

- 25-30 ° C
- 20-25 ° C
- 15-20 ° C
- 10-15 ° C
- 5-10 ° C
- 0-5 ° C
- → Above 15 ° C

Analysis

Both Glasgow and Portland have summers with average high temperatures being above 15 ° C. The period of time that Portland experiences average highs above 15 ° C is 7 months, while Glasgow's equivalent period is 4 months.

Portland also has much more defined seasons, with longer and hotter summers than Glasgow does, making it more dependable and ammenable for outdoor activity.

1.2 Average minimum temperature / month

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

- 25-30 ° C
- 20-25 ° C
- 15-20 ° C
- 10-15 ° C
- 5-10 ° C
- 0-5 ° C
- → Below 10° C
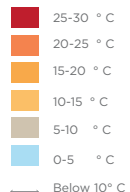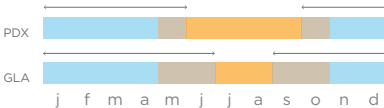
Analysis

Portland has a shorter winter than Glasgow.

RAIN

2.1 Rain days per month

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

- 0 - 5 days per month
- 5 - 10 days per month
- 10 - 15 days per month
- 15 - 20 days per month

Analysis

Glasgow and Portland have similar levels of winter rain, but Portland becomes drier in the summer months. Glasgow is rainy year round.

DAYLIGHT

3.1 Average Hours of Daylight

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

- 20 - 24 hours per day
- 16 - 20 hours per day
- 12 - 16 hours per day
- 8 - 12 hours per day
- 4 - 8 hours per day
- 0 - 4 hours per day

3.2 Average Hours of Sunshine

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

- 10 - 12 hours per day
- 8 - 10 hours per day
- 6 - 8 hours per day
- 4 - 6 hours per day
- 2 - 4 hours per day
- 0 - 2 hours per day

LIGHT AND DARKNESS

Thoughts on the effect of climate on creativity

3.3 Light and Darkness Divide: Winter's Day

PDX

GLA

00h 01h 02h 03h 04h 05h 06h 07h 08h 09h 10h 11h 12h 13h 14h 15h 16h 17h 18h 19h 20h 21h 22h 23h 24h
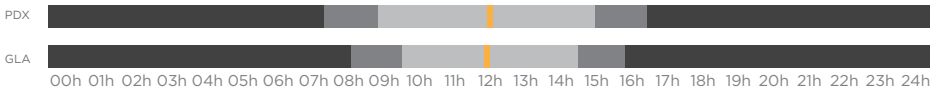
3.4 Light and Darkness Divide: Summer's Day

PDX

GLA

00h 01h 02h 03h 04h 05h 06h 07h 08h 09h 10h 11h 12h 13h 14h 15h 16h 17h 18h 19h 20h 21h 22h 23h 24h

- Midday Sun
- Light Hours
- Transition Hours
- Darker Hours

Analysis

Glasgow spends around half of the year with less than 12 hours of daylight. They also have darker winters, and lighter summers than Portland.

Glasgow's Summer has very long days, with 17 hours and 28 minutes of daylight, for an average day in June.

Portland, on the other hand, does not have such long summer days, with the maximum amount daylight hours being recorded as 15hours 37 minutes in June.

Analysis

Portland has much drier and sunnier summers than what can be seen in Glasgow.

Analysis

Glasgow and Portland have similar times of midday sun, however Portland has slightly longer days.

Climate and Place Citations:
Current Results – Currentresults.com/Weather/US/average-annual-temperatures-large-cities.php
NOAA Weather – w2.weather.gov/climate/local_data.php?wfo=pqr
Institute for Veterinary Public Health – koeppen-geiger.vu-wien.ac.at/
MetOffice – Metoffice.gov.uk/public/weather/climate/gcuvz3bch

THE CHARACTER OF PEOPLE

In 2009, Portland was named as America's unhappiest city by Business Weekly. Though many argue with that title, there are also many theories as to the reasons why Portland ranked number one for depression among the 50 examined states.[1]

In Glasgow the statistics are similar. The mysterious 'Glasgow effect' has been a topic of debate for years. Many factors like high levels of stress, poverty, alienation, and the effects of de-industrialisation are said to contribute to the ill health and low life expectancy of Glaswegians. Similar to Portland, some of the most popular theories are associated with the 'dreich' rainy weather. For example: vitamin D deficiency caused by low exposure to sunlight.[2]

So, what is the connection between the weather and a person's creativity? Some say that the weather partly forms the identity and character of the people. For instance, the name of Glasgow band Mogwai, is taken from the Chinese language and when translated means 'rain-aroused demons'.[3] Their music can also be seen as expressive, moody and inspired by the weather.

Furthermore, it appears that there is a direct connection between the weather and different types of creativity. One study shows that participants in a warmer climate were better at practical creativity like drawing, whereas those in a colder climate were better at metaphorical and abstract thinking.[4]

Overcast, cold, and rainy weather is also associated with Seasonal Affective Disorder and depression, and there also seems to be a link between creativity and depression. R.M. Hubbert, winner of Scottish Album of the Year 2011, says, '[creativity is] mostly a form of therapy. I find it easier to communicate my feelings through music than through conversation.'[5]

Psychologists agree that depression is greater in people who contemplate on their thoughts. For example, creative thinkers tend to re-play past events in their head, trying to understand them and better them for next time. Therefore, a person who thinks creatively is more likely to suffer from depression, but it can have a good effect on creative people. Usually after a period of low mood, creatives are more motivated to produce large amounts of work. This has a bipolar effect – the deeper and longer the bout of depression, the stronger and longer the period of creative activity.[6]

A Comparison of Music Venues:

How does the climate affect the sorts of locations where Portland and Glasgow express their creativity?

GLASGOW
The Guardian newspaper lists what it considers to be the top 10 music venues in both cities. The following study illustrates whether these venues are inside or outside:

		inside	outside
1	King Tut's Wah Wah Hut	✕	
2	Nice n Sleazy	✕	
3	Brel	✕	
4	Tchai Ovna	✕	
5	ABC	✕	
6	Woodside Social	✕	
7	Sub Club	✕	
8	The Halt Bar	✕	
9	Mono	✕	
10	The Barrowlands	✕	

King Tut's Wah Wah Hut

Mono

Analysis

Glasgow's 10 accredited venues are all indoor spaces in this sample.

42

PORTLAND

		inside	outside
1	Mississippi Studios	✕	
2	Alladin Theatre	✕	
3	Holocene	✕	
4	Rontoms		✕
5	The Know	✕	
6	Doug Fir Lounge	✕	
7	Edgefield		✕
8	Zoo Amphitheatre		✕
9	Valentines	✕	
10	Crystal Ballroom	✕	

Rontoms

Zoo Amphitheatre

Analysis

3 out of the 10 are found outdoors in this sample.

Music Venues Citations:
The Guardian – theguardian.com/travel/2013/may/25/
top-10-live-music-venues-portland-oregon
The Guardian – theguardian.com/travel/2008/apr/21/
glasgow.music

INDOOR/OUTDOOR EVENTS & FESTIVALS

We are looking at the relationship between the climate of Glasgow and Portland and the hosting of cultural festivals.
We see festivals as being a key indicator of creativity within an urban environment, and as such, measuring these events is key to understanding how the creatvity of both cities is affected by climate.

When is the outdoor festival season in both cities?

🏠 Indoor Festivals
🌲 Outdoor Festivals
🌲 Christmas Outdoor Festivals

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

Analysis

Portland starts to host and celebrate outdoor festivals around March, and then continues with this outdoor season until October. Whereas Glasgow's outdoor festival season is much shorter and limited to three months in summer. Both cities also use the outdoors to celebrate festivals related to Christmas and New Year. This shows that climate is a deter-mining factor, but difficult weather conditions do not prevent the use of outdoor spaces.

Breakdown of festivals looked at: Glasgow

J - Celtic Connections
F - Glasgow Film Festival
M - International Comedy
A - International Festival of Contemporary Visual Arts
M - Southside Fringe
J - West End Festival
J - Merchant City Festival
A - Piping Festival
S - Doors Open Day
O - Mental Helath Arts/Film
N - Glasgay! Festival
D - Hogmanay

Breakdown of festivals looked at: Portland

J - Chocolate Festival
F - Portland International Festival
M - St Patrick's Day
A - Tulip Festival
M - Rose Festival
J - Brewers Festival
J - Waterfront Blues Festival
A - International Beer Festival
S - Feast Portland
O - Pumpkin Festival
N - Northwest Filmmakers Festival
D - Holiday Ale Festival

When is the indoor festival season in both cities?

PDX

GLA

j f m a m j j a s o n d

Analysis

Both Portland and Glasgow have festivals that are based indoors, throughout the year. The warmer weather in both Glasgow and Portland, while allowing for festivals to happen outdoors, does not prevent or stop indoor festivals happening.

Climate and Festivals: Conclusions

Festival listings for Portland and Glasgow:
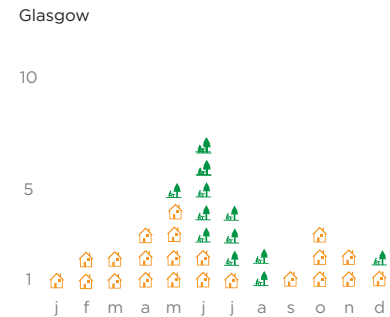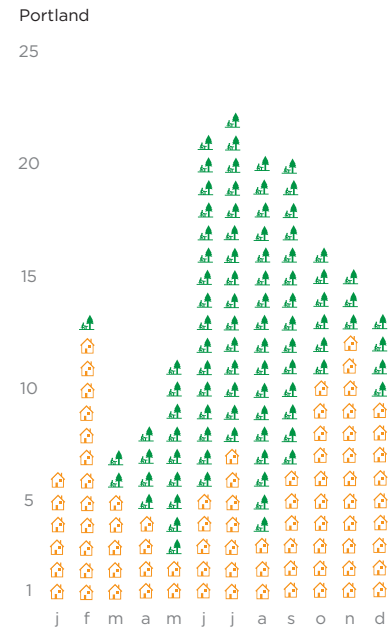
Portland

Analysis

Portland's outdoor festival season swells in the summer months, with the number of festivals that require the use of the outdoors being much larger than indoor festivals.

There are noticeably less outdoor festivals in the winter months, Jauary to March and November and December. The lower temperatures and increased rain may push events indoors.

There is a huge increase in the total amount of festivals in the summer months, suggesting that the more clement and drier weather makes the hosting of these events possible.

Glasgow

Analysis

Glasgow has far fewer registered festivals, but there is still a clear peak in the summer months, with several events making use of the outdoors.

There is clearly a continuity of festivals throughout the year, suggesting that while the hotter temperatures, longer days and greater levels of sunlight do indeed encourage more festival activity, the absence of these factors do not prevent such activity.

Indoor/Outdoor Activities Citations:
Events12 – events12.com/portland/july/
Wikipedia – en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_festivals_in_Glasgow
Glasgow Life – glasgowlife.org.uk/arts/cultural-festivals/pages/
home.aspx

FESTIVALS AS DRIVERS OF THE CREATIVE CITY

By Debbie Cawdron

CULTURAL FESTIVALS

This chapter explores the concept of cultural festivals as drivers of creativity in cities. It will explore the use of festivals in producing creativity, the success or failure of certain case studies and the differences in approaches between the two cities. The aim is to determine whether cultural festivals are successful in driving creative minds and whether they contribute to the creativity of cities.

"Being at festivals is like standing inside the mind of a culture as it dreams. They have the ability to be both extremely intimate and public spectacles at the same time."[1]

"Festivals are part of one's custom, culture and tradition. They are there for us to celebrate. It helps us forget our routine. It gives us some momentary, mental and physical relaxation and thus frees us from die shackles of monotonous work."

– David Binder

Festivals "often provide activity and animation necessary to enliven creative spaces"[2]. Cities can develop events as a resourceful strength, connecting the creativity of the home population with the cultural and creative sector and visitors. This in turn can progress the quality of life for the residents as well as enhance the tourism industry within a city.

Festivals are definitely not always focused on cultural events; however 'cultural festivals' represent the bulk of all events taking place around the world. Many of these did not begin for economic reasons, but to celebrate and support community identity. They are a worldwide tradition. Attending a celebration from another culture is like putting that culture under a microscope; as at festivals, one is often made aware of the complex workings of that culture in the most vivid and dramatic detail.

For decades, the main goals from such cultural festivals have remained the same:
- They help artist's complete and exhibit unique installations that are less fitting for the general artist's studio or gallery.
- They help support local cultural activity and artists.
- They help strengthen a city's status on a global scale.
- They play a role in the 'enlightenment' of a community by helping generate interest in culture, enlarge audiences and reach new segments of the population, in particular the youth.

Events can become a catalyst of change in cities. For most, attending these festivals provides stimulation in which creative's within the city can draw motivation. This generates a ripple effect where a cultural festival will exhibit work that will inspire a new creative class to go on and compose their own 'productions'. Charles Landry wrote "…the creativity of others is often an effective means of sparking creativity in oneself"[3] . In essence, creativity creates creativity.

To further examine the impact of cultural festivals, an example from each city has been selected due to its significance and impact. The Rose Festival in Portland is the official festival of the city; The West End Festival is Glasgow's biggest yearly celebration.

Glasgow West End Festival

Every year in June, Glasgow comes alive to embrace the West End Festival in a blur of music, markets, drinking, and dancing. It takes over and inspires the minds of the observers and tourists in the west end of the city.

The founder of the event, Michael Dale, started the festival with the support of Councillor Robert Logan as a "small local event centred on Byres Road"[4], but it has since become the largest festival in the City with more than one million visitors attending since it began in 1996.

On the festival's 10th anniversary, an estimated 100,000 people took to the streets of Glasgow for the festivities. The city encompassed over 400 events in 80 venues across the west end. Over 100 Glasgow based organisations, art groups and local as well as international artists produced a selection of activities and events for all ages and tastes.[5] These included exhibitions, performances, talks, and screenings. The centrepiece, the carnival parade, is the biggest carnival event in Great Britain outside of Notting Hill in London.

 "This vibrant variety of events is well worth a visit, with activities and entertainment spanning across the whole of the west, from Kelvingrove Park, to various shops, bars and streets. There are stalls filled with weird and wonderful things and local businesses pedalling their wares and getting into the Glasgow spirit of things ... a firm favourite amongst long time locals."[6]

Described as "Scotland's Mardi Gras"[7] by organisers, it received high praise in 2006, making it in to the list of top 30 festivals in Europe[8]. On going funding from Creative Scotland as well as Glasgow City Council will mean the West End Festival can continue to grow and flourish as one of the top cultural reasons to visit the city of Glasgow.

Figure 2 – Glasgow West End Festival Carnival

Figure 3 – Glasgow West End Festival Parade

Figure 4 – Dancers and Participants at the Glasgow West End Festival

Figure 5 – Portland Rose Festival Parade Float on the 25th Anniversary

Figure 6 – Waterfront Carnival at the downtown Plan promenade

Figure 7 – Dragon Boat for the annual festival racing

The Portland Rose Festival started during the first decade of the 20th century with the aim of putting Portland on the map and branding it the "summer capital of the world"[9].

Located amidst the Tom McCall Waterfront between the bustling skyscrapers and the flowing waters of the Willamette River, the Rose Festival runs annually from late May to mid June. The festival hosts a variety of unique and fascinating events like dragon boat races, floral parades, rose shows, and milk carton boat races as well as the usual carnival rides, game booths and live music. With dozens of events spotlighting the diverse interests and culture of the community, the rose festival makes a positive impact on hundreds and thousands of lives annually; bringing smiles to the faces of both locals and guests and attracting an annual 1.4 million[10] attendees dramatically boosting the city's tourism and status.

In 2010 the celebrations were at last recognized as Portland's Official Festival by declaration of the Council.

"Portland lives up to its 'City of Roses' moniker, and it's been doing so for over 100 years. In tribute to the beautiful flowers the city is known for… residents are so eager to claim spaces for the parade that they frequently chain lawn chairs to parking meters to mark a spot. Others simply duct-tape or chalk their name and a border around the area they stake out. On the morning of the parade, folks arrive early, and you'll see people on the sidewalk making pancakes and coffee on camp stoves. 'Prelude' and 'Encore' events lengthen the span of the festival dates."[11]

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INVESTIGATION
Comparative Study

The Rose Festival is known as "The festival that captures the city's heart and soul."[12] It has been part of Portland's culture for more than a century and has adapted throughout the years from something steeped in tradition to an event that incorporates the city's deep history in to a contemporary and nostalgic production. Its award winning events, as well as serving as a community leader for celebrating values like volunteerism, patriotism and environmentalism, help to make Portland a better place to live and visit. In 2011, the International Festivals and Events Association named the Portland Rose Festival the best in the world.[13]

Portland wears its festivities like a suit of well-worn comfortable clothes; its festivals are familiar, relaxed and community based. "The Rose Festival is a rallying point for Portlanders."[14] Glasgow, on the other hand puts on its Sunday best to hold such events and you can't help feeling that the city is motivated purely by economics. Millions of cities worldwide hold festivals and music events, art fairs, parades, carnivals and shows; but only in Portland can citizens and tourists experience events and festivities that you wouldn't find in any other city, such as the annual naked bike ride and the adult soap box derby.

One of the biggest challenges facing cities such as Glasgow in adopting 'creative' strategies lies in the division between the tourists and the locals. Creativity within cities is needed to develop relationships between locals and tourists that are not just about economics, but which are aimed at developing the co-creation of place between the host population and their visitors. Events can be a great way of creating links between visitors and cities, but not visitors and locals.

Glasgow in many ways fails to cure this divide; its city wide goals focus on the financial rather than the community. Creative strategies focus on tourism and the people who 'make' Glasgow are tossed around like pawns in a bigger game. The City is consistently "thinking globally" but fails to "act locally"[15]. On the opposite side, Glasgow's West End Festival is on the right track to becoming significant to the city's status. It is used as a model example for other festival start ups and has grown with each year. The events are crucial to the growth of 'creative Glasgow' as they influence and motivate the people of the city.

The Garden City events of 1988, European City of Culture 1990, and the City of Architecture and Design 1999 and now the Commonwealth Games last summer have all backed up Glasgow as a city of activity, culture, architecture, design and sport and helped reinforce Glasgow's position globally. Today the city is known by

its brand, 'People Make Glasgow'; however the city council are so focused on bringing new people and tourism in to the city, they seem to be forgetting about the people within the city boundaries who make it. "Cities are not structure, cities are people."[16] The difference between the two cities is the way in which they use these events for economic gain and tourism purposes. While Glasgow is focusing on financial gain, Portland's events are all about the people of the city and portraying their history in a hip and modern way.

In Benjamin Zanol's guide to Portland, he writes "where else can you catch a glimpse of the unipiper, a unicycle riding Scotsman who dresses up as anything from Darth Vader, Gandalf or one of the Mario Brothers as he rides around the city streets playing a bagpipe?"[17] In essence, this sums up the character of Portland perfectly. The City's relaxed and laid back atmosphere teamed with the young population offers up a sense of freedom and openness within that allows creative minds to flourish.

Portland's successful festival scene is just another example of how the young and creative minds of the city outlet their abilities. "Portland is a place for young people, an optimistic place. Open, accessible [and] … friendly."[18] These characteristics of the place are why the city is so successful with its events and with attracting the creative class. The people are open and willing to participate in the events and the community works well together.

In comparison, Glasgow's creative scene and young population are constantly having to battle with the council. The traffic cone placed on the Duke of Wellington's statue by the young population has become symbolic to the city and regularly appears on post cards and magazines. However, Glasgow City Council has no interest in the creativity and character of this act, and regularly removes the cone. This is Glasgow; a place full of creative and unique minds that are unable to flourish due to the councils apparent narrow mindedness.

Figure 8 – The Portland Unipiper

Figure 9 – The Duke of Wellington 'Conehead'

ANALYSIS
Festival Figures

Figures illustrate that Glasgow is on a much smaller scale in terms of cultural events and festivities to Portland.

The concentration on the creative events scene is evident in Portland, which has 170 festivals celebrated throughout a year compared to only 30 in Glasgow. In fact, there are more festivals over Portland's summer than Glasgow has all year.[19]

Figure 11 shows that with regards to New Orleans Mardi Gras, the Rose Festival competes on the same level as the internationally known and celebrated event with over 1 million people attending both every year.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Glasgow	1	2	2	3	3	7	4	2	1	2	2	2
Portland	6	13	7	8	11	21	22	20	20	16	15	9
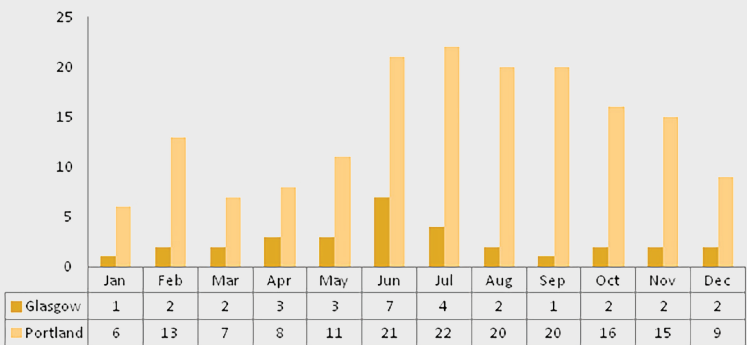
Figure 10: Number of Festivals in Portland and Glasgow by Month, 2015

	Portland Rose Festival	New Orleans Mardi Gras	Glasgow West End Festival
Attendance (per Thousand)	1,400	1,400	160
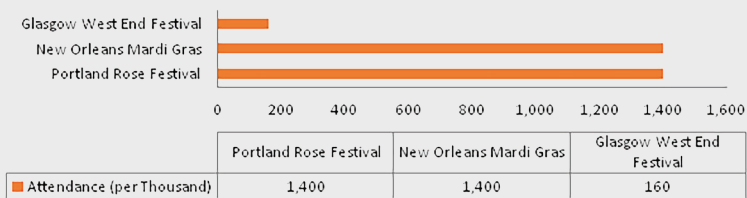
Figure 11: Attendance of festivals in Glasgow, Portland and New Orleans, 2010

CONCLUSION
Successful Festival Cities?

The Rose Festival in Portland and the West End Festival in Glasgow are both great events that dramatically boost the creativity of their cities, but they differ in terms of their global status, economic welfare, and their cultural impact. While both are influential in boosting creativity within the city by motivating and inspiring the participants and guests, the Rose Festival is more concerned with city history, the community, and people, whereas the West End Festival focuses on economic gain for the city and improving tourism.

A city requires four main things to create a successful festival scene:
- The city must have a consistent flow of activities and events to attend; a singular event will not change the cities status.
- The residents of the city must be open and willing to participate; in both cities, the people are. However in Glasgow, the council is not.
- The city must be capable of holding such events; both case studies certainly are.
- Finally, the city must then become dependent on the events; While Portland would be lost without its festivities and events, in Glasgow you might not even notice one not being on one year.

Glasgow is a prime example of a technical and financial success but it is yet to combine this with a social victory. Only time will tell if the West End Festival will grow to be a cultural success.

A study carried out on the Midlands region's festivals[20] concluded that more than 44% of the individuals interviewed felt there was more interest in arts and culture thanks to the attendance of festivals. "Festivals nurture the local economy by attracting tourists and creating wealth and jobs."[21] However, researchers Van Aalst and Van Melik indicated that "the festival audience was ultimately more faithful to the event than to the location"[22], indicating that in many cases creative content may outweigh context. Therefore, the cultural festival is an important element of the modern day creative centre, but it could survive and thrive without its home city. Changing this balance is the key to establishing a truly creative centre.

"Festivity breeds creativity"[23], festivals are influential for the cultural, economic and creative welfare of cities. They are directly related to the character, quality and personality of a city. For a festival to work well, it must embrace these factors. According to Professor Richard Florida in his book 'Rise of the Creative Class', "creative minds will look for a region or a city that offers them cultural amenities, high tech services, good living & recreational activities as well as a sense of freedom and respect for individualism. The city in turn will benefit from the presence of this creative class."

Both Glasgow and Portland embrace festivals as part of their cultural personality, and there is no argument that both are indeed creative centres. Their approaches towards becoming creative cities are however, completely different. Portland relies a lot on its industries, festivals and events to welcome creativity within the city. They are what make the city creative; it is home grown. In Glasgow, the city's creativity comes mainly from its branding, its people and its reputation; it is bought in. This is a good start but, as mentioned previously, for the process to work in the long term it must evolve; it needs time to become established.

Glasgow has the problem that everything is run by the council, and if they don't agree then the plug is pulled. The city needs to start doing things for the people instead of through their current, monetary gain only, way of thinking. The city is on the right track, however, as a city Glasgow seems to be stuck on this base, and is unable to advance. The city needs to create the correct environment for not just the tourists, but the residents, the workers, the creative's and everyone else coming in contact with it. Portland has this environment, while Glasgow is still working towards this goal, but as it stands, it is still too formal. There is still too weak a bond between the creative realm, the festival and the host city.

There is nothing new in this process. In the past, a city was defined by its industry, but with the decline of industries, this is no longer always the case. Natural resources and geography helped decide the character and culture of the city and a city's identity took time to emerge. Today, culture defines the majority of city identities. The Rose Festival stays true to the original concept of the 'Cultural Festival' in that it remains an event centred on celebration and supporting community identity. Glasgow's festivities, on the other hand, lack an identity and status. The Rose Festival very much drives the creativity of Portland, while Glasgow's West End Festival is yet to achieve this status.

From the examples presented, it is evident that cultural festivals can contribute to the identity of a city even in the short term, as well as the development of local tourism which can lead to economic gain. However, the contribution of cultural activities in the form of cultural tourism depends on the type of activity and on the features of the local economy. Culture does not automatically bring economic benefits to a territory, nor does it automatically make a city 'creative'. It needs to match the ethos, the passion of the city itself. It needs to fit well like comfortable clothes, otherwise as soon as the occasion is over the clothes are changed.

Developing a centre of creativity is perhaps more an evolutionary process than a revolutionary one where it is just imposing change. The introduction of a festival and the true acceptance of an event can take many years. Portland's Rose festival is almost 90 years older than Glasgow's West End Festival, and it shows. While the West End Festival remains a highlight for residents on Glasgow's timeline, it needs time to mature if it wishes to become known on a global scale.

Demographics

POPULATION

55

- GLASGOW
- PORTLAND

Glasgow's peak population was 1.089 million, making it one of the most densely populated cities in the world at the time.

Portland is the 29th largest city in the US and continues to grow today.
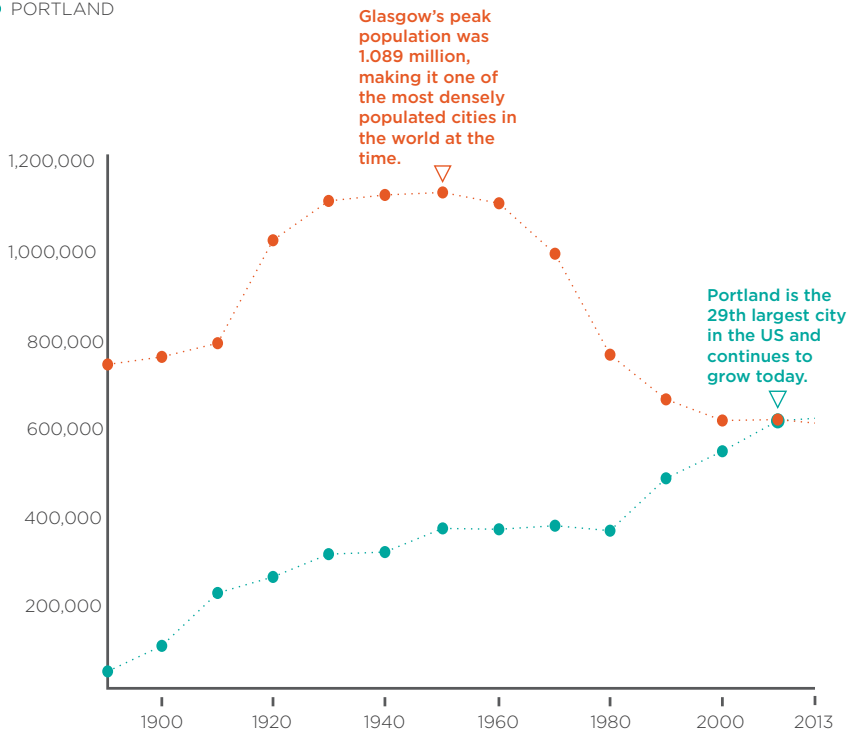
Population in Glasgow: **596,550** (2013)
Population in Glasgow: **592,120** (2013)

The comparison of Glasgow and Portland's populations show two very different trajectories. Glasgow has radically fluctuated in size over the last century. Explosive growth occurred during the Industrial Revolution in the 1800s, reaching its peak during the 1950s to then progressively decline. Since Portland was only established in 1845, parallel to Glasgow's growth, it was only just starting to establish itself as a city, and by 1850 only 800 people lived in Portland.

The Industrial Revolution played a huge part in Glasgow's population growth. In 1801 the estimated population was 77,000 and by 1901 it had increased 10 fold. In the 1960s industrial decline–paired with the migration of people from the city centre out into the New Towns–caused Glasgow's population to fall steeply. This decline lasted for several decades until recently in 2007, when the population gradually began to increase again.

Portland, on the other hand, has managed to maintain a constant rate of growth since its founding. The population started to pick up only when the city hosted the Lewis and Clark World's Fair in 1905, which brought Portland to worldwide attention. This led to the doubling of the population over a ten year period, from 90,426 in 1900 to 207,214 in 1910. The city has steadily grown ever since, and still continues to rise.

AGE DEMOGRAPHICS

PORTLAND
Age

■	0-18	21.1%
■	18-24	10.3%
■	25-44	34.7%
■	45-64	22.4%
■	+65	11.6%

34.7%
aged 25-44
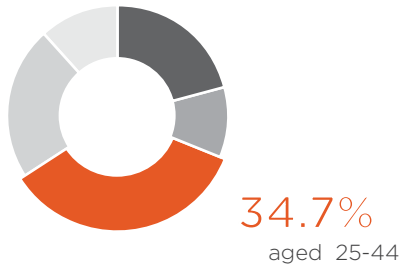
GLASGOW
Age

■	0-15	16.2%
■	16-29	23.9%
■	30-44	21.8%
■	45-59	19.6%
■	60-74	11.9%
■	75+	6.7%

23.9%
aged 16-29
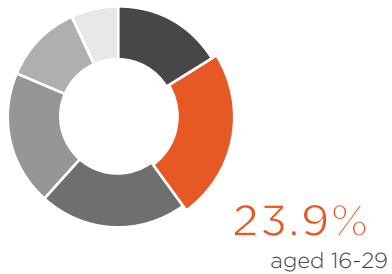
MEDIAN AGE

Portland	35 years
Oregon	38 years
US	36.8 years

Glasgow	35 years
Scotland	41 years
UK	39.7 years

Both cities have lower median ages than their respective national averages.
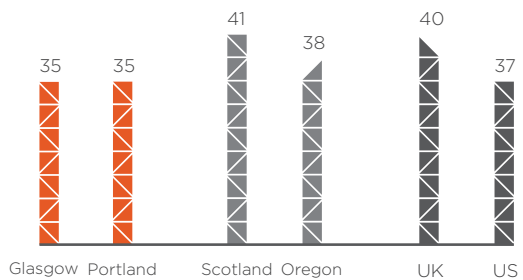
Glasgow 35 Portland 35 Scotland 41 Oregon 38 UK 40 US 37

DENSITY

GLASGOW

108 sq mi

Area / sq mi

8,790 people / sq mi

596,550

Metro Area Population

PORTLAND

145 sq mi

Area / sq mi

4,375 people / sq mi

592,120

Metro Area Population

EDINBURGH

102 sq mi

Area / sq mi

4,730 people / sq mi

495,360

Metro Area Population

SEATTLE

143 sq mi

Area / sq mi

7,774 people / sq mi

652,405

Metro Area Population

LONDON

607 sq mi

Area / sq mi

13,870 people / sq mi

13,614,409

Metro Area Population

NEW YORK

975 sq mi

Area / sq mi

27,778 people / sq mi

19,831,858

Metro Area Population

COST OF LIVING

The statistics show the average rent of a one bedroom flat in the centre of each city. Glasgow and Portland are by far the cheapest out of the comparison. In Portland especially, this has led to an influx of young 'creatives', drawn by the amenities of a large city and low living costs.

Glasgow

Portland

Edinburgh

Seattle

London

New York

400   600   800   1,000   1,200   1,400   1,600   1,800   £
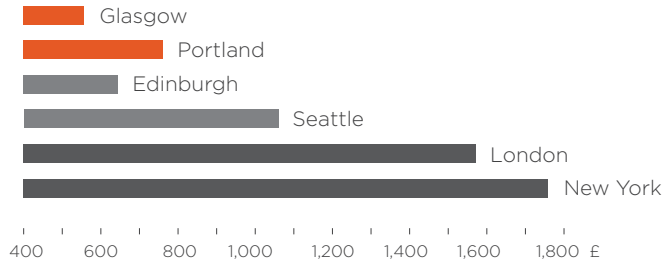
UNEMPLOYMENT

Glasgow has one of the highest rates of unemployment in the UK (but is stilll a cheap city to live in). Portland is also known for drawing many people despite the recent lack of jobs.

Glasgow

Portland

Edinburgh

Seattle

London

New York

0   2   4   6   8   10   12   %
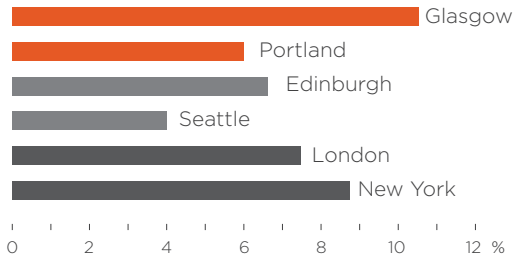
According to the DCMS (Department for Culture, Music and Sport) and in relation with Creative Scotland, creative industries are rooted in individual creativity, skill and talent. They indicate that the sector is made up of 13 distinct industries:

- Crafts
- Publishing
- Design
- Software and computer services
- Designer fashion
- TV and radio
- Film

- Advertising
- Interactive leisure software
- Architecture
- Music
- Arts and antiques
- Performing arts

UK

According to an Arts & Creative Industries report in 2013 by the DCMS, 2.62 million, one in twelve, jobs in the UK were in the creative industries. A great increase in numbers from 2012 when only 65,200, or 8.3% of, people were employed in the creative sector.

Scotland

The report also states that Scotland's 163,000 jobs in the Creative Industries account for 6.3% of Scottish employment. In Scotland, these industries are highly concentrated in the two largest cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. They account for 40% of Scotland's total employment in the Arts and Creative Industries, with 25.8% (17,400) of jobs located in Glasgow.

Glasgow

In 1990, Glasgow was also the first UK city to be named European Capital of Culture. This has had an enormous impact on the city in terms of its Creative Industries. For example, the number of live performances in music, theatre or dance has risen by 82% since 1992. This performance and arts scene plays a huge role in the city, comprising of 184 professional organizations and a turnover of £186 million.

US

According to a Creative Industries & Employment in the Arts report by the Americans for the Arts organization, only 2.9 million jobs in the US are in the Creative Industries. 702,771 businesses are involved in the creation or distribution of the arts in the US, which represents 1.9% of all people.

Portland

The Portland Plan Background Report on Arts and Culture in 2009 looked at the economic impact of the arts in Portland. It stated that according to the Metropolitan Exposition Recreation Commission's (MERC) Economic and Fiscal Impact Analysis, there are 1,500 firms employing 14,000 'creatives' in Portland. The average salary in creative industries is $66,600 compared to the regional average wage of $40,600.

Also, according to RACC and the Arts and Economic Prosperity Report III from 2007, nonprofit arts and cultural organizations themselves represent a $318 million industry in the Portland metro area, supporting over 10,300 full time equivalent jobs. The Portland metro region's 111 arts-related nonprofit organizations produced $206 million of income in 2006.

60

Cost of Living/Unemployment/The Creative Sector Citations:
Bureau of Labor Statistics – bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/pdf/occupationalemploymentandwages_portlandor.pdf
BBC News – .bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-12659782
Glasgow Life – glasgowlife.org.uk/policy-research/Documents/Glasgow%20Cultural%20Statistics.pdf
Vitality-In-Oregon_2010.pdf Oregon Live – oregonlive.com/silicon-forest/index.ssf/2012/07/investment_in_oregon_tech_comp.html
Oregon Arts Commission – oregonartscommission.org/sites/default/files/publication_or_resource/publication_file/Creative-

MEDIAN SALARIES £|$

The median average wage in Portland is much higher when compared to Glasgow's, while Glasgow's living costs remain lower.

Glasgow
£20,222

Scotland
£20,771

Portland
£33,789
($52,158)

Oregon
£31,847
($49,161)
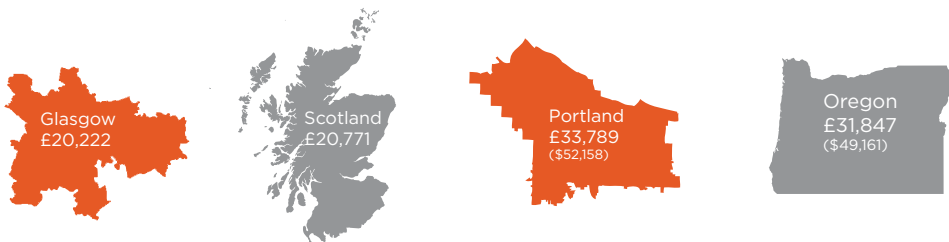
CREATIVE EMPLOYMENT

As figures for wages vary with different creative sector classifications, the wages can vary widely by industry as well. Overview statistics show Portland has a much higher rate of pay for creative emply9ment than in Glasgow, which is consistant with the fact that overall pay is higher in Portland.

General rough wage estimates in creative sectors show a median anual wage of:

Portland: **£45,123 ($66,600)**
Scotland: **£23,904 ($36,500)**
The pay workers earn can vary widely by industry

IMMIGRATION & ETHNICITY

Glasgow has the most ethnically diverse population in Scotland. In 2012 ethnic monorities formed more than **12%** of the population or about **86,000** people.

While Portlanders are predominately caucasian, the proportion of foreign-born residents has **DOUBLED** since 1980.

This correlates with the time Portland began to develop rapidly into a cultural city.

Median Salaries/Immigration & Ethnicity Citations:
Quick Facts – quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/41/4159000.html
Glasgow Life – glasgowlife.org.uk/policy-research/Documents/Glasgow%20Cultural%20Statistics.pdf
City Data - city-data.com/city/Portland-Oregon.html
Bureau of Labor Statistics – bls.gov/regions/west/news-release/pdf/occupationalemploymentandwages_portlandor.pdf
National Records of Scotland – nrscotland.gov.uk/files2/stats/council-area-data-sheets/glasgow-city-factsheet.pdf
Understanding Glasgow – understandingglasgow.com/assets/0001/0777/Population_and_Households_by_Ethnicity_in_Glasgow.pd

Portland's creative economic growth stems from the dot-com boom in the 1990s, when large firms such as Nike, Adidas and Wieden & Kennedy. These opportunities to work in graphic design attracted waves of talented young people to the city. Opportunities in Portland's tech industries have also been prevalent in recent decades. Due to the concentration of high-tech companies in the Portland metropolitan area, it has gained the nickname 'Silicon Forest'.

Large scale companies such as Intel, the world's largest chip maker, have brought the tech industries to the forefront of Oregon's creative economy. They employ 16,200 people in the state, which is more Oregonians than any other business. Many of these young people were drawn to live in Portland not only for its creative employment prospects, but also for the cheaper living costs compared to other West Coast cities such as San Francisco or Seattle. When the dot-com bubble burst, this led to an influx of even more young people coming from these other west coast cities. Portland was left with a large creative population.

When we look at both Glasgow and Portland, it is clear to see that the creative industries in both cities have grown exponentially over the last 30-40 years. Glasgow's growth has been stimulated by cultural policies and re-branding of the city. The creative industries in Portland have been driven by the major companies which provide employment opportunities in creative fields. It is clear that the creative industries in both cities are an integral part of the economy and continue to grow today.

Urban Form

City Centre

N Miles
0 .5 1 2

Kilometers
0 .5 1 2

P ORTLAND, O REGON

N Miles
0 .5 1 2

Kilometers
0 .5 1 2
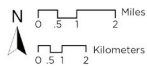
Figure Ground

The Streets

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND BUILDING MAP

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND STREETS MAP

PORTLAND, OREGON BUILDING MAP

PORTLAND, OREGON STREETS MAP

CREATIVE RIVERS

Riverfront Comparison Between Glasgow and Portland in Relation to The Creative City
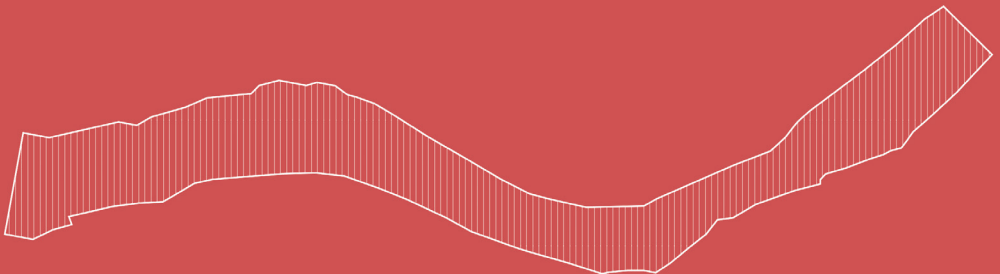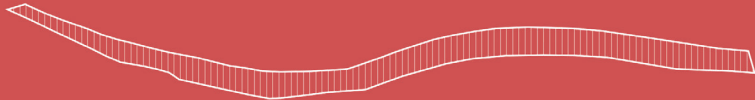
By Laura Rudokaitė

CREATIVE RIVERS

"Space contributed by an expanse of water is realised as a resource only when it can be enjoyed by the public"
— August Heckscher

'The Clyde made Glasgow'[1] is a well known phrase. It shows the importance of the Clyde to the success of Glasgow and its role in the evolution of the city. In the beginning of Glasgow as a city, the Clyde was only a shallow cobbled stream with the lowest fording point at the end of the high street leading up to the Cathedral. The Clyde grew from then onwards and reached its peak during the industrialization era. However, its importance and role as a city element is often questioned and doubted.

The Willamette River in Portland has a similar historical importance to its city. The confluence of the Willamette and Columbia rivers is the reason why Portland exists. From the early years since the city was founded throughout different periods of time, the Willamette River underwent considerable changes in the matter of its use and perception by the citizens.

Waterfronts are distinctive natural environments that give character to the city. Rivers that are taken care of and integrated into the city can help to shape its image, add value to the local economy, and boost desirability of the adjacent land. In addition to these aspects, a proper integration can also allow to facilitate improvements to its environmental state. In return, if the redevelopment is somewhat successful, citizens gain a vibrant natural space in a busy urban environment.

The significance of the riverfront as an urban environment is explored within this text with the goal of appraising the following hypothesis:

As Glasgow is moving away from its industrial image, the River Clyde has the potential to support creativity through becoming a platform for public spaces and events.

Figures 1 & 2 - River Clyde with its immediate surroundings and paths leading to it
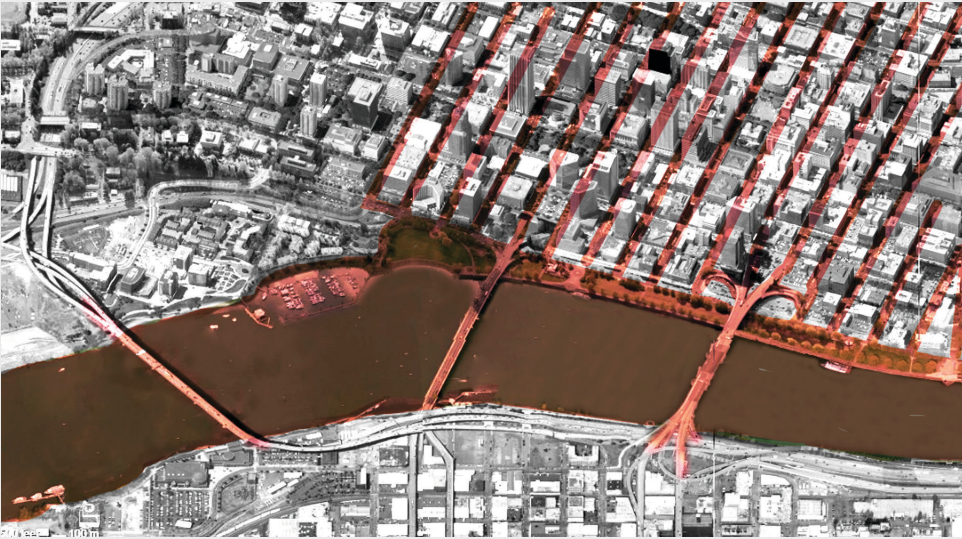
Figures 3 & 4 - Willamette River with its immediate surroundings and paths leading to it

ANALYSIS - CITY

The River Clyde is faced with districts of different character in terms of both their location on either the North or South banks of the riverfront but also in terms of their proximity to the City Centre. This situation is also identifiable in Portland's Willamette River, where the banks are orientated towards East and West. In both cases the cluster of districts alongside one of the river banks happens to be more thriving than its counterpart. This is true for the North bank of River Clyde and the West bank of Willamette River.

However, even if Willamette's West bank and Glasgow's North bank districts share similarities in being more looked after, they also show some major differences in the way they interact with their riverfronts. The prosperous districts of the Willamette's West bank are not only directly adjacent to the

68

riverfront but also exploit that adjacency as a beneficial and unique situation. This is legible in the large amount of shops, offices and general leisure areas that are found by the river.

A similar situation is not exploited to its fullest potential in the North bank of River Clyde. Most of the activity in this wealthy area is found some blocks away from the riverfront. The opportunity to create a sustained pattern of activity alongside the riverfront environment is missed as exemplified in the numerous vacant buildings and plots which are to be found directly opposite the river. The lack of activity influences both the character of the nearby districts and the qualities of the riverfront as a city environment.

Paths and View Corridors in Glasgow

Figure 5 - Saltmarket Street

Figure 6 - Ropework Lane

Figure 7 - Jamaica Street

Paths and View Corridors in Portland

Figure 8 - Ash Street
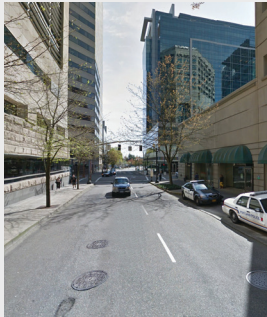
Figure 9 - SW Main Street
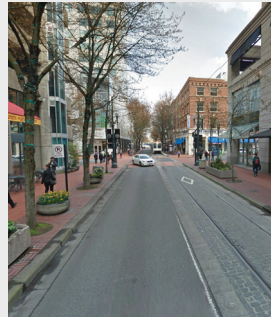
Figure 10 - SW Morrison Street

Understanding the permeability between these districts and the riverfront is key to appraise the success of the Willamette River as a public space. The paths that connect the city environments adjacent to the Willamette River banks in Portland are certainly established view corridors. Each path is a continuous link from the inner city districts to the riverfront which provides city inhabitants with continuous visibility along its length and a clear sight of what lies at the end of the path. Furthermore, this end goal of the path has a clearly recognisable and differentiated character as a place of nature which can be easily associated with the riverfront (fig. 8-10)

This situation cannot be found in the paths leading to the River Clyde in Glasgow. Although these paths are fairly frequent and regular in the central districts of the city, they are also often interrupted just a block away from the riverfront. These interruptions cut off any direct routes from the highly populated city centre districts to the riverfront. The consequent segregation further worsens the permeability from the nearby districts to the Clyde (fig5-7).

River Clyde Banks

Figure 11- Clyde Walkway

Figure 12 - Clyde Underpass

Figure 13 - Clyde Seating Area

Willamette River Banks
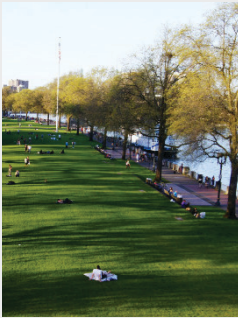
Figure 14 - Willamette Park

Figure 15 - Fountain
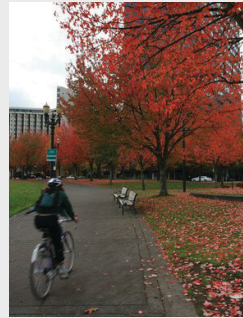
Figure 16 - Park Paths

Any segregation in this context should be addressed as, for a creative city to flourish, it needs to have stimulating places for people to meet and exchange knowledge. The city needs to trigger rich and deep experiences. As seen from the above investigations, Portland has a clear structure and organisation of its city districts adjacent to the Willamette River. Its visibly organised and strongly identified environment gives the observer a sense of security and of being in an unmistakable place. This positive situation is harder to find within the current condition in Glasgow which consequently makes it harder to generate a critical mass needed at its urban riverbanks.

ANALYSIS - RIVERFRONT

Whereas an appropriate level of permeability from the adjacent city districts is essential for the riverfront's success, the connectivity and quality of the spaces which lie directly on its riverbanks is also paramount. The historian August Heckscher states with regards to waterfront spaces: "Space contributed by an expanse of water is realised as a resource only when it can be enjoyed by the public. It must be open to view and also approachable".[2]

The identifiable spaces found lining the banks of River Clyde in Glasgow are not only hard to notice from the city but they are also disconnected amongst themselves. The few routes linking one space to another are often ambiguous with regards to their visibility or accessibility. The main implication of this condition in terms of its perception by the observer is that the many public spaces of the Clyde banks are not seen as a unified riverfront environment but, instead, as a large number of fragmented public spaces of isolated character.

This condition is further emphasized by the numerous obstacles found along the pedestrian and cyclist corridors by the Clyde. There are many differences in level from one adjacent space to the other, which are not clearly linked by any visible alternative route or connection. In addition, there are frequent interruptions to the cycle lanes and paths such as misplaced flights of steps, fences or low-level overhead bridges. Consequently, the spaces alongside the Clyde banks are mostly not capable of supporting life, public or recreational events (fig. 11-13).

The riverfront spaces of Willamette River in Portland, in contrast, are seen hosting many festivals, markets, open public events and other happenings on a weekly basis. They are also commonly used as a place of informal gathering and meeting by the city's inhabitants on the day to day life. This positive condition can be clearly identified as the result of a set of structural strategies which consider the visibility and accessibility of the riverfront environment as an integrated whole (fig. 14-16).

The spaces are not only diverse in character but also have an identifiable variety in terms of their possible uses throughout the day, week and year. Furthermore, all the spaces are linked by a continuous and uninterrupted pedestrian and cycle corridor which establishes accessible and visible connections alongside the whole length of the riverfront. It also allows city inhabitants to have a space for outdoor activities in the city centre. These activities combined with the public gatherings visible along the riverfront improve the perception of this environment greatly which in turn also benefits the adjacent environments.
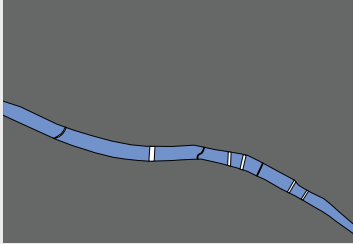
Figure 17 - Clyde bridge locations
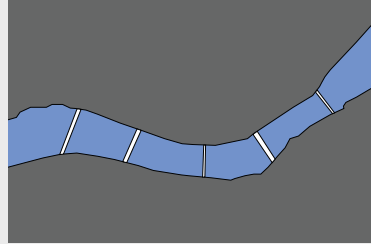
Figure 18 - Willamette bridge locations

In addition, the river should not act as a barrier between these environments. Both sides of the river should be able to enjoy its amenities. However, this is not easy to achieve by an increased interval of bridge crossings alone. Both riverbanks should be economically vital to have a constant interchange of people. Nonetheless, having pedestrian and bike friendly bridges at regular distances helps the connectivity. Glasgow exceeds Portland in this respect. Along the same length, the Clyde has eight bridges overall while the Willamette has five. Furthermore, out of those eight bridges in Glasgow, two are pedestrians only, five are both pedestrians and cars and one is cars only. In Portland all of the five bridges are mixed use making it less safe or enjoyable to cross the river for both pedestrians and cyclists (fig. 17-18).

Figure 19 - Harbour Drive Freeway
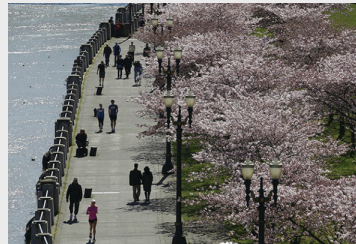
Figure 20 - Tom McCall Waterfront Park

In this respect, it is important to mention the role of the Harbour Drive Freeway removal in the creation of the Willamette's River riverfront environment and the quality and use of its public spaces. The Harbour Drive Freeway was a large piece of vehicular infrastructure running along the Willamette's edge which was closed and set for deconstruction in 1975. In order to appropriately reuse the space left by this Freeway, it was decided to implement a series of master-plans with the goal of creating the "Tom McCall Waterfront Park" alongside the city centre segment of the Willamette (fig. 19-20).[3] The success of the Willamette River as a waterfront environment and the specific mixed use characteristic of its bridge crossing are both directly consequential to this infrastructural shift.

Nevertheless, it is clear from the Willamette River example that the city's riverfront is more positively perceived when being considered and developed as an integrated whole. Although in Portland's case this was achieved through a large infrastructural change, it is possible to improve the accessibility and visibility of the riverfront's public spaces through local action and change. A diverse network of public spaces can be hugely beneficial to the city's inhabitants as long as they are considered appropriately in terms of their connectivity and image by the observer.

'Urban open space […] is associated with pleasure, with recreation, with human encounters and communal celebrations. It may, as well, play a significant role in renewing and stabilizing the cities' social and economic base.'[4] Ultimately, without appropriate integration of the river to the adjacent neighbourhoods and without competent amenities at its banks, the Clyde stands no chance in moving away from being a forgotten and isolated city element in a busy city environment.

CONCLUSION

The river is a unique natural environment within the man-made structures of the city. The Clyde and its setting in the centre of the city allow it to service the major city neighborhoods. However, due to the lack of accessibility and the poor quality of its riverbank spaces as well as the impaired perception of the Clyde's riverfront by Glasgow's inhabitants, the Clyde's potential is neglected and constantly overlooked as a prominent public space.

As exemplified by the Willamette River analysis, its strong structure and good connectivity to the city centre allows the river to become a well established city element with high importance in people's lives. The structured developments have heightened the image of the vital public spaces along the river and helped Portland to establish its prominence at a national and international scale.

The emergence of Glasgow as a creative city can help adopt these changes. A creative interdisciplinary approach can help shift the focus from inner city developments to city-and-river developments as well as to create a reciprocal relationship between the city and its river. As E. Glaeser explains, cities have the 'ability to magnify human creativity, which makes cities enjoyable as well as industrious'.[5] A well developed and integrated public space would allow for people to meet, talk, exchange ideas and create new connections. The people who make the city creative are smart, entrepreneurial citizens that care about the quality of life and the city they live in.[6] Therefore, as C. Landry explains, if the place is welcoming and encouraging, 'Its dynamism makes it a magnet and so generates a critical mass and attracts people from outside'.[7]

These changes to the city structure as well as to the use of the river would allow it to harness its potential to become a platform for creative events and to consequently become a vital creative place within the city. An established reciprocal relationship with the wider city would allow Glasgow's identity as a creative city to grow, resulting in a better balance between place, culture and economy.

Block Comparison

Typical Grid: Portland

Typical Arrangement: Glasgow
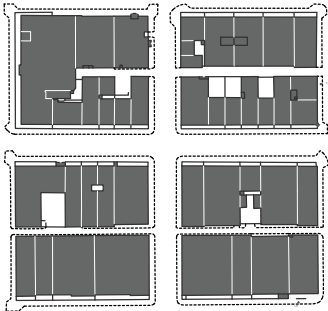
Typical Grid: Glasgow

Typical Arrangement: Portland

Main Streets
Alleys/Secondary Streets
Pedestrian Streets

N

50 100 200 Meters

25 50 100 Meters
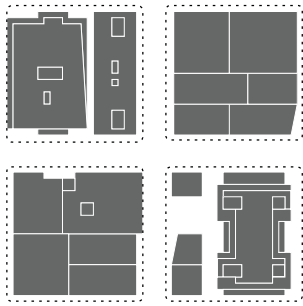
Typical Block: Glasgow

82 Meters

70 Meters

Most blocks in Glasgow were designed to allow for a back alley to run between two sides of the block. There is an obvious front and back to the buildings.

Because of the arrangement of buildings on the block, there is much more variety in the size and quality of individual buildings that make up the whole of the block

Typical Block: Portland

62 Meters

62 Meters
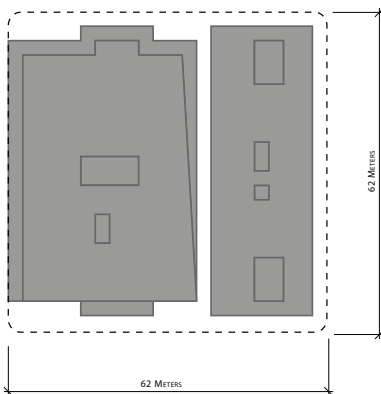
Portland's blocks are populated with one or maybe two buildings at the most (typical in many American cities). This causes the building to face the street on every side, and makes it hard to differentiate one use from another.

Due to the use of larger building footprints, most blocks in Portland only have one or two buildings on them, giving the streets a more formal and austere feel.

RENFIELD STREET

77

Sidewalk

Street Parking

Oneway Traffic

Bus Lane

Sidewalk

18 Meters

Meters

10 20 40

N
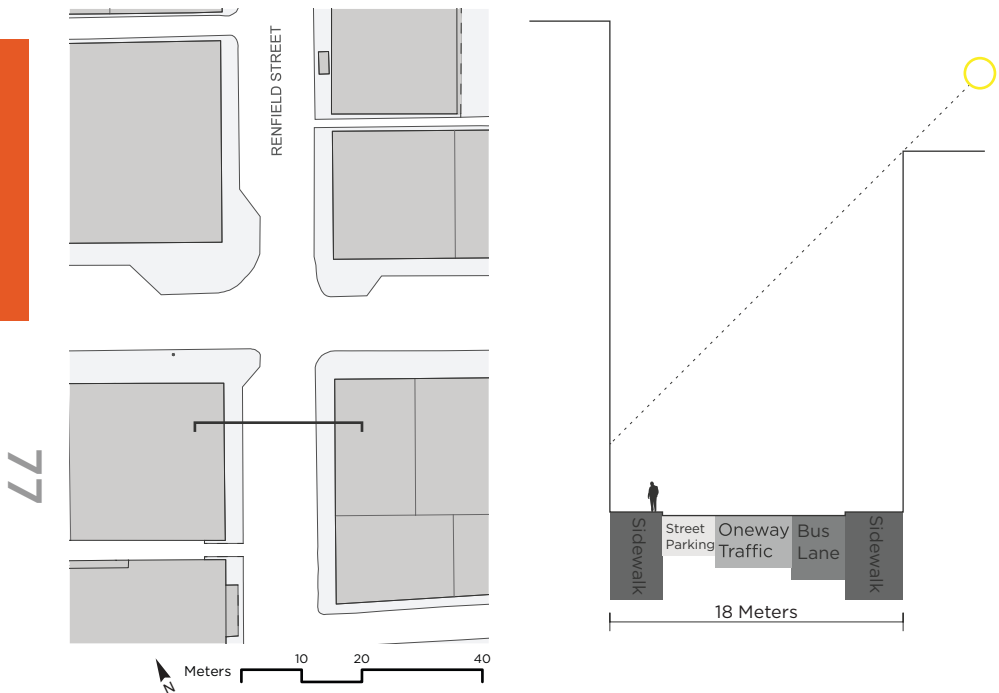
The urban realm is the place where people and the city meet. It both influences and is influenced by the people that use it. Glasgow's public realm is not used as well as it might be. It has many good qualities, but it seems that for the most part it is the people that make the spaces good, not the spaces themselves. A typical street in Glasgow tends to be only used as a pedestrian walkway, but there is much more potential for their use. There are places that allow for businesses to spill onto the street, but these places are few and far between, which has a lot to do with the climate. People generally don't want to spend time outdoors when it is rainy and cold, which is understandable. As we can see from Portland, if it is available, people will use it. Having the ability to sit in the street and to be a part of the public life of the city can contribute to the feeling of the city, making it more vibrant and full of life.

SW Alder

SW 6th

Meters | 10 | 20 | 40

N
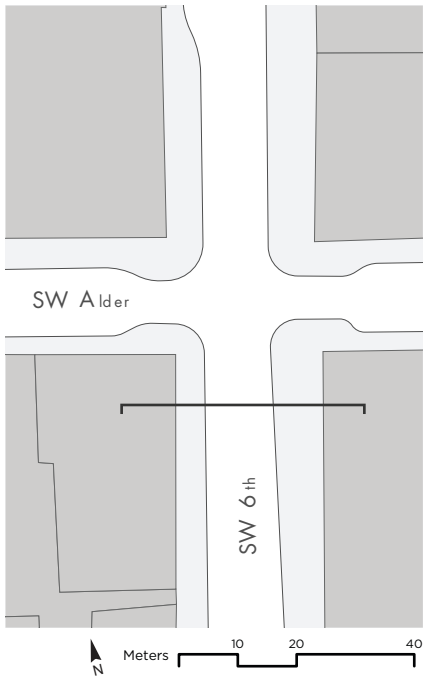
This section demonstrates how Portland's streets create an urban realm that is vibrant and connects with the building uses around it. You can also see that with the wider sidewalks, the bike lanes, and transit line, the street becomes an active part of the city. The typical city centre street allows for bikes, cars, and pedestrians to all interact in the same space.

78

Sidewalk | Bike Lane | Street Parking | Two-Way Traffic | Light Rail Line | Street Parking | Bike Lane | Sidewalk

24 Meters
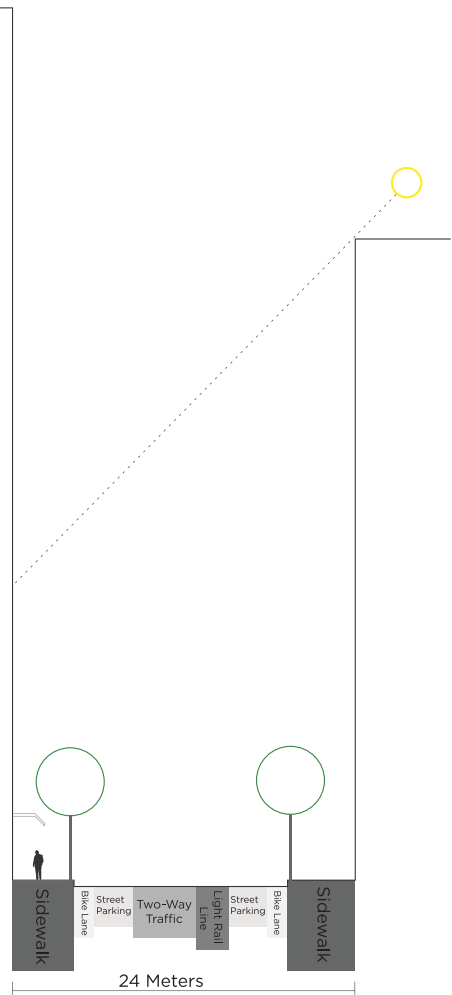
Central Glasgow Street – Sections
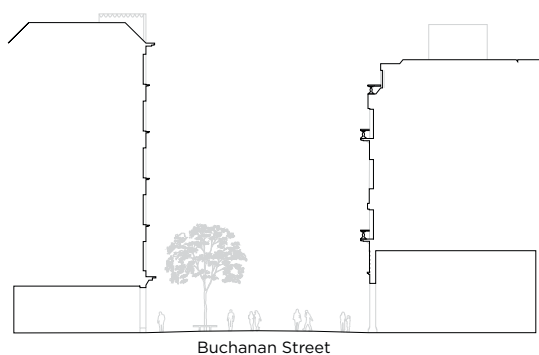
Buchanan Street

Buchanan Street is the main pedestrian thoroughfair in Glasgow. This type of street is not typical in the city centre. This section demonstrates how the ground floor of the street is directly accessible to people walking. This allows for free movement between the street and the buildings. Unfortunately, this space is not utilised as well as it could be. None of the shops or resurantes spill into this space, meaning that the space is almost exclusively used as pedestrian traffic, virtually no different than that of a vehicle only street.


```
5        15        25
|_____|_____|   METRES
```
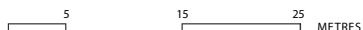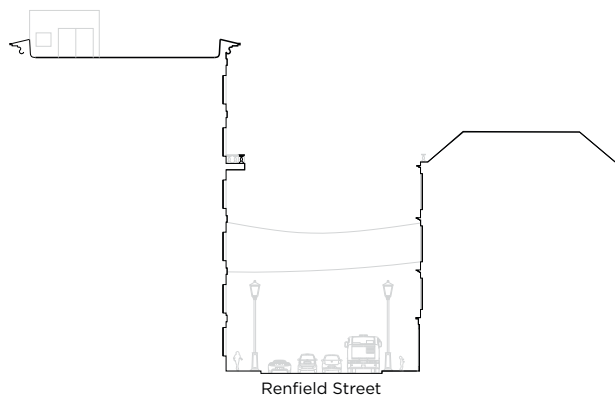
Renfield Street

Renfield Street is a typical street in central Glasgow and is used more for vehicular traffic than pedestrian traffic. Most of the buildings along the street are office use with little to no retail. The buildings are mostly focused inward which causes pedestrians to not feel as welcomed on this street.

5   15   25
                              METRES

SW 6th Ave
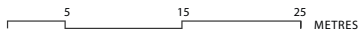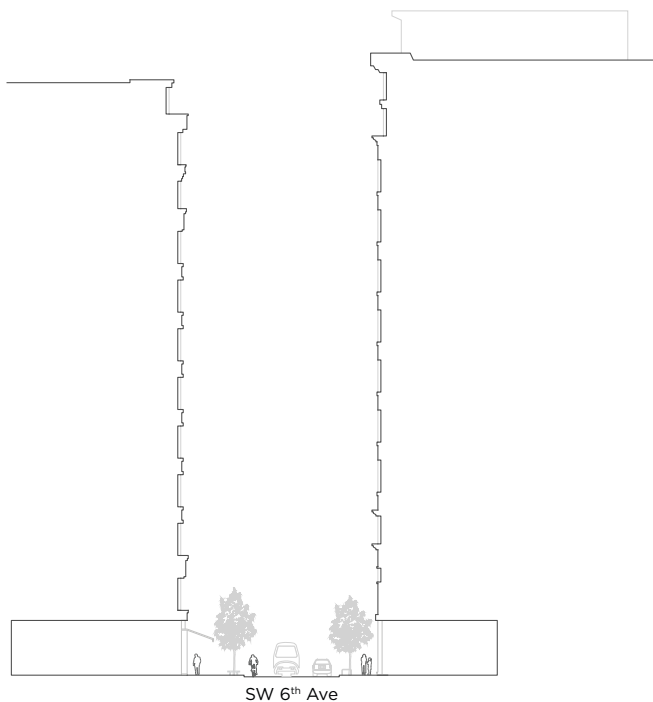
This section demonstrates a typicl central city street and how diverse and multi-usable it can be, despite the canyon-like feel between tall buildings. This allows shops to open up onto the street and use the sidewalk for outdoor seating or retail space.

5   10   20   40
METERS
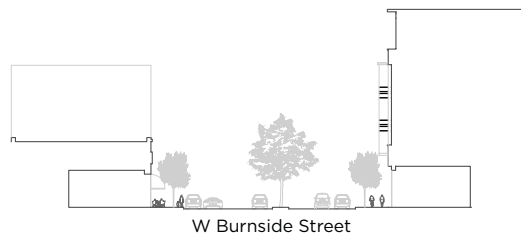
W Burnside Street

West Burnside is an example of how Portland has been able to break up the distance on a wide street by making a line of trees down the centre median. This makes the street feel less expansive and intimidating for pedestrians. It also reduces noise and adds green space to the city

5   10   20   40
                                        METERS
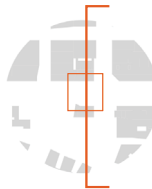
Experiencing the City Through Cycling

Portland City Centre

MULTI-USE PATH
closed to motor vehicles

**BIKE BOULEVARD/
NEIGHBORHOOD
GREENWAYS/
SHARED ROADWAYS**

BIKE SHOP

**BIKE LANE:
PROTECTED,
BUFFERED**
or wider shoulder, on
higher traffic streets

**SHARED ROADWAY
WITH WIDER
OUTSIDE LANE**
on moderate and
higher traffic streets
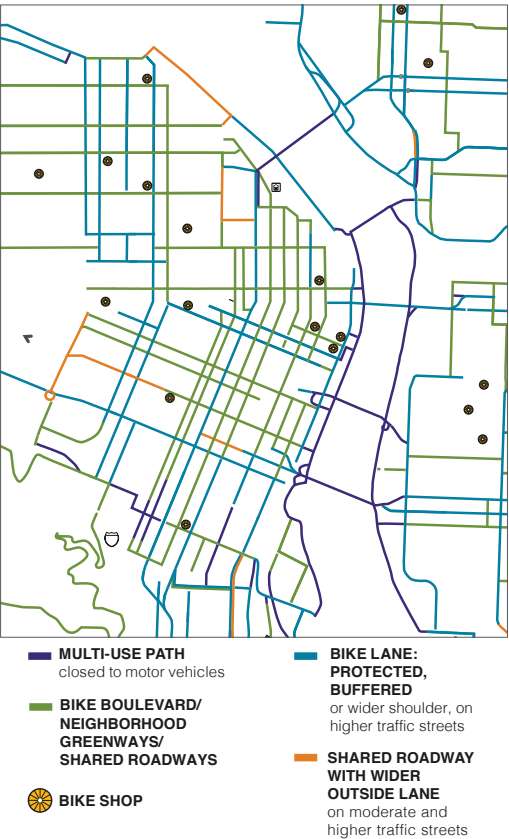
With 24 bike shops in central Portland, as well as dedicated bike lanes or paths on nearly every street in the central and outer districts, Portland is a model city for cycling as a means of transportation and as a leisurely activity. According to the Portland Bureau of Transportation, 6% of people commute to work by bike, which is the highest percentage of any large American City. This number is growing every day as Portland becomes more biker and pedestrian friendly, and the number of bike commuters has risen by 238% from 2000-2010.

Glasgow City Centre

✳ Cycle Shops   ▬ Off Road Cycle Routes   ▬ On Road Cycle Route /
Quality Bus Corridor

Glasgow's cycling culture, or lack there of, might be a result weather that does not support cycling due to rainy conditions. This doesn't change the fact that the infrastructure is not there either. Glasgow City Council is currently trying to implement more paths in central Glasgow to encourage people to use cycling as a primary means of transportation, but the biggest fault in the bike scheme is that the paths that are available are not connected, which deters their use. As of now, only 2% of people living in Glasgow commute to work by bike.

When looking at Portland's bike map and their ability to increase biking while it rains about the same amount as in Glasgow, it can be assumed that 'if you build it, they will come.' If Glasgow builds the infrastructure, we have seen that people in a similar climate and with a similar city mindset, will decide to bike as a means of transportation.

Cycling in the City Citations:
Bicycling.com – bicycling.com/news/advocacy/americas-best-bike-city-portland-oregon
Next Bike – nextbike.co.uk/en/glasgow/cycling-in-glasgow/

Summary of Analysis

After looking at the comparative analysis topics of **Climate and Use, Evolution, Urban Form and Demographics**, we now pose the question of how they relate to the Creative City status of Glasgow and Portland. By working within the framework of the 5 key creative city attributes previously identified in the introduction of this book, we will summarise our own interpretation of a creative city.

Creative City Attribute No.1
Creative Industries

In Portland, many large scale creative industries such as Nike, Doc Martens, and Intel have become some of the largest employers in the city. In turn, these businesses have provided a variety of job opportunities within creative disciplines, ranging from product design to software engineering. Drawn in further by the cheap rents and low cost of living, there has been a surge in the number of young, talented creatives living and working in Portland–a key factor that Richard Florida describes in *Cities and the Creative Class,* to which he believes that a youthful population is more likely to be accepting and forward thinking.

This has resulted in Portland gaining the reputation as a place "where the young people go to retire". Due to this impression many people have moved to the city over recent years, many without secure job prospects. This has led to a rise in the city's unemployment rates, and thus people have been forced to think and act innovatively in order to find work. This has resulted in many low cost start-ups – for example there has been a rise in the number of food trucks in Portland, which is currently a growing industry in the city.

In fact, almost 90% of businesses in Oregon are 'Micro-enterprises', enterprises which employ a maximum of 20 people, and today many of these small enterprises, such as microbreweries and independent cafés, continue to pop up around the city. Portland is driven mainly by the creative employment within large scale industries and an established cohort of small, independent businesses that have emerged subsequently.

In Glasgow, there is also a strong heritage of creative industries but within a different range of disciplines. For example, it's strength lies more within its music, theatre and performance industries. While the majority of creative industries in Portland are private, Glasgow has a strong presence of state supported initiatives, such as Tramway, CCA and Trongate 103–establishments which differ from Portland's creative industries in terms of their funding and support.

Consequently, this has led to the consideration of what the right balance of governmental and private creative support is, and if it lies somewhere between what is found in Glasgow and what is found in Portland.

Events|Festivals

The weather is a particularly prominent factor that influences the events and festivals in both Glasgow and Portland, and although they are predominantly rainy cities with a similar number of rain days per year, Portland receives double the number of sunshine hours than Glasgow. The higher percentage of sunshine in Portland, combined with the presence of its equal balance of built and open space in the city, have allowed for Portland's community led and informal outdoor events to thrive. This is highlighted by the fact that Portland has around 4 times as many events and festivals than Glasgow, of which almost half are located outdoors. This active life on the street encourages participation and community involvement in Portland, where around 300 scheduled events occur annually in Pioneer Square alone, as well as countless other spontaneous events and activities. This is something that Glasgow could learn from as the city primarily hosts major indoor festivals, such as Celtic Connections, and does not embrace the range of outdoor events that take place in Portland.

Overall, climate is clearly a major contributing factor, but it is only one of many, and although Portland experiences predominantly rainy weather, it doesn't deter the outdoor urban activity it hosts. Design considerations and the use of outdoors in more challenging environments is possible. An example of these events include the outdoor Christmas Market during the winter in Glasgow, which shows that this negative attitude towards embracing the outdoors for activities can be overcome.

Assets|Facilities

Both cities are post-industrial cities, and many areas of decline have been rehabilitated and re-activated through creative initiatives in recent decades. The reuse of old, industrial buildings could be considered as an integral factor for creative cities and the Pearl District in Portland, for example, is an historic area of industry that has been transformed into a popular urban neighbourhood, with a wealth of creative enterprise.

A comparison to this is Glasgow's Merchant City redevelopment in recent years. Located in the former centre of trade and industry upon which Glasgow was built, the district has been transformed into an arts based area of the city with a strong culturally significant presence. The project has proved to be extremely successful for some, despite the criticism and controversy over methods used to conduct the redevelopment. Both cities have shown a willingness to adapt and respond to changes, and show how the physical infrastructure of a city can continue to be useful after the original use is obsolete.

Alongside this more positive view on the redevelopment of urban infrastructure, there are also critical perspectives on such changes that highlight problems of gentrification. The regeneration of Glasgow and Portland raises issues such as increased rent and living costs in certain areas, which results in the displacement of people and communities who can no longer afford to live in their local areas.

Another consideration of assets relates to cycling facilities in the two cities. Portland has one of the most expansive bike riding systems in the U.S. where almost every street in the city is bicycle friendly, despite the rainy conditions throughout the year. Consequently, Portland has gained one of the highest rates of cycling commuters in the country. This is important as an indicator of participation in urban life, which is a key constituent in the Creative City and is a stark contrast to the lack of established cycle routes in Glasgow.

Many of the issues relating to the creative district strategies bring attention to valid and real concerns, but it is more important to see the subject in a dynamic way, accepting that a creative city can have benefits, but it can also be damaging at times.

Creative City Attribute No.4
Place|Community|Identity

The historic presence of handcraft is strong in both cities. In Portland, the agricultural history of growing and making has contributed to the contemporary identity of arts and crafts within the city. Today, Portland is synonymous with artisan craft and a DIY approach to living and working.

In Glasgow, however, there is a sense of craft which reflects the strong presence of heavy industry and design in its past. The prestigious legacy of large scale institutions such as the Glasgow School of Art have also played a major role in this appreciation for craft within the city's heritage. Portland does not share this history, but instead the city is more focused around small scale institutions and enterprises.

Glasgow's identity has been the subject of several large campaigns to re-brand the city, such as Glasgow's Miles Better in 1983, up to present day and the current campaign of 'People Make Glasgow'. Theres is a strong 'top down' approach in Glasgow, as state funded initiatives have tried to change the public image of the city based around investment and encouraging tourism. In Portland there is more 'bottom up' presentation of image, where independent and private led initiatives dominate. This is emphasised by the phrase 'Keep Portland Weird', which was not a government branding push, but something that originated from a proud citizen working in a local record store. This is also true of other nicknames for the city, such as 'Stumptown', which originated from the local logging industry and was strengthened by the independent café of the same name.

Glasgow has also received a range of awards and titles, such as UNESCO Creative City of Music in 2009 and the UK City of Architecture and Design in 1999, which have added to the Creative City reputation of Glasgow both locally and internationally.

Adaptability|Innovation

Both cities have shown flexibility in their transformation and change in recent decades, which is an important characteristic of creative cities.

In terms of innovation, there are many things that Glasgow could learn from Portland in the way it has dealt with improving its infrastructure. The urban growth boundary in Portland addressed the future needs of the city, and the removal of the Mount Hood freeway, replaced with a civic green space, illustrates how visionary projects that address the built form the city can be bold and successful. However, while this was happening in Portland, Glasgow was doing the opposite, and building the M8 motorway that now encircles the city centre – a piece of infrastructure which still poses many problems for the city today.

Portland exhibits a diverse use of its riverfront, including a public walkway, markets and events spaces. The riverside in Portland is a very successful and key part of the city. It provides a prime example of how Glasgow could improve its riverfront, as the Clyde is currently disconnected from the city, in a similar way as Portland once was before its riverside redevelopment.

Pioneer Square in Portland shows an equally innovative approach to adapting urban infrastructure within its transformation of an unsightly car park into an exciting urban space, illustrating the possibilities and potential of a creative city approach. Glasgow can learn from Pioneer Square in terms of providing a user-orientated space with a wider and more socially inviting range of seating and use. George Square has the potential to provide a much better central public space, and could learn from the qualities of Pioneer Square.

THE CREATIVE URBAN LIVING CAFÉ CULTURE STREET FOOD

E STREET

G ROOM

E

3

THE CREATIVE STREET

Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

By Thomas Brumby

THE CREATIVE STREET

If cities are said to be, as Florida asserts, "cauldrons of creativity"[1], or as Jacobs argues, "natural generators of diversity and prolific incubators of new enterprises of all kinds"[2], then what is the role and place of the city street in this equation? How can the streets, the delineated spaces and thoroughfares that run through our cities, whose walls are the surrounding buildings and whose ceiling is the sky, or put simply by Louis Kahn, "the first institution of the city"[3], have a role in the creativity of a place? Indeed, can Glasgow's Sauchiehall Street, an historic thoroughfare caught between contrasting identities and times, from "the street everyone loves to hate"[4], to the place where "the real Glasgow lies", to "just big shopping street"[5], to a shadow of it's former self, "This once proud street is no more"[6], be said to possess a sense of creativity?

In simple terms, a street can play host to institutions, businesses and organisations, within its buildings. The street, in the this sense, can support and house the creative industries within its physical, indoor infrastructure. These institutions can vary in size and scope, with examples of such organisations ranging from the obvious, "Big Cultural Centres", which often "turn inward, away from the street, on an internal space"[7], to small scale entrepreneurial units, such as cafés and retail units.

The street itself can host a range of outdoor activities. Gehl writes that "the street is the largest stage in the city"[8], and notes the heavy usage of Copenhagen's outdoor streetscape that has emerged as a result of public realm improvements in the city. He notes that, "new types of organised street-life and events evolved around the now available urban spaces: jazz festivals, theatre festivals, concerts and parades"[8]. The street, in this sense, is a stage for the city's creative disciplines to perform and share their work with the users of the street.

The street, for many, is a public asset, an amenity that should encourage and welcome diverse and creative usage, by the people of a city. Though its physical characteristics, such as the presence and usability of street furniture, points to linger and gather, spaces that have the potential to act as stages, focal points, and places usable for commercial and social exchange, the street can become a facility for the city, allowing a huge range of activities to occur.

This perspective of the street as being an asset that can encourage diverse use by all is closely related to the importance of participation and involvement in a city. Charles Landry writes that there is the potential for people to participate in and develop, "a shared future whereby each individual feels they have something to contribute in shaping, making and co-creating a joint endeavor"[9]. Gehl stresses that this participation need not be grand or historic, as it is often more a case of, "meeting other people, watching what is going on, seeing young and old; being entertained by street artists, ordinary daily life...the ever changing human scene"[10]. This is not just about creating vibrant and welcoming public streets, it is central to an attitude and society that behaves "in accordance with a democratic tradition"[10]. The street allows for this creative and informal civic participation.

Lynch writes that "we must consider not just the city as a thing in itself, but the city being perceived by its inhabitants"[11], and as such if a street has distinct creative institutions, housing and presenting events that involve the local population, then there will be a sense of identity to a street representing the culture of the city as a whole. Streets can be, "destinations for culture, creativity, and community"[12]; it is through creative uses of the street that this identity is formed.

SAUCHIEHALL STREET'S PAST

The Glasgow File writes that "from the early years of this century [20th Century] Sauchiehall Street has been a place of entertainment for Glaswegians"[1]. The creativity of Sauchiehall Street's 20th Century history lies in this prolific and rich entertainment history. It was known as having "the best selection"[2] of cinemas, showing the latest films, a collection of celebrated music halls, as well as dance halls and music halls, including the institution that was known as The Empire, described as "the city's most famous music hall"[3]. Throughout much of the early and mid 20th Century, the street's entertainment industries thrived, and as such the creative industries thrived. The nature and focus of the street's entertainment industry was creative, with dance halls, music halls, cinemas, and variety show venues, all being stages for artistry of varying forms, and as such centres of performance, and innovation. Accounts of this 'hey-day' in the street's history note the huge popularity and stress the sheer numbers of people who would be in attendance of performances, the image of hundreds queuing to get into a dance hall regularly appearing in historical photography of the street.

The street also possessed an extraordinary range of shops, amongst them a collection of unique tea rooms and department stores. One resident of Glasgow points out that "part of the street's strength over the years has been due to its sheer variety"[4], and it is this eclecticism and individuality that sits within it, that represents a sense of creativity and uniqueness. Famed tea-houses were "Cranston's" and "Craig's", not to forget perhaps the most famous, and only surviving establishment, "The Willow Tea-Rooms", designed by the acclaimed Glaswegian Architect, Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Each had its own specialities, sense of identity, and character.

Furthermore, many memories of the street describe with awe, the excitement and magic of

Figure 1 - The Watt Brothers Department Store

the street's grand department stores. For example, "Trerons was well known for its China and Watt Brothers for their wedding gowns"[5], while Copland's, another hugely popular department store, "specialised in drapery, clothing and dressmaking"[6]. The inherent variety and specialisation of these renowned stores represented, just like the theatres and dance-halls, a flourishing of the creative industries.

Many recollections of Sauchiehall Street discuss a sense of innovation and variety in terms of a dynamic mixed usage within single buildings, or establishments. A description of the 1920s "Dance-Craze" paints a picture of innovative multi-functionality; "Now in 1927 Sauchiehall Street blossoms with dancing palaces that vie in size with the greatest cinema houses and incorporate features like garages, tea-rooms, lounges and club rooms"[7]. The Locarno, a once famed cinema, embraced this layering of functions; "in a rich moment you could take your girlfriend there and because the restaurant was actually in the cinema you could sit and have your meal"[8]. So called "super-theatres", such as the enormous Empire Theatre, "would also have state of the art cinema equipment"[9] in the 1920s and 1930s, allowing the establishment to embrace and present a range of entertainment forms. Furthermore, the towering Empire Theatre, was not merely a venue for entertainment, but was intricately

and innovatively embedded within the street and, expressing an array of uses; "the immense building was four storeys high...the main theatre entrance was at 31 Sauchiehall Street with four shops fronting Sauchiehall Street, one being the luxurious empire bar, under which were large smoking rooms comfortably fitted, and over the bar were large billiard rooms"[10] Sauchiehall Street possessed an innovative sense of multi-functionality, which was both, in

Figure 2 - The Empire Theatre

itself, creative, but also an exciting way of incorporating and promoting the creative industries of the street within the wider functions and uses of the street. Business, entertainment and commerce sat in close proximity, both within the same street, but also within the same building, allowing an overlap and exciting blend of urban activities, in an innovative, and creative fashion.

Innovation could also be found in the way the street expressed and utilised new technology, and cultural trends. This ranged from cinemas using the newest projectors and screens, to the Copeland Department store using a highly elaborate"pneumatic cash transfer system"[11], in which the sales-person would fire a cannister with the customer's payment and purchase details through a tube via a cushion of pressurised air, to the cashier, who would return, in similar fashion, the cannister, this time with a receipt. Elsewhere, The famous Hengler's Circus was renowned for the technologically impressive feat of flooding an entire theatre in the course of an evening, in order to stage a sea based theatrical performance. Beyond entertainment, the innovation of Art Deco architecture was to be found in the splendour of the Beresford Hotel, illustrating that if a creative city requires a sense of innovation, then we clearly see that Sauchiehall Street possessed this in the way that it represented and showcased the developments and trends of the wider society.

CONTEMPORARY SAUCHIEHALL STREET

Contemporary accounts and descriptions of Sauchiehall Street are littered with references to the past, to a revered bygone era. Andrew Hook, writing in the Scottish Review, remarks that "the street was the city's heart"[1]. There is a palpable sense of loss in the present perception of Sauchiehall Street, a grandiose decline and fall, expressed in emotive comments such as, "this once proud city street is no more"[2]. Hook's article, mournfully describes the details of the descent, lamenting that "Glasgow in recent years has allowed a major transformation to occur at the heart of the city - a transformation which is no exaggeration to say is quite disgraceful"[1].

There would appear to be a strong feeling that the street has lost its pre-eminence within Glasgow, with one commentator stating, "Sauchiehall Street has lost its previous premier status as a shopping precinct to Buchanan Galleries"[3]. The survey of 207 ground floor units, found 26 vacant units, a sizable 13% of the street. A combination of the distressing presence of over 1 in every 10 shops being empty, sits alongside a lingering memory of the prestige and excitement of the street's not too distant past.

The sense of decline is compounded by a kind of non-identity, or anonymity that appears to plague the present day reality of Sauchiehall Street. This perspective on the street would appear to be centred upon the prevalence of chain stores, with comments noting that there are "shops of every kind but mainly the big high street companies"[4]. The figure ground survey of ground floor uses reveals that of the 207 units surveyed, 148 were chain stores, or in other words, establishments that could be found in other cities across the UK and beyond. Sauchiehall Street would appear to be experiencing what the New Economics Foundation has coined the transition "from clone town to ghost town"[5], with a proliferation of chain stores followed by an economic decline. This can be seen clearly in the combination of a high proportion of vacant ground floor units (13%) with an accompanying high proportion of chain stores (71%). This absence of a distinctive identity, which can, in part be explained by the homogeneity and non-local selection of retailers and businesses that dominate the street, can be said to be evidence of an absence of what is a key attribute of a creative city. If we reflect upon Landry's assertion that, "innovative places ride the paradox of being intensely local and intensely global"[6], we can conclude that Sauchiehall Street is currently lacking innovation and thus a distinctive identity, when its selection of businesses and establishments are examined.

On top of, and perhaps also because of this decline in prosperity and identity, the street suffers from a media narrative that adds to the street's difficulties. There is a focus on apparent danger and violence in some quarters of the media's coverage, perhaps typified by the BBC's 2014 television series 'The Street', which for some focused almost exclusively on Sauchiehall Street's apparent heavy drinking culture and anti-social behaviour. Kathleen Nutt writes that the series highlighted "scenes of a particularly unstylish Glasgow", in which, "on Saturday nights the women go barefoot, trudging through the puddles and crisp packets", while the men "all seem to be pinned beneath struggling policemen, foaming, bucking and swearing"[7]. The media coverage, however, rings with an unsettled contradiction between a difficult present and 'hey-day' past. A good example of this can be found in the recent 'Night at the Regal' event, that formed part of the 2015 Glasgow Film Festival. The event aimed to recreate and celebrate the great cinema and entertainment heritage of the street through taking the O2 ABC back to its days as the Regal Cinema, by means of staging a mixed media performance at the contemporary venue. Such nostalgia is evident elsewhere in contemporary online articles and discussions about the street's past, with one such website which details the history of the

street attracting literally hundreds of comments and posts from people wanting to share their own memories of cinemas, theatres, tea-houses, department stores, and the many more attractions that the street once hosted.

The contemporary identity of the street, however, is not entirely negative, as there are many who praise and indeed celebrate its exciting and distinct night-time atmosphere. One such perspective remarks that, "after dark the far end of Sauchiehall Street comes alive with nightclubs, bars and restaurants...it's bustling and exciting"[8], while another review shares this sentiment, stating that, "at the far end of the street next to Charring Cross, there are lots of pubs, restaurants and clubs. There is a great feeling most nights"[9]. These sorts of comments, that focus on the night time activity of the non-pedestrian Western end of the street, would appear to stand in stark contrast with the monotonous and homogenous descriptions of chain stores that dominate the pedestrianised, Eastern end of the street.

While for the whole of the surveyed street, including both pedestrianised and non-pedestrianised ends, there were 89 establishments found to be open during the evenings, out of 207, when one breaks down the street into these two halves a different picture emerges. 70 out of 117 establishments, on the non-pedestrianised end were active at night, while only 19 out of 90 were active at this time. This sense of a night time active identity of the street, therefore refers to just one end of the street, where 59% of ground floor units operate at night. Moreover, the lack of character often ascribed to the pedestrianised end of the street, perhaps is a consequence of the combination of not only the prevalence of chain stores and sizable presence of vacant stores, but also the marked absence of night-time activity.

It is interesting to note that the perceived economic decline and disparity between the retail of Sauchiehall Street and other, more prosperous areas of the city, is taken as a positive element to the street, for some. One such review of the street notes that "whilst the pretentious shoppers with more money than sense flock to the shiny Buchanan Galleries and Princes Square, Sauchiehall Street retains the feeling of where the real Glasgow lies"[10]. A combination of the economic decline of the street with a vibrant and sizable night-life, perhaps creates this sense of the street as being more gritty, and unpretentious.

FIGURE GROUND SURVEY:

SAUCHIEHALL STREET - FROM CHARING CROSS [A] TO THE CONCERT HALL [B]
DECEMBER 2015

A   B

NON- PEDESTRIANISED   PEDESTRIANISED
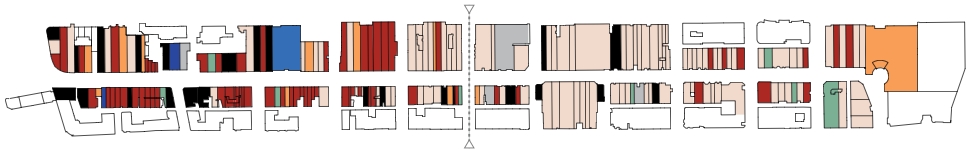
01. Ground Floor Function / Use

- Commercial
- Banking
- Bars / Cafes / Restaurants
- Arts / Entertainment / Performance
- Supermarkets
- Education
- Residential
- Vacant
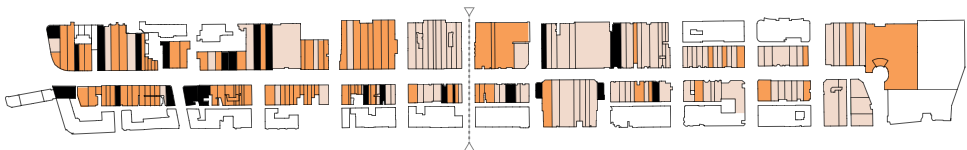
02. Night time / Daytime Activity at Ground Floor

- Open Night (and Day)
- Open ONLY during daytime
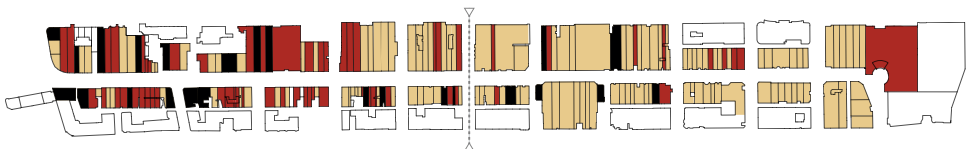
03. Indie v.s. Chain

- Independent Business / Establishment
- Chain Store / Establishment
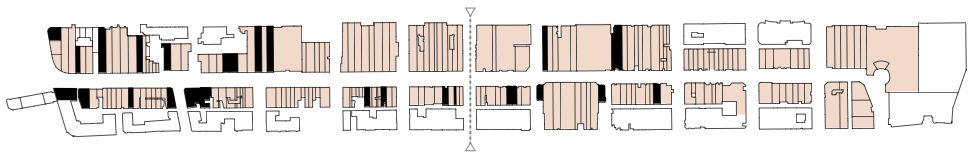
05. Vacant Units (ground floor)

- ■ Vacant Unit at Ground Floor
- ▢ In Use Unit at Ground Floor
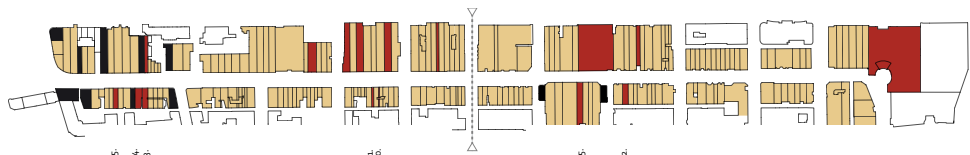
04. Multifunctional Ground Floor Usage

- ▢ Mainly One Function
- ■ Multiple Functions

SELECTION OF STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN:

TOTAL UNITS SURVEYED	207	
NUMBER OF VACANT UNITS	26	(13%)
NUMBER OF BARS / RESTAURANTS / CAFES	65	(31%)
NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL UNITS	91	(44 %)
NUMBER OF SUPERMARKETS	4	(2%)
NUMBER OF BANKS	8	(4%)
NUMBER OF GROUND FLOOR RESIDENTIAL	2	(1%)
NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS	1	(<1%)
PLACES OPEN AT NIGHT (PAST 6PM)	89	(43%)
PLACES OPEN DURING THE DAY ONLY	92	(57%)

N

Contemporary Sauchiehall Street houses a collection of businesses and institutions that represent the creative industries, and which are particularly prevalent at the Western, non-pedestrianised end of the street. These range from music venues of various types and sizes, to performing arts centres, to institutions that facilitate and present art and design, and film, to a collection of restaurants and bars, expressing creativity through their distinctive cuisine. In order to try and measure the presence of the creative industries for this study, the figure ground survey has compared the numbers of independent establishments and institutions using ground floor space along Sauchiehall Street, with those that are part of a wider chain of stores and businesses. There is a strong current of thought within urbanism that highlights the benefits of independent stores over large chain stores. In Jacobs' view, the entrepreneurial and innovative reside in the small scale; "wherever lively and popular parts of the city are found, the small outnumber the large"[11].

The figure ground survey reveals that only 59 out of 207 ground floor units are independents. If we then split the analysis of the street between the pedestrianised zone and non-pedestrianised zone, we can see that the pedestrianised zone has only 12% independent ground floor units, while the non-pedestrianised end has 41% independent ground floor units. We can argue, therefore, that the non-pedestrianised end of the street has a much stronger sense of individuality in terms of its indoor activity. Examples include a range of music venues, which could be said to represent Glasgow's UNESCO City of Music status, a "legendary music scene that stretches across the whole spectrum from Contemporary and Classical to Celtic and Country"[12]. There are a number of small venues such as 'Broadcast', described as a "welcome addition to the city's live music scene"[13], 'Nice 'N Sleazy', where one can, "experience intimate performances from local heroes"[14], 'Box', 'The Garage', and 'Variety Bar', as well as large venues such as the O2 ABC, and the CCA. In addition, there are a huge range of small and medium size restaurants, serving Indian, Chinese, Spanish, Japanese, and Italian food.

The non-pedestrianised end of the street has a much lower proportion of independent establishments (12%), and as such can be characterised as an area less associated with Glasgow's creative industries. The presence of the Royal Concert Hall is a notable exception to this. Besides being a well used and large scale venue, it is also the new home of the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, and as such plays host to a major element of Glasgow's creative scene and associated industries, through the presence of one of Scotland's national performing arts organisations.

Contemporary Sauchiehall Street possesses several key institutions that can be said to continue its historical heritage of vibrant multi-functionality. From the CCA, a multi-functioning arts and performance centre which doubles as a café bar space, and a rentable studio space for 'cultural tenants', to The Savoy Centre, a warren of small shop units, cafés, businesses and even a nightclub, to a collection of split-level music venues, such as Nice 'N Sleazy and Broadcast, that combine eating, drinking and socialising with intimate performance spaces for musicians, and to the Royal Concert Hall, which combines a large scale stage and auditorium with bars, cafés, exhibitions spaces, studio facilities and office space, Sauchiehall Street hosts several exciting and engaging centres of cultural activity, which are key attributes of Glasgow's creative city identity.

CULTURAL
TENANTS

WORKSHOP
SPACE

CULTURAL
TENANTS

AUDITORIUM

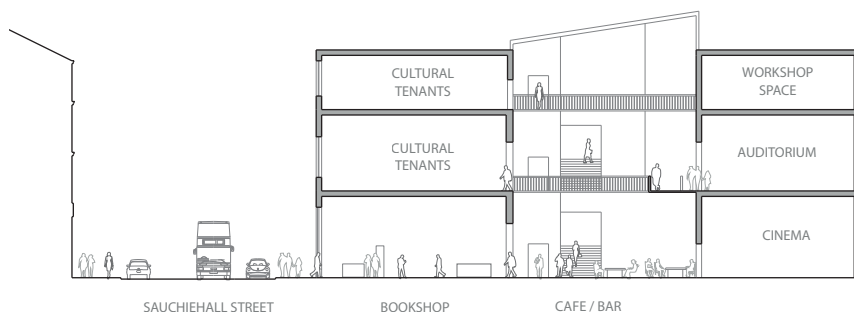CINEMA

SAUCHIEHALL STREET

BOOKSHOP

CAFE / BAR

Figure 4 - Section through The Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA), and exterior and interior views.

It is important, however, to interrogate this notion of a creative multi-functional establishment. The CCA, for example, provides a central social space, in the form of a café and bar area, around which a diverse selection of spaces are situated, including a cinema, an auditorium, a bookshop, studio space, exhibition space, and other flexible office spaces. This arrangement reflects the ethos of the establishment, where collaboration, innovation and creativity are encouraged. Beyond the CCA, venues such as Nice 'N Sleazy, Box, Garage, and Broadcast, embrace this kind of overlap and proximity of functions in a similar way. If we look at Nice 'N Sleazy, and to the daytime and night-time sections (figure 5), we can see how while the establishment is continuously a bar, and restaurant, it opens up it's basement space, to allow for performances to be hosted at the night. It blends, like the Locarno did in Sauchiehall Street's past, eating, drinking, socialising, and entertainment. One description of the establishment, which states the it "caters to the weird and the wonderful"[15], chimes with Jacobs' own thoughts on the multiplicity of a diverse and vibrant city centre, which she argues can simultaneously cater for, "the standard and the strange"[16].

Both the CCA and the split level music venue bars, have the capacity to engage people at a number of levels. The staging of and experience of artistic events and performances is possible, but not mandatory. The creative industries, therefore, mingle with the everyday, in an open and accessible way, as they are situated in establishments that place the provision for everyday human interaction alongside creative practices.

A i - DAY

A ii - NIGHT

NON- PEDESTRIANISED

Figure 5 - Day and Night sections [Ai & Aii] through Nice 'N' Sleazy, Sauchiehall Street

B i - DAY

£   S   S   £

B ii - NIGHT

S   S
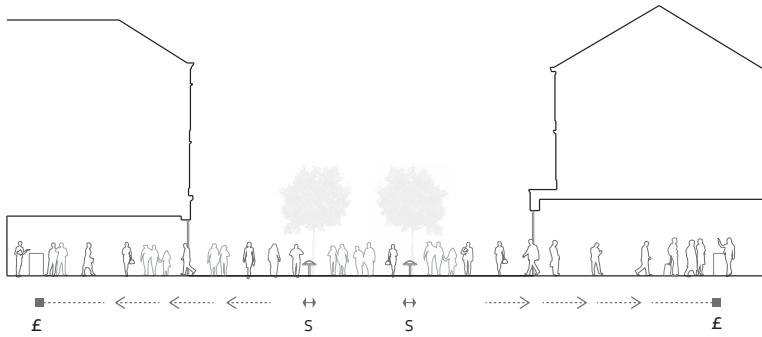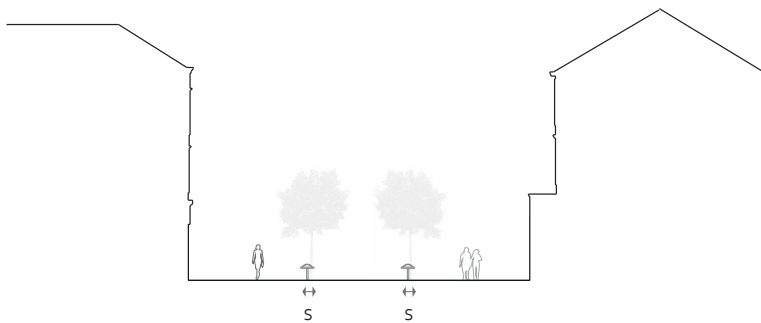
PEDESTRIANISED

Figure 6 - Day and Night sections [Bi & Bii] through pedestrianised retail section of Sauchiehall Street

So far the discussion has been focused on the internal worlds of the buildings that form Sauchiehall Street, but a discussion of the creativity of contemporary Sauchiehall Street must also include a consideration of the use, activity, and life, within of the public realm. It is, firstly, important to note that of the creative institutions surveyed and considered on Sauchiehall Street, none appeared to use the street for their activities. For example, The Concert Hall's activity seems restricted exclusively to its indoor facilities, while the CCA is likewise indoor focused, turning away from the street.

The most obvious signs of creative and participatory civic activity are the large number and range of street performers that use the street as a stage to perform. An examination of a survey of street performers on a busy Saturday afternoon reveals that they are almost all performing on the pedestrianised Eastern end of the street, where traffic noise is lower, and where the street is wide enough and busy enough for the performers to not be in the way of the flow of people, but still allowing significant footfall to make their endeavors profitable. Many choose to perform under overhangs that cantilever out into the street, providing a sense of visual and acoustic focus. No buskers were found on the non-pedestrian end of the street, perhaps because of the narrower pavements, louder sounds of traffic, and lower footfall of pedestrians. Another popular location for street performers is the Concert Hall steps, which provide a generous outdoor seating gallery and focal point that feels like, and functions as, an urban stage. The presence of buskers, or performers represents an inclusive and participatory city environment, where people feel they can share their abilities and interests with the public. This is a healthy attitude that promotes the sense of the street and public realm as an essential public amenity, a key expression of a democratic, participatory society. Furthermore, street performers also serve to enhance the experience of the street for pedestrians, bringing a vibrancy and sense of enjoyment to the public realm.

Gehl writes that the street can play host to a range of very ordinary, everyday human activities, which if encouraged and allowed for, constitute the "traditional joys related to life in public places"[17]. In terms of this very basic, yet essential street life, contemporary Sauchiehall Street presents a mixed picture. While the street is extremely busy during the daytime, especially at the Eastern pedestrianised end of the street, with a very high flow of people, there are relatively few people stopping on the street, lingering, and enjoying just being in the public realm. Despite the presence of benches, as shown in the section study of the pedestrianised zone of the street (figures 8 and 9), there is not a generous seating provision, as the benches are strictly divided up into single seats. This tight and confined individual seating does not encourage much interaction or incentive for dwelling in the street. The nature and arrangement of the seats provides a very limited opportunity do anything other than just sit in a regimented fashion, as they are positioned like deck-chairs crouched timidly amongst a motorway of shoppers. If we compare this seating provision to the Concert Hall Steps, which rise up from the level of the street, and provide views down both Buchanan Street and Sauchiehall Street, we can see that this form of seating, without any rigidly defined bars to demarcate one seat from another, allows for the pedestrian to take time out, and to view and enjoy the flow of urban life, with a comfortable sense of remove. This resonates with the writing of Mantho, who argues that, "seating should allow for the life of the street to be observed", but is also "very important to the livability and vitality of the street, being a major attractor of activity and people"[18]. The steps, in this sense, are participatory and welcoming, and as such it is no surprise that they have become a renowned civic space, hosting a huge range of activities.

NON- PEDESTRIANISED   PEDESTRIANISED

Daytime shoppers pass through the street

There are few places to shelter from the elements

At night, the street can become empty and abandoned

It becomes merely a route through the city

Figure 7 - Focus on Day and Night activity of pedestrianised section of Sauchiehall Street

During daytime hours, the non-pedestrian end of the street presents little in the way of street life, beyond the movement of people and cars along the pavements and road. The story is, however, different at night, for as chain stores of the pedestrianised end of the street close en masse, the night time oriented establishments at the western end of the street begin to come alive. In places, the collection of bars, venues, clubs and restaurants spill out onto the street, blurring the division between street and interior. It serves to enliven, to a degree, the atmosphere of the street. If we consider the section study of Nice 'N Sleazy (figure 5), we can see how a crowd of people congregate around the entrance to the establishment at night. This use of public space is informal and vibrant, and contributes to the sense of place and identity of the street and the wider city.

A

B
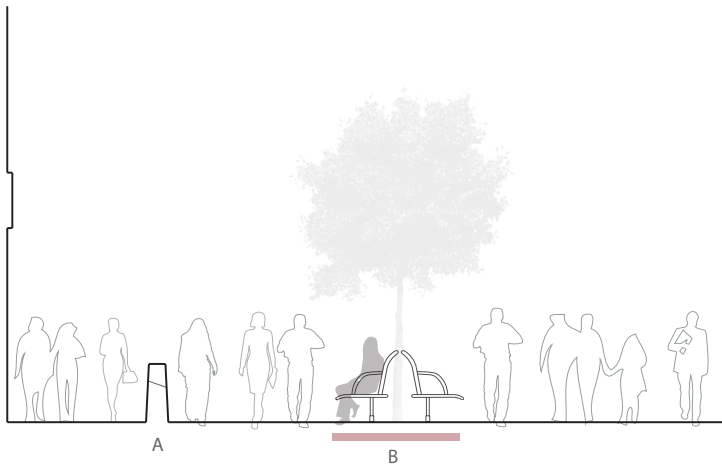
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While contemporary Sauchiehall Street clearly possesses some strong creative attributes, in the form of some of its activities, establishments and resulting aspects of its identity, it has many aspects that resonate with an indistinct, inflexible, homogenous, and restrictive atmosphere. The points that stand out in these areas, are the prevalence of predictable, 'clone town' chain stores and vacant ground floor units, but also a limited sense of vibrant and participatory street life. This is particularly the case at the pedestrianised end of the street, where a miserly and regimented seating provision is poorly placed within a conveyor belt flow of shoppers. The lack of landscaping and street furniture compound the blandness of the chain stores that line the street, creating a busy, but indistinct place, where lingering and dwelling in the public realm are not encouraged. The Concert Hall steps are in many ways an antidote to this, providing a generous and flexible civic space that welcomes and supports a democratic and participatory city life, where a range of informal and spontaneous urban activities enrich the city centre, capturing the sense of participation and innovation that the Creative City street embodies. It is highly regrettable therefore, that during the course of this study, the decision has been made to demolish these steps. As part of a wider city centre development, they will be replaced with a glass rotunda entrance to a newly extended indoor shopping precinct and renovated Royal Concert Hall.

The removal of the steps is part of the "Tax Increment Finance" scheme (TIF), in which the Council will borrow £80 million to part finance a large extension of Buchanan Galleries, and make what it presents as significant public realm improvements to the city centre. The Executive Summary, that prefaces the council's "Buchanan Quarter Business Case", is packed with references to the "economic potential of the 'Buchanan Quarter'", brimming with statistics, boasting of "£310 million" of private investment, "392,000" square feet of new retail floor space", "£36 million" of extra economic activity[1]. This approach, however, reflects a mindset and attitude towards the city centre that reduces the nature of the public realm and city centre infrastructure to limited single purpose, which is declared openly in the executive summary, which states, "the wider commercial development will secure new international retail brands and create modern format commercial and leisure floor-space which will help Glasgow compete more effectively and enhance its status in the UK retail hierarchy"[1].

The issue with the scheme, in relation to the Creative City, is that it nowhere mentions or even considers any other uses of the city centre beyond shopping and development opportunities. If we consider the very limited seating provision, in this light, perhaps it becomes clear why it is so limited. The street is focused on the movement of people to and from shops, and the public realm infrastructure reflects this. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Council have moved to demolish the Concert Hall steps, as such a stationary dwelling place does not fit the view of a city centre network of streets based solely on the movement of people.

Figures 8 and 9 (opposite) - Seating provision and experience on pedestrianised section of contemporary Sauchiehall Street

Figure 10 - Glasgow Royal Concert Hall steps as existing : informal seating opportunities highlighted

"Meeting other people, watching what is going on, seeing young and old; being entertained by street artists, ordinary daily life...the ever changing human scene" [3]

Jan Gehl

Figure 11 - Glasgow Royal Concert Hall steps as proposed: informal seating opportunities highlighted

"When we build our landscape around places to go, we lose places to be" [4]

Rick Cole

The consequences are potentially devastating for the sense of place that the steps represent, for as Rick Cole succinctly surmises, "when we build our landscape around places to go, we lose places to be"[2].

Is this promotion of city streets as conveyor belts of people moving to and from shops to spend money the 21st century equivalent of last century's rush to embrace the movement and energy of the automobile? The "freeway rush", as the Project for Public Spaces convincingly argues, "would leave lasting, sometimes devastating, marks on the physical and social landscapes of the nation", through the blind enactment of "single-minded assumptions that the car was and always would be king"[5]. The rush to promote Glasgow as a retail capital, and as such a place to invest, poses similar dangers to the impact of cars on cities over the previous century. Consider the disparity between the provision of informal seating opportunities in the new glass rotunda to what the existing steps provide (figures 10 and 11). Furthermore, consider whether this new rotunda space will be truly public, or whether they will be a privatised and controlled space, less open and usable as the existing steps. This study has revealed the ubiquity of the chain store on contemporary Sauchiehall Street, and the resultant sense of it being now nothing special, nothing distinctive. The TIF scheme talks of the iconic, but its rush to attract international business investment, and chain retail outlets, might actually just add to the sense of the generic.

There are creative and independent institutions on Sauchiehall Street which should be learned from and built upon, in order to ensure that the street hosts and facilitates activity that chimes with the creative attributes of innovation, so as to nurture a strong urban identity. We need to look to past institutions that once defined and made Sauchiehall Street a celebrated Glasgow institution, and understand how it was that innovative and creative establishments could offer so much to the city's population. Furthermore, it is essential that the Council broaden their views on the public realm , in order to see it as a public amenity, for the use and enjoyment of the people of the city, a stage for what Gehl describes as "the traditional joys to life in public spaces"[6], whether it be a place to meet, perform, eat, watch, listen, play, rest, and also, of course, spend.
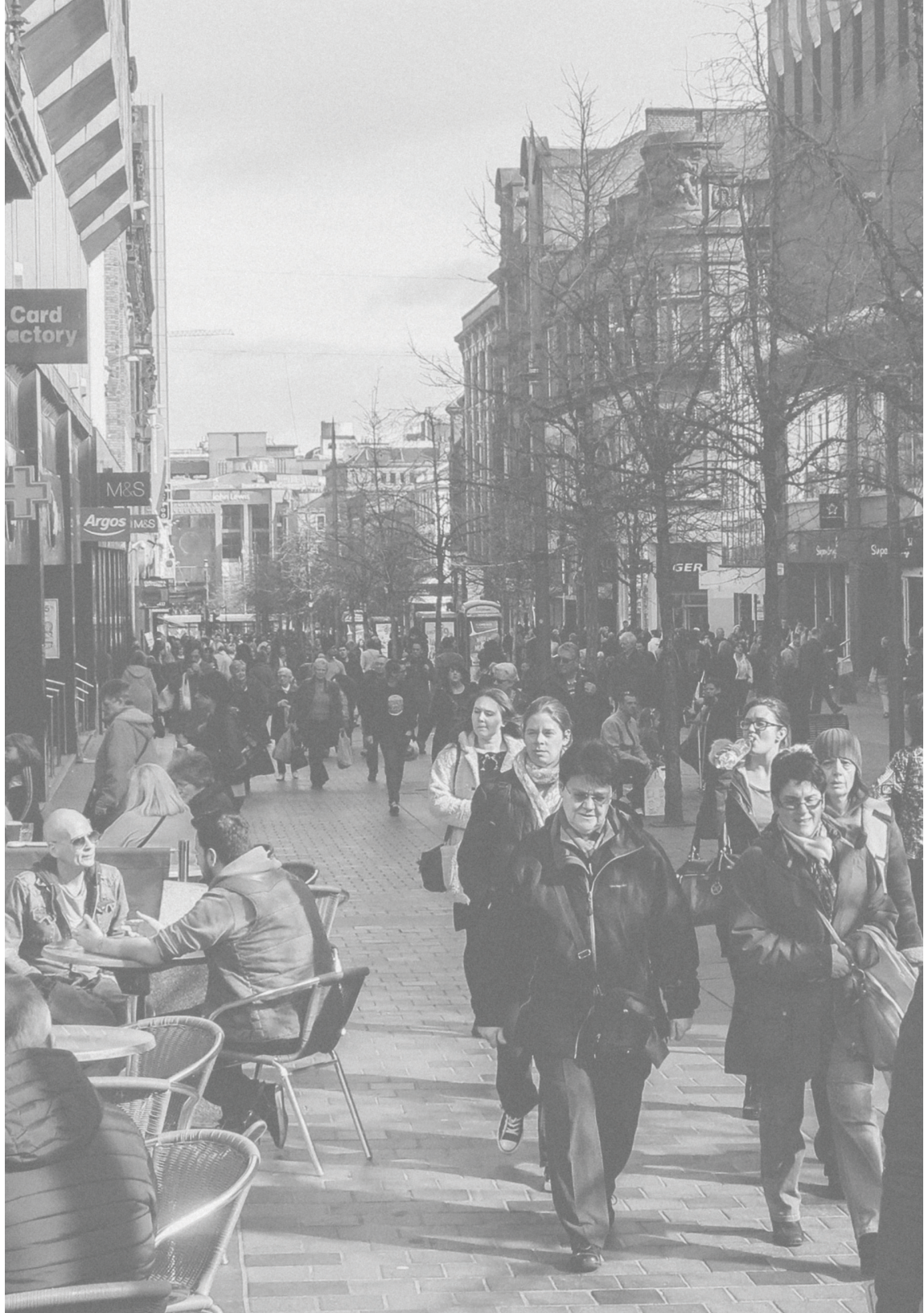
THE URBAN LIVING ROOM

Public Space and its Role in the Creative City

By Aaron Borchardt

THE URBAN LIVING ROOM

"Building inclusive, healthy, functional, and productive cities is perhaps the greatest challenge facing humanity today. There are no easy solutions. And yet a key part of the puzzle lies right in the heart of the world's urban areas: the public spaces."
— Project for Public Spaces, Placemaking & the Future of Cities

What is it about cities that breeds creativity? Is it merely the formula of infrastructure plus people equals creativity and innovation? The answer to this question is not a simple yes or no, but is rather more involved. Cites may be "cauldrons of creativity" as Richard Florida says in his book, *Cities and The Creative Class*,[1] but the fact that cities are where innovations happen has a much more complicated formula associated with it. There are plenty of cities that are not considered creative places, so there must be something else that needs to be present to make a creative city.

How does the idea of creativity fit in with the urban realm? The cities that have been labeled as creative places are the ones that have been able to adapt and evolve to embrace the future, not just of creativity, but the future of city life. They are able to adapt to conditions and predict what will happen rather than react to what has happened. In 2010 The United Cities and Local Governments organization came out with a manifesto titled, *The City of 2030 – Our Manifesto*[2]. It outlines a set of goals for the future city. Their goals are to create a democratic, self-governing city; an inclusive city of participation; a livable city; a creative city; a secure city; a mobile city; a city fit for work; a city without slums; and a cleaner, greener more compact city. Creating this type of city today is so important because in the near future most people in the world will be living in cities. In a UN report from 2014, it was estimated that by 2050 66% of all humans will reside in cities[3]. The future thinking city must be innovative, and innovation and creativity go hand in hand.

According to Andy Burnett at the Centre for Creativity, "Creativity is a divergent thought process that generates ideas, and is non-evaluative; whereas innovation is a convergent process concerned with the selection and implementation of ideas."[4] These creative and innovative places are the types of cities that will be studied to determine how the their physical spaces, where the public interacts with each other, contribute to the creative people that inhabit it. There is opportunity for public vitality in all cities. Some places stimulate this vitality while others seem to discourage it.

We find that a vibrant and well used public realm is present in virtually all cities labeled as innovative places. In an article from Businessinsider.com titled *The 18 Most Innovative Cities On Earth*, author Drake Baer takes many aspects of the city into account while compiling his list of innovative places. One of the most important of which is how the city utilizes its public realm. They all utilize the public realm as a way to improve the people's lives who live, work, and interact there.

Through this chapter, the connection of George Square in Glasgow and Pioneer Square in Portland will be studied to determine how well these principal squares function in relation to their surrounding city. Whether these squares have contributed to the creativity of the cities they reside in or if it is the people that contribute more to how the spaces are used, and how well they are designed to support and encourage creative activity will be explored.

The most important factor is how people actually use urban space. The analogy of an 'Urban Living Room' has been use because good public space allows for informal connections to happen, as they might in a person's living room. To contribute to individual creativity and innovations, the public realm needs to facilitate connections and provide inspiration. This cannot happen if a city's public space lies unused.

To study these spaces, a comparison will be made between specific aspects of the squares such as the surrounding building types, the squares' orientation in respect to the rest of the city, how each square is accessed by the public, and a number of other factors. An exploration of how the planned public spaces in Glasgow and Portland are used, what factors might cause their use or disuse, and how they might be improved will be simultaneously conducted. The overall goal of this investigation is to determine how these creative cities use their public spaces, how/if these spaces have contributed to the creativity of the city, and if the creativity of the city has had an effect on how, or to what extent these public spaces are used.

Pioneer Square
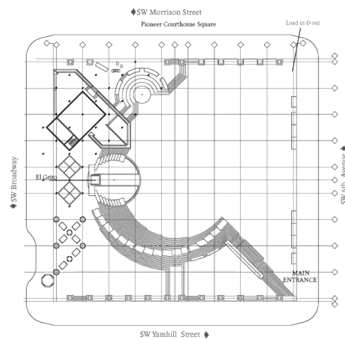
George Square
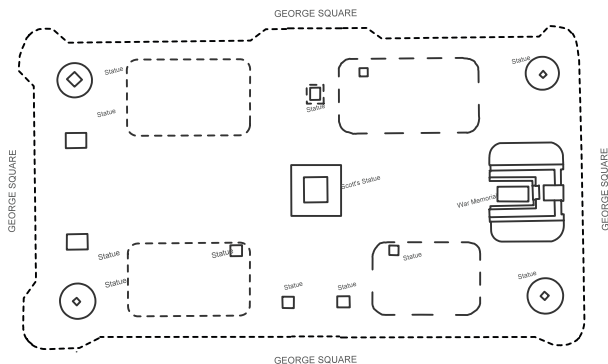
Location & Form

PORTLAND   GLASGOW

2 Kilometers
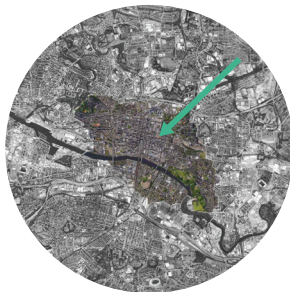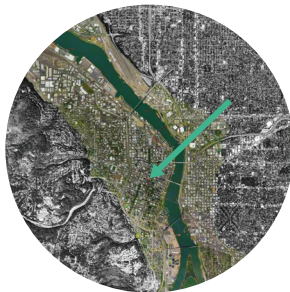
300 Meters

75 Meters

GEORGE SQUARE vs PIONEER SQUARE

*"On a square, citizens are not connected to manifestations of nature, but to the heart of
urban culture, history and memory"*
– Bertrand Levy, Urban Square as the Place of History, Memory, Identity

Pioneer and George Square are the main public spaces in their respective cities. Both are
located in the center of their central districts, and both take up an entire city block. The
differences that lie between them are in how well used they are by the inhabitants of their city.
Pioneer Square has the advantage of being built at the end of the 20th Century, while George
Square was built at the end of the 18th Century. Over the past 200 plus years, the way public
space is used has changed drastically.

Portlanders use Pioneer Square constantly,
for everything from political rallies
and concerts to small events, and while
Glaswegians do use George Square, it
is not being used to its full potential.
Glasgow is a creative place, filled with
creative people, but there is a tendency
to hold on to the past. This instinct
can be a good thing, but only when the
issue can be looked at from both sides.
Any one sided perspective, no matter
which side, is always only seeing half the
picture. Glaswegians love their city. They get

Pioneer Square

involved and they actually care what happens in it, but that is only half the battle for creating
great public space. The way people interact in the public realm has changed, and George Square
needs to be dragged into the 21st Century.

The relationship between the quality of the public realm and the creativity of a city is not as
simple as checking off a list of requirements as to what makes good space, but it does seem
that creativity is related to the quality of public space in cities. 'Placemaking' is a term that
tends to float around a lot when talking about creativity in relationship to the urban realm. The
idea of placemaking is that of creating space thats design is completely user oriented. When
placemaking is the goal of the design of a space, it takes the publics wants and needs into
account.

Another, and possibly most important, way that public space affects the creativity of a city
is that it can act as a *catalyst for social connections*. Creativity thrives where interaction and
collaboration occurs. This is a major reason why cities are hubs of creativity. But when the
public realm, where people interact and connect, does not serve that purpose, connections
are not as easily made and innovation gets stalled. Domenico Di Siena, an architect, urban
planner, and researcher, talks about this issue in an article titled *Public Space as a Catalyst of
Local Communities*. In this article Siena says that "The public space is no longer a space of
opportunities for the collectivity."[4] What he is saying is that policy is getting in the way of
people. The policy makers are trying to create a safe, usable space, sure, but in doing so they

create space that is too regulated, too stark. They leave no room for spontaneous events and connections to happen. These connections are particularly important in an urban context because of the heterogeneity of people living in cities. A characteristic of good public space is diversity, and cities are where diversity thrives. As Jane Jacobs says in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, "Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."[5] Siena finishes his article by quoting Eduardo Serrano as saying, "The needs or simple creativity of its 'users' are the supporting and structural elements of these spaces." It is really the people that are the supporters of public space; without them the best spaces in the world would be left empty. This means that the ideas of placemaking and being specific to the needs and wants of the user are the most important things to think of when designing public spaces. There is no single formula for creating universally good spaces.

George Square

A dominant influence for the enduring relevancy of the city today is it's ability to be a future thinking, globally and environmentally focused city. Both Glasgow and Portland have undertaken amazing regeneration projects in recent years. Glasgow regenerated one of its historically industry focused areas, today known as The Merchant City, into a modern and desirable place to live, work, and interact. Portland has done the same with its Pearl District. Portland has been able to continue this trend throughout much of the rest of the city as well, while Glasgow has not, and this is where the problem arises.

To understand where George Square is today, we must first look at its history. George square was initially part of a larger grid plan for part of Glasgow designed by architects James Gillespie Graham, James Craig, and John Burnet in 1781, and in the beginning it was not a public square. In 1842 Glasgow's Queen Street Station opened at the corner of the square and the area became a much more active public space[6]. The buildings that surround George Square have gone through a number of uses over the years. They started out as wealthy residents houses which used the central square as a private garden, but were later were converted into hotels. After that, the square became Glasgow's administrative center. In 1888 the City Chambers opened on the eastern end of the square and is still located there today.[7]

Considering that George Square is the largest, most important square in Glasgow, it is not used nearly as much as it should, or could, be. In 2012 the city held a competition for architects to submit redesigns of George Square, and in January of 2013 the City Council released a short list of 6 entries, but the publics' opinion of the massive redevelopment was severely negative. The winning bid by John McAslan & Partners was chosen for its considered, user oriented design. Unfortunately, the project was abandoned due to miscommunication between Glasgow City Council, the architects, and the public.

The official reason for the project stalled after a petition for the work to stop came from citizens. In an interview with Katy McCloskey of STV News, Council leader Gordon Matheson stated, "Glaswegians regard George Square as the very heart of the city, so whatever goes on there is very important to the people."[8] Even though this is the reason given, it seems that the project as a whole was handled poorly. At a talk with Architects' Journal, John McAslan stated, "I've never been involved in anything which has been quite so furious and messed up as this process..."[9] That being said, the scheme itself was exactly what the people of Glasgow were asking for. As Alan Dunlop, an architect and a Glasgow native put it, "I thought [McAslan's] scheme was the best, it understood Glasgow and the need for George Square to be a civic space."[10]

This was the scheme that Glasgow wanted, but because of the Council's handling of it, the public was not behind it. In an article written by Professor Brian Evans, head of urbanism at the Glasgow School of Art, he states, "[Glasgow] informed their citizens about what they were intending to do, they didn't really invite their contribution to the process." He also mentions that "[The Glasgow City Council] failed to communicate the process and engage people in the selection of designers and designs for [George Square]."[11] It was because of this lack of involvement that the people protested the redevelopment plans. It can be speculated that if the GCC had allowed for the public to have a more formal say in what would happen with the square, there would probably be a well designed George Square in Glasgow today. Or at least one well on its way to completion.

Portland's Pioneer Square was designed by Willard Martin and was opened in 1984. The close to 4.3 million dollar budget almost canceled the project, and it is a testament to the people of Portland's character that $750,000 was raised to give the project the additional funds it needed. A citizen lead group, Friends of Pioneer Square, raised the money by selling 50,000 bricks that were inscribed with the donor's name and then used to pave the square (*Fig. 1*).[12] The community involvement and concern is similar to how Glaswegians feel about George Square. The difference seems to be that the people of Portland are more adaptable to change than those of Glasgow. This might have something to do with the fact that there is so much more history, and therefore more to hold onto, in Glasgow than in Portland, but that does not mean that nothing can be learned from a city that is so young. Change is something that Portland is good at. The people know how to adapt, even when it might not be exactly what they want, when it is better for the city as a whole. There is also the fact that before it was a square, it was a parking garage (*Fig. 2*). So it is not as if the people of Portland were knocking down a historic landmark to build it.

Pioneer Square is referred to as 'Portland's Living Room' for a reason. It is always in use, whether it be a concert, a protest, or just lunchtime on a Tuesday, the square always seems to be filled with tourists and locals alike. Even though they are in similar areas of their respective cities, and are in cities that are similar in population size, climate, and industrial background, Pioneer Square has a vibrancy that is lacking in George Square. Over the next few pages a comparison will be made between specific aspects of the two squares to determine the differences and similarities of each.

Location

Pioneer Square is located at an in-between area in Portland. It is between the student populated district in the south, the desirable East Burnside area across the river, and the regenerated Pearl District just north (*Fig. 3*). This means that when students are going for a night out in the city, or residents in East Burnside want to come into the city for dinner,

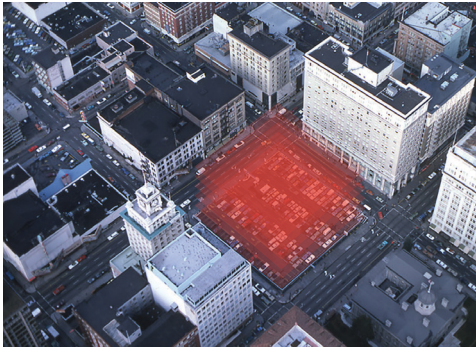Figure 1 – Pioneer Square Bricks

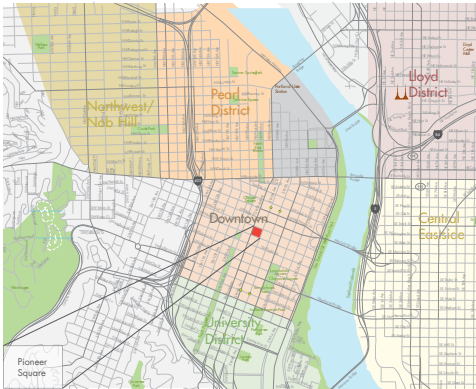
Figure 2 – Historic View of Pioneer Square
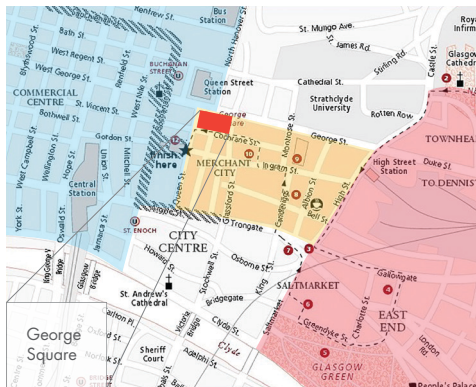

Figure 3 – Portland Districts Map

Figure 4 – Glasgow Districts Map

they pass right through Pioneer Square. It is also the stop for three different tram lines. Given its location, it is no wonder that it is in use at all times of the day.

One of Glasgow's greatest regeneration projects is that of the Merchant City, of which George Square is on the edge. It is located in central Glasgow and stretches East of the center (*Fig. 4*). It has gone through a huge regeneration plan over the last few decades, specifically in the last 7 years[13], and today has become a destination for tourists and locals alike. George Square is an important connection point in the city, at least it could be. Acting as an in-between space, like Pioneer Square, between the center of Glasgow and the Merchant City district, it could be a place to meet when going into the city center, or going from the city center to the Merchant City. More than that, with its location, it should be a destination in itself.

Size

It has previously been mentioned that both of these squares take up an entire city block, but with Portland's small grid there is a large difference in the size of these squares. George Square is roughly 138x75 meters, an area of 10,350 m². Pioneer Square is 61x61 meters, an area of 4,761 m². What is interesting about this is that, while George Square is over twice as large as Pioneer Square, the surrounding buildings are also much smaller in scale. This effect makes the already large space feel more exposed. Add to this the fact that there are no trees and little street furniture, and you can see that the space might feel uncomfortable to be in for a length of time, almost as if you are on display.

The idea of prospect and refuge is one that comes up when talking about people interacting with their environment. In a study conducted by Annemarie S. Dosen and Michael J. Ostwald titled Prospect and Refuge Theory: Constructing a Critical Definition for Architecture and Design[14], they go into detail about the factors that make humans feel more comfortable when they are able to be hidden

(refuge) while still being able to observe the world around them (prospect). This prospect and refuge is not present in George Square (*Fig. 8.1*). The majority of the seating is in the central part of the square, facing inwards with nothing protecting the back. With steps creating a large level change, trees, and walls to act as buffer spaces, the feeling of prospect and refuge can be found in Pioneer Square (*Fig. 8.2*).

As you can see in the picture comparison on the next page (*Fig. 7*), George square is surrounded by buildings that are five stories or under, while Pioneer square has 10+ story buildings in its immediate context. In the winter this can be a deterrent as less light gets in, but it also makes the space feel more enclosed and intimate. In his book Urban Design: Street and Square, Cliff Moughtin quotes Leon Alberti as saying, "A proper height for the buildings about a square is one third of the breadth of the open area, or one sixth at the least."[15]

The sectional comparison (*Fig. 8*) shows that neither square is perfect if this is the standard to be used, but you can see that Pioneer Square seems to be better proportioned for users. You can also see how the steps in pioneer square allow for the principals of prospect and refuge to come into play. Even though it is still exposed, it gives the feeling of security while still allowing one to be an active participant in the space.

Figure 5 – Approaches and Surrounding Amenities for Pioneer Square

Approaches

Pioneer Square is located in a part of Portland that encourages approaches from all sides (*Fig. 5*). Its location intersects destinations on all sides, and is a main cross roads from North-South and from East-West. Although it is surrounded by amenities on two sides, there are virtually none to the North or East of George Square (*Fig. 6*). This, in conjunction with being one street away from Buchanan Street, the pedestrian shopping destination, George Square is really only accessed from the West and South. The location cannot be changed, but what can change is George Square making itself a destination for more people.

Surrounding Building Usages

Pioneer Square is in an area surrounded by offices, restaurants, and shopping (*Fig. 5*). This contributes to it being filled with people at all times of the day. It is a destination for office workers and tourists alike at lunchtime, and the coffee shop located on the square is always busy. Add the historic courthouse on one side, the main transit lines that stop at the square, and the steps allowing for hundreds of people to sit, and you are left with a vibrant, diverse place that makes people feel comfortable spending time in it.

George Square is in the centre of Glasgow, a block away from the busiest pedestrian street in the city, and you can almost see Central Station from the corner, yet the square is surrounded with civil buildings, banks, and government offices. There are few restaurants, shops, or even publicly accessible buildings. The amount of building frontage that faces the square gives George Square a huge opportunity, though. It is twice the size of Pioneer Square, and it is surrounded by many low rise buildings. This means that there is opportunity for a large number of different types of amenity spaces to face on the square, an opportunity that is not available with the size and surrounding building usage of Pioneer Square. Unfortunately this is not the case now, but it is a very real possibility.

Figure 6 – Approaches and Surrounding Amenities for George Square

As you can see in figure 7, Pioneer Square is surrounded by four large buildings. One is the court house, and one is a single large department store. The other two are high rise office buildings. There is also a coffee shop located on the square itself. The department store attracts people, but it is only one store, so there is not much diversity coming from there. The office buildings have ground floor store fronts, but there is still limited space.

The coffee shop on the square adds a destination for a diverse set of people. It will always be filled with office workers getting their morning coffee, tourists stopping in for lunch and sitting in the square, and students coming to the square to study or read. Since Pioneer Square is located in a busy, multi-use area, it does suffer because of its lack of amenity spaces facing onto the square, but the coffee shop adds a much needed destination to the space, and helps to fill it with life at all times of day.

While George Square is in the centre of the city, people don't tend to go to it unless it is their destination. Unlike in Pioneer Square, where one might be walking past and decide to stop for a coffee or to sit on the steps, there is so such draw for George Square. Especially since the main pedestrian shopping core that is Buchanan Street is only one block away. If the square were surrounded by amenity shops, and if there was a destination spot on the square itself, it would be able to draw people from Buchanan Street and create a much more active space.

Events

Both George Square and Pioneer Square are used for many events. Pioneer Square has over 300 scheduled events that take place in it each year[16]. George Square doesn't come close to this number, and it seems to only be used for important or large events in Glasgow. This is due in part to the fact that Buchanan Street is right there, drawing crowds of pedestrians and where you see smaller events happen. George Square doesn't have the draw to make people think that it is a good place to hold smaller events.

Portland summers tend to have nicer weather than in Glasgow, and this does contribute to the amount and type of events that take place in Pioneer Square, but it is not the most important factor. It is constantly being used for events, both big and small, and even though it is only half the size of George Square, it has the capacity to fit a surprisingly large amount of people. George Square has the opportunity to be used for more events, but it is not. There are big events that happen in it, but it is lacking in the smaller, day to day events that make spaces like Pioneer Square a destination. It is also a great space to stumble upon and see something happening, even if it is as simple as 'Singin' in the Square' (an event put on by ShedRain in Pioneer Square where they invite the city to come out and sing together).[17] The point to be taken from this is that George Square has the ability to have these smaller events happen, but it first needs to make sure the space is user oriented to allow for this type of activity, the type of activity the main square of a city should have.

Figure 7.1 George Square Building Frontage

Figure 7.2 Pioneer Square Building Frontage

Usage Comparison

Today George square is home to a number of public buildings, hotels, and restaurants, but not as many as you would expect for the most important square in Glasgow. Figure 6 showed how most of the surrounding amenities are to the West and South. In the previously mentioned *Glasgow Open Space Strategy Report*, it states, "People-orientated city centers generally retain visitors for longer with supporting activities, such as street cafés and performers animating the environment."[19] This quote comes from the portion of the report reviewing the pedestrians experience in Glasgow City Center. It is interesting because the report mentions Portland specifically as an example of how to shape public space in a way that is more inviting to pedestrians. This type of activity does happen in Glasgow, but only on Buchanan Street, where there is little or no seating, and none of the cafés utilize the street. As it is the main public space in Glasgow, this is a concern. In the report, it is recommended that a way to create a better pedestrian experience is to reduce the amount of traffic that runs around George Square. The report reads: "Reducing the road dominance would allow for greater animation of the square by promoting outdoor eating and street side vending…"[19] By reducing traffic constrictions, the surrounding buildings could interact more closely with the large open square, maybe even allowing some café and restaurant spaces to spill out onto the square itself.

Events/Use

George Square

Pioneer Square

George Square

75 M

5 10 20 40
METERS
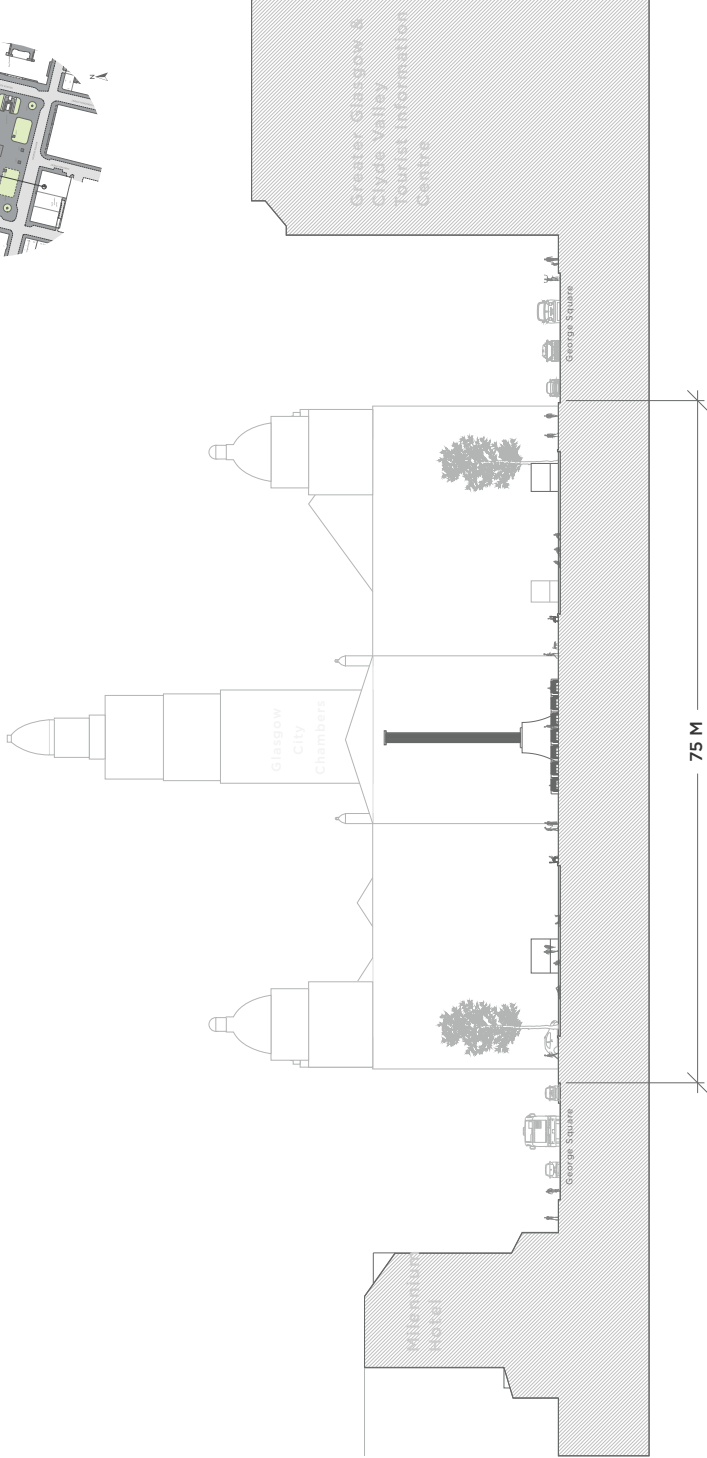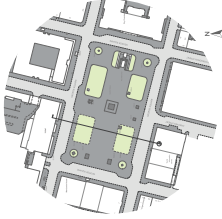
Figure 8.1

Figure 8.2

Pioneer Square

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THE USER-ORIENTED CITY

"There is no logic that can be superimposed on the city; people make it, and it is to them,
not buildings, that we must fit our plans."
– Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities

The living room is the place in your house you go to be with your family, it is the place
you go when you are entertaining guests, it is the place where life happens. The living
room is the heart of the home. Like the heart of the home, the square should be the
heart of the city. This should be the case in all cities, but it is of most importance in a
creative city. The interactions and connections that the square allows for are contributing
components to how creative cities remain innovative. People use their surrounding and
experiences for inspiration, especially in creative industries such as art, writing, and design,
but also in the more scientific creative fields. The fact is that creative people need to be
stimulated or they whither. That is the reason creative industries are generally only found
in cities, and good public space can contribute to this by creating an environment that
encourages creativity. Glasgow and Portland are known for being a place where creatives
go, and the public realm of these two cities reflect that.

This comparison of Portland and Glasgow reveals aspects of the city that Glasgow can
implement into its own public realm. Portland has an amazing transportation system, the
people are environmentally conscious and biking is heavily encouraged, and their public
realm is full of diversity. Glasgow has the foundations for this type of environment, and
many aspects of it are already implemented. What will push it further are the people.

As mentioned earlier, the urban realm should be a direct representation of what the urban
dwellers want. The quote at the beginning of this chapter sums it up. The city needs to fit
its plans to the needs of the people, not the wants and desires of a City Council. George
Square and Pioneer Square are the heart of Glasgow and Portland. They are the places
where the life of the city is the most vibrant, the places where people meet, interactions
occur, where life happens. This idea might not be exactly true today, but it can be, and
more than that, it should be. These squares have the potential to bring life to their cities.
Pioneer Square has been doing a good job of this, and George Square is certainly trying.

As for the creativity of the cities and the role these public spaces play, has it been
determined whether or not these squares contribute to their cities creativity? Throughout
this research it has been speculated that good public space has the ability to influence a
cities creativity, and to make a good public space, it needs to be user oriented. From the
comparisons it has been shown that Pioneer Square was designed with many aspects of
how people would use the space in mind. This research has also shown that, although the
potential is there, George Square is not performing to the best of its ability. Luckily, there
is a great case study within this very same text laying out actions which, if taken correctly,
could improve its public interaction. George Square might not be living up to its potential,
but this is not to say that it is making Glasgow less creative. What it is saying is that if
George Square were to make some simple changes, it could create an urban environment
that would positively impact Glasgow's creativity by having a user oriented space where
creative minds can connect, a space that Glasgow's city center so desperately needs.

Let's remember what was quoted at the beginning of this chapter by Landry and Bianchini concerning creativity, "Every period in history seems to need its own forms of creativity."[20] Pioneer Square was formed at a much different point in history than George Square was, and while Pioneer Square was designed in a time where it was important to focus on the user, George Square was formed over a long period of time, and at a time when the creativity of the day caused the public realm to be more structured and formal. Creativity was about power, industry, and industry focused innovations. George Square is now having to adapt itself to appeal to a new set of ideals, while Pioneer Square was born into them. Glasgow has changed itself from an industrial focused city on the edge of destruction into a vibrant, creative city over the past 50 years. It should be no problem for it to now adapt its urban realm to support and reflect this creativity.

A creative city is only creative because of the people that reside in it, and The Creative City's public realm should reflect its inhabitants ideals. What should be taken away from this chapter is that George Square and Pioneer Square, as 'Urban Living Rooms', have the ability to contribute to the creativity of the city. Pioneer Square is a great example of how a public space can bring a diversity of people together and allow for interactions, and George Square has great potential for this to happen. It nearly did in 2012, and with just a few changes George Square can be the heart of Glasgow again.

The interaction between the public realm and the creativity of a city cannot be measured on a scale. Creativity is a spectrum that changes over time. It cannot be measured in absolutes. Every city in the world is on the creative spectrum, and what can be determined for them to stay relevant, and to retain their identities as creative places, both Glasgow and Portland, along with every other 'creative' place, need to be able to adapt to what the current status quo is for creativity. Even better, they should strive to set the status quo themselves.

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CREATIVE CAFÉ CULTURE

The Social Significance of Cafés in Cities

By Charlene Gilmour

INTRODUCTION

"Life without community has produced, for many, a life style consisting mainly of a home-to-work-and-back-again shuttle. Social well-being and psychological health depend upon community."
– *Ray Oldenburg, The Great Good Place*

Cafés support cities with far more than just the simple provision of coffee. The study examines the creative and social function of cafés in urban life by analysing the historic and contemporary role of the café, and with a focus on the specific role of independent cafés which actively aim to encourage creativity, the research also compares the café culture found in Glasgow and Portland by looking at an independent establishment in each city. Drawing upon their conclusions, the findings develop an understanding of how each city has acted creatively in different ways, and reinforce the extent to which cafés can provide the perfect social conditions for creativity to thrive.

The Creative City & Café Culture

From the initial research on the subject, it is clear that the Creative City is a complex and multifaceted term. The topic covers a vast area of discussion and many influential writers have debated countless factors to which they think it represents. One of the first to use the term 'Creative City' was Charles Landry in the 1980s as a response to how cities were developing in a major time of change due to globalisation, the advancements of technology and the way cities began to rethink and adapt. In the fundamental book *The Creative City*, Landry asserts that the value of creativity is paramount and when a city is creative, it will adjust well to change and therefore improve its societal and economic development.[1]

Landry goes on to discuss what he considers as the integral qualities of a creative city, such as flexibility, the receptivity to change and a willingness to take risks.[2] He then advances on these points to urge the importance of a city retaining its cultural heritage: 'An appreciation of cultural issues, expressing value and identity is key to the ability to respond to change.'[3] Landry's point reiterates the fact that by maintaining a city's unique character and identity, it will be more likely to reinvent itself adeptly, in order to cope with change and thus benefit from future growth and development.[4] A statement which could argue that creative cites express themselves in very different forms from each other that are culture specific, and tailored to their own environments.

Another stance on the subject enquires an understanding of 'creativity' itself. However, the term is overused to the point that it is difficult to try and determine its exact definition. Perceived in many different lights, a general description would suggest that creativity is a flexible and unrestrictive force, open minded to innovation. The economist John Howkins and writer of *The Creative Economy* describes creativity as the ability to generate something new, in which he places a priority on the importance of originality and states that the most valuable currency is not money, but ideas.[5] A theory that reinforces Landry's assertions, in which a creative city must respond innovatively to adjust well in times of change.

Another principal figure who has shaped the current definition of a creative city is the urban and economic theorist, Richard Florida. His widely debated views on the subject reveal a more business orientated approach which proposes that if a city is creative, it will reap great economic benefits. His work presents a somewhat irreverent and elitist perspective that focuses on the potential for everyone to be classified as creative and part of the 'creative class'. A term he uses to describe the young, creative professionals who he believes are drawn to a city because of the wealth of local amenities and environmental qualities that a city should provide, in order to sustain a creative population.[6] Florida touches on some relevant points, but an overarching review of his work reveals that he only really discusses the ideal conditions required for a creative city and not how, or what the people do to help contribute to this creativity.[7]

Being creative has almost always been seen as a positive attribute, despite some of the downfalls related to creative cities such as urban division and social fragmentation, in which a large percentage of jobs are only short term, precarious and tend to go to those advantaged with the look, the lifestyle and the connections.[8] There is also the reality that cities now worry about the appeal they have on the creative young professionals that Florida asserts are key, which consequently leads to a large proportion of government investment put towards cultural policy and development in an attempt to attract more attention to the city, rather than focusing on other essential matters such as employment or education.[9]

In my own interpretation of a creative city, it is evident that they are flexible, responsive and fluidly adapt to change. There is also a strong focus on innovation, and they stay true to their intrinsic cultural heritage, while providing the right environments to attract other creatives from further afield. From my own research, I also believe that creative cities focus on the importance of people themselves and bring communities together, in which people take an interest in what goes on in a city and actively participate. I have also observed that there is an importance for creative cities to take a holistic approach that doesn't restrict creativity to just the arts and culture, but that they show an open mindedness to invest in a wider sense, allowing people in all communities to express their creativity and therefore give more people the opportunity to be creative and to innovate.

Many of the points associated with creative cities can relate to the role of cafés in urban life, as they play a vital role in the exchange of ideas and innovation between people. The history of the café strengthens this Argument, for example, the 18th century European coffee houses proved to offer much more than just coffee. Cafés became known as 'penny universities',[10] where a one pence coffee provided the opportunity to learn through reading, socialising and conversing with others in a space where the barriers between class were disregarded, and people were treated as equals.[11]
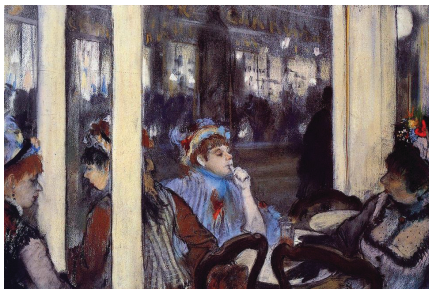
FIGURE 1 – DEGAS, 'WOMEN ON A CAFÉ TERRACE IN THE EVENING', 1877

FIGURE 2 – RENOIR, 'LE MOULIN DE LA GALETTE', 1876

Cafés also have a prolific history in terms of providing a platform to host music, performance and other forms of entertainment. They also have a reputable tradition of inspiring creatives, and countless literary figures and artists have been known to frequent cafés, ranging from Picasso and Renoir, to Voltaire and Hemingway, all of whom have been inspired within cafés.[12] Depicted in the work of artists, the Impressionism movement was known for its portrayals of the buoyant café culture in Paris. Skilfully captured in the examples shown in Fig 1 & 2, the artists emphasise the lively social interaction and exchanges found in cafés.

This is also portrayed in the work of the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson, whose work in photojournalism shows an appreciation for the moments in everyday life.[13] Illustrated by the photograph *Sidewalk Café*, Bresson captures a sweet moment in time, and perfectly interprets the charming atmosphere found in cafés. (Fig 3)

The ability to spark creativity also translates into the work of more contemporary creatives, such as the writer JK Rowling:

'The idea of just wandering off to a café with a notebook and writing and seeing where that takes me for a while is just bliss. Heaven. No pressure.'[14]

One could say that cafés have an inherent quality in the atmosphere they provide which appeals to trigger creative thought. This is a viewpoint shared by Eilidh McKay, artist and owner of the established creative venue, The Project Café, who believes that cafés provide informal public spaces where people can go to think freely and without any obligations to attend.[15] Thus, stressing the importance of flexibility in a café, and that the lack of structure provided actively invites people to think or discuss creatively, while being in the presence of others doing the same.

FIGURE 3 – HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON, '*SIDEWALK CAFÉ*', BOULEVARD DIDEROT, 1969

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These qualities are also explored in the MIT thesis *The Urban Coffee Shop* by Konstantinos Chadios, which looks at the role of cafés in their urban environments. He believes that the convivial atmosphere found in coffee shops is shaped by key architectural features, such as their small, human scale that lends to social interaction; the close, intimate table planning, and the decoration and music which express a café's overall intentions.[16] He goes on to describe cafés as one of the few private places in a city where people can have such a public experience, and declares that social interaction is the main purpose of a café.[17] This is indicative of the social role cafés have in terms of providing a space for people to use and carry out these exchanges with others.

The Third Place

Advancing on these ideas, *The Great Good Place* is a seminal text by sociologist Ray Oldenburg, which looks at the qualities of cafés in further detail. His book categorises life into three locations: home, work and the 'third place', a term he uses to describe the social gathering spaces such as cafés, bookstores and other establishments where people come to think, relax and escape the banalities of daily life.[18] To Oldenburg, third places provide good public space that is enhanced by a wide mix of ethnicity and age, and he goes on to advise that the local community functions best when people participate together through shared amenities.[19] This reinforces the idea that cafés provide better connections within the local community and therefore strengthen public relations, leading to an increase in the mix and exchange of ideas which could potentially spark creative thought. This is similar to what Landry prescribes in his book *The Intercultural City*, which encourages multi-cultural exchange, and asserts that diverse communities are economically and socially more successful as they enhance the variation in the exchange of ideas and innovation.[20]

Chains vs. Independent

The contribution a café can make towards the structure of a creative city varies greatly depending on the type of café. Since the 1980s, corporate café chains have played a major role in the recent history of coffee drinking and global chains such as Starbucks and Costa have emerged as a response to modern day lifestyles, providing a well-deserved break amidst the hectic routine of daily life.[21] Despite their success, chain cafés have faced a lot of criticism and as result of their homogeneity, chains fail to establish a strong relationship to their surrounding areas.[22] This an issue addressed by Professor Markman Ellis, writer of an extensive history and analysis of cafés in *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*, who argues that despite their claims of being local, many people find the commitment of chains to their local communities as unclear.[23]

On the other side of the spectrum, independent cafés present a very different case. These establishments are generally one of a kind, small in scale and are known for being well rooted in the local area. By catering to the specific needs of the local people, it could be argued that independent cafés provide better public space for social interaction and the coming together of local communities. Glasgow café owner Rachel Smillie reinforces this theory, she believes that chains have a certain sterility about them, while independent cafés generally provide a more conducive space for creative discussion.[24] Therefore, one could say that independent cafés are more likely to go beyond the standard function of a chain café by providing a stronger platform to support the creativity of a city.

Glasgow & Portland

The research aims to contextualise the history and comparative transformations of Glasgow and Portland, in order to understand the ways in which they have acted creatively and why they could now be considered as creative cities today. Glasgow is a city with an incredibly rich past. Once known as the second city of the empire during the industrial revolution, Glasgow has a strong industrial and manufacturing heritage with the ship building industry at its heart.[25]

In a similar vein, Portland also has a gritty, working class and industrial past that reveals a stark contrast to the cities today, in which both have radically transformed and reinvented themselves into cities of culture and the arts. The changes in Glasgow have been most prominent in the last 30 years, where an emphasis was put on government policies and rebranding though advertising campaigns and slogans such as 'Glasgow's Miles Better' in 1983, which have catalysed a major change in Glasgow's image to promote itself as a more culturally thriving city.[26]

Many of the major changes in Portland emerged around a similar time as those seen in Glasgow, but with a focus on the 1990s. This was a result of the dot-com boom that attracted masses of young creative professionals to the city, lured by the job prospects in the creative industries for companies, who provided work in fields such as graphic design and high-tech development. This, accompanied by the cheaper rents on offer in comparison to other west coast cities such as San Francisco or Seattle, meant that Portland became a magnet for young creative people, which is currently still the case.[27] Today, Portland is famous for its walkability thanks to its small block sizes that allow for close proximity to local amenities such as parks, shops, and cafés.[28]

Portland also has strong artisanal values that function on a far larger scale than what can be seen in Glasgow, and the high end coffee scene is a ubiquitous part of this well established artisanal culture. The book *Caffeinated PDX* provides a glimpse into the city's unique independent coffee scene, where making coffee is treated as an art form that is almost scientific:

"In Portland, Oregon, coffee is more than just a beverage, it is an essential part of the city's character."[29]

Portland's coffee culture stems primarily from the success of Stumptown Coffee, a small independent café which expanded rapidly and ignited a new generation of independent, artisanal coffee roasting cafés throughout the city.[30]

FIGURE 4 – STUMPTOWN COFFEE ROASTERS, PORTLAND

0   1 KM   1 Mile

Café Comparison | Glasgow

From the comparative figure ground maps above, it is clear to see that many cafés in Glasgow cluster within the heart of the city centre and along the main arterial routes. This is most evident in the West End of the city, where they follow the three major and most active streets that encircle the main university.

Despite the fact that both Glasgow and Portland have roughly the same population, Portland has more than 30 artisanal coffee roasters,[31] which is far more than the 11 found in Glasgow, and attests to the coffee obsession found in Portland.
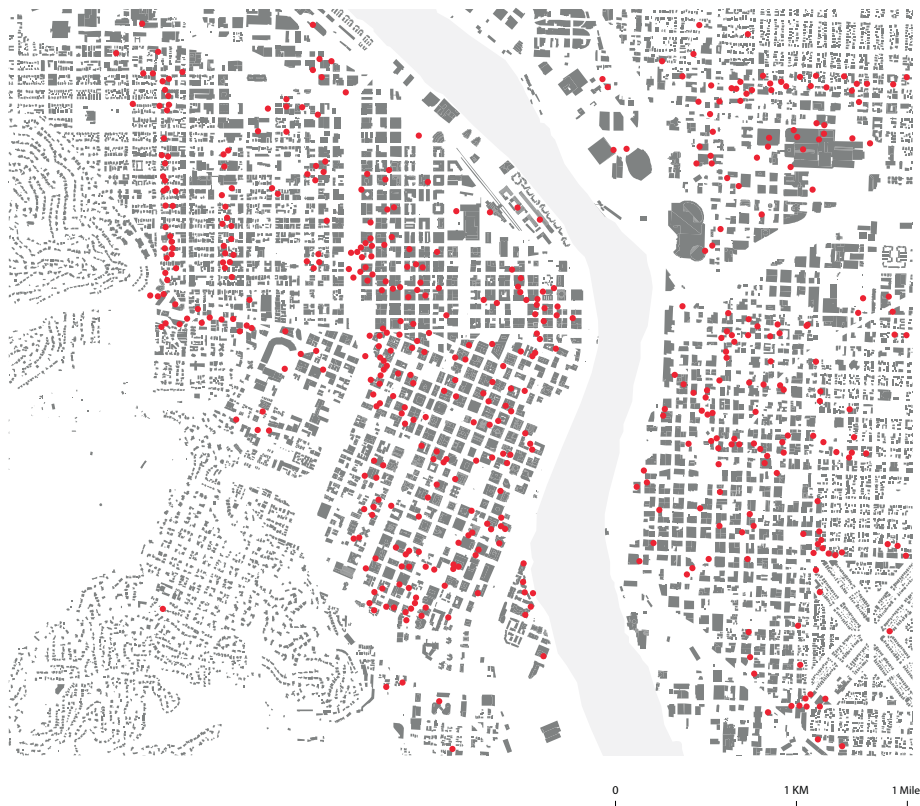
Café Comparison | Portland

Although Portland has a more scattered and widespread coverage of cafés across the whole city, many still group along the main roads and highlight the key relationship between the busy, active locations of cafés and their strong social importance in city life.

It could be argued that if streets are active and have a wide variety of amenities placed closely together within walkable distances, they will be more likely to interest pedestrians and help create successful and lively streetscapes. Glasgow could learn from Portland in terms of offering a wider variety of independent cafés, rather than the coprorate chains.

THE GLAD CAFÉ & CATHEDRAL CAFÉ

Figure 5 – The Glad Café, Glasgow

Figure 6 – Cathedral Café, Portland

To test the ideas established by the research, I conducted an interview with a café in each city, in order to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between creative cities and independent cafés. In Glasgow, The Glad Café was chosen because it is a well renowned creative hub within its local community, and contributes to the creativity of the area by providing a space for a wide range of activities such as book club meetings and events such as music festivals days of the week. After conducting an interview with the owner Rachel Smillie, it was clear that the café is tailored to support the local people, which opened as a response to living in the area and the desire to provide a space for the community to use flexibly, a resource they thought had been lacking on the South Side of Glasgow.

Similarly, Cathedral Café was selected because of its relationship with the local community of St John's in North West Portland, as well as for its strong artisanal values in a city that is fiercely supportive of independent business. By conducting an interview with the owner Austen Tanner, it was evident that his café has similar intentions to The Glad Café, which was set up to provide a community space that didn't pigeon hole, and could be used by all. On the whole, both cafés show that their creative-led intentions go beyond what is expected of an ordinary café, and illustrate the potential a café has in terms of contributing to the overall creativity of a city.

Inherent Nature of the People

One of the major similarities observed from both interviews was the importance of the local community. In Glasgow, Smillie believes that people make the Glad Café successful, and goes on to discuss her views on the creativity of Glaswegians:

'There's a great receptivity to exploring and looking at new ideas…I think there's something sort of

edgy about Glasgow, maybe from its industrial past, its poverty…but I think it's also its socialist traditions – people care and look to creative solutions.[32]

In relation to this, it is possible to say that the creativity of Glaswegians has sprung forth from the city's deep rooted industrial and socialist culture as the city is known for its inherent aptitude for making things, indebted from this strong history of manufacture and design. A major part of this cultural transformation can be traced to The Glasgow School of Art, a significant institution at the heart of the arts community in Glasgow. In the book *Social Sculpture*, former student Sarah Lowndes expands on this with her own perceptions of the city:

'To me, Glasgow has always been a place where I felt a kind of freedom, and where I got involved with doing things for the love of it rather than for more conventional gains.'[33]

This draws attention to the fact that Glasgow has a somewhat creative atmosphere, where people feel inclined to participate and get involved in creative endeavours. Glasgow's latest branding campaign 'People Make Glasgow' reinforces this idea further still, advocating that the success and creativity of the city lies in its citizens.

Portland, on the other hand, is known for its fertile land and longstanding agricultural heritage. On a similar wavelength to Glasgow and the recognition it gives to its industrial past, one could argue that Portland's artisanal culture can be traced back to the city's agricultural heritage and the people's natural skills of making and growing things through living off the land.[34] This is a theory reinforced in the book *Brews to Bikes*, which examines Portland's artisanal movement in more detail and sums up the city's culture with the apt slogan 'Made in Portland.'[35] The book also argues that this artisanal culture is a product of the people's mind-set, where they actively want to make and use artisanal goods:

'Portland stands alone as an urban economy that has broadly embraced the artisan approach to living and working.'[36]

These points were confirmed in the interview with Tanner at Cathedral Café, who believes that people in Portland are very entrepreneurial and willing to invent and try new things. Tanner also asserts that Portland's aversion to big name corporations has helped creativity in the artisanal and independent led culture to blossom, which has been fuelled by Portlanders willingness to pay more for artisanal goods:

"You're not constantly being inundated by what's popular or what's cheap. Actually people expect to pay more, because it is artisan work. It's almost like going back to when someone would make something with their hands and you would expect to pay for it because you know it's gonna last and it's beautiful, it's one of a kind."[37]

This intense appreciation for independent business is something that is not as prominent in Glasgow; however it does show that both have evolved into more creative cities through very different ways that are specific to their contexts. This also demonstrates the fact that both Glasgow and Portland have maintained key elements from their heritages, and have developed themselves over time to adapt to recent change. Thus, meeting one of the significant requirements that Landry describes as essential for a creative city. These points also link back to Florida and one of his more thoughtful considerations: "Creativity has come to be the most

highly prized commodity in our economy – and yet it is not a commodity. Creativity comes from people.'[38] This draws the conversation to a more human perspective, and strengthens the idea that creativity is a force driven by the people, and not the place.

Café Intentions: Atmosphere & Space

Another prominent feature discussed in both interviews revolved around the atmosphere provided in cafés. Smillie asserts that in order for a café to encourage creativity, there needs to be a clear desire by the café itself to show that they visibly encourage creativity through means such as regular exhibitions or promoting certain music, in order to create an atmosphere that will attract people and hopefully spark creativity in others.[39] This argument is also supported in the words of Jan Gehl, an urban designer who believes that 'when someone begins to do something, there is a clear tendency for others to join in, either to participate themselves or just to experience what others are doing. In this manner, individuals and events can influence and stimulate one another.'[40] Thus, reinforcing the idea that cafés provide ideal conditions for social and creative exchange.

The physical characteristics of a café are also prevalent in this theory. At the Glad Café, some of the furnishings are made by locals and are exhibited proudly amongst the community. The café also has a flexible venue space that is well-used for a wide range of events, bringing many people together on various occasions. (Fig 7 & 8)

At Cathedral Café, the atmosphere also proves to be a fundamental part of the café's success. Tanner focuses his opinion on the importance of reusing old buildings that relate back to the history of a city, in order to provide a more creative space. His café is proof of this, in which he took a small, generic office building and stripped it back to the original features of its former life as a gas station (Fig 9 & 10), a move he thinks was necessary in order to restore the unique character of the place:

"I believe in something that can be revived, made new

FIGURE 7 – THE GLAD CAFÉ EVENTS

FIGURE 8 – CREATIVE VENUE SPACE

FIGURE 9 – CATHEDRAL CAFÉ INTERIOR : CENTRAL SPACE
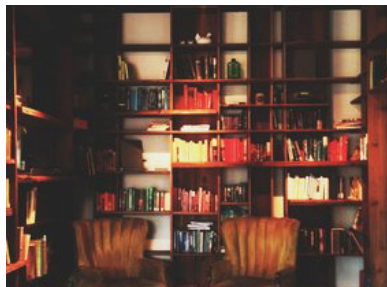
FIGURE 10 – CATHEDRAL CAFÉ INTERIOR : COMMUNITY LIBRARY

and beautiful again, and I think that when something is at its worst, it's even more beautiful when it's fixed."[41]

Speaking with great fervour, Tanner also believes that the reuse of old buildings is one of the most important features of cities as they embrace the cultural heritage of a place, once again relating back to Landry's criteria for a creative city.

Encouraged Amateurism

Another important feature of cafés is the all-encompassing support given to participate, where amateurs are encouraged to have a go alongside professionals in discussion or events. This is a feature that Oldenburg also describes in *The Great Good Place*, in which he believes that amateurism gives people the chance to try something new and feel accepted through participation,[42] which could be argued as a contributing factor to why cafés such as The Glad Café and Cathedral Café help creativity to flourish amongst a wide scope of people.

What these case studies make clear is that some cafés actively help contribute to creativity more so than others, and that being inclusive and open to the local community is an important part of this process. Cafés can provide an unrestrictive platform that doesn't discriminate, where people can display art, perform, write or discuss. Overall, one could say that these cafés succeed creatively because they are local, flexible and affordable places with a very important social function – to provide a meeting space that brings people and ideas together, encouraging them to collaborate creatively and to become more involved in local affairs, as well as to be inspired.

Conclusion

Today, it is justifiable to say that both Glasgow and Portland could be considered as creative cities, despite reaching these conclusions through very different means. Both have performed creatively in very diverse ways and in turn represent how flexible the conditions are for a creative city to flourish. In Glasgow, its creativity revolves around the heritage of industry and design, but also through its socialist culture. For Portland, its strength lies in the city's liberal approach and willingness to invent, epitomized by the artisanal values that stem from its agricultural past of growing and making things. Therefore, stressing the importance of maintaining the cultural heritage of a city while responding innovatively, openly and accepting of change.

Through examining the specific relationship between cafés and the idea of The Creative City, it is evident that cafés form a fundamental part of city life. The research presented suggests that certain cafés that go beyond the simple provision of coffee, and perform on an entirely different level than chain cafés. While the objective of corporate chains is to meet the demands of a market need, some independent and innovative cafés aim to provide a locally tailored platform for creative opportunities and exchange, and regardless of how good their coffee is or if they have a performance venue or not, the businesses intentions of these cafés aim not only to create café culture, but creative café culture. The Glad Café in Glasgow and Cathedral Café in Portland are both testament to this, in terms of what they do for the local people, and how they encourage creative thought and discussion. Therefore, it could be argued that these types of cafés play an essential role in contribution of creativity to a city.

STREET FOOD

The impact on the city, its inhabitants and the urban economy

By Natalia Jejer

STREET FOOD

During the economic downturn, city planners all across Europe and America employed temporary use and low-cost start-ups as tools in an attempt to re-activate the urban economy. Temporary shops and galleries '*popped-up*' in vacant high street shops around the country. Outdoor theatres and cinemas started setting up on derelict, disused and stalled urban land.

Communities and individuals also realised the potential and embraced the hype associated with temporary activity. In Glasgow, *Govanhill Baths* - the derelict Victorian bath house - was transformed into a community hub. The drained pools were used as a backdrop for pop-up gigs, theatre and guerrilla dining.

In many cases, food played a great role in both the use of vacant buildings and land. In Portland, street food and food carts have been occupying the perimeters of car parks and stalled land since the early 90's. Currently, there are over 600 food trucks and carts across the city, many clustered into communities called pods. The pods not only provide hungry clientele with food but also serve the local communities as outdoor hubs of cultural and social activity.

Glasgow's street food scene is recent, moderately small, focused around pop-ups and located mainly indoors. On the other hand, Portland's scene is established, located largely outdoors and thriving. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the reasons behind this difference and to establish the significance of street food, food trucks and food pods to the city and its inhabitants.

Temporary Use

• Is the opposite to master plan,
• Is concerned with *context* and *current condition*, *small spaces* and *brief spans of time*, with the participation of the local population,
• Can be beneficial to both planning, the economy, as well as the user group,
• Can reveal the possibilities of disused, derelict or stalled space;[1]

The Role of Temporary Use in the Creative City

'Creativity has a general, all-purpose problem-solving and opportunity-creating capacity. Its essence is a multifaceted resourcefulness and the ability to assess and find one's way to solutions for intractable, unexpected, unusual problems or circumstances.' [2]

Charles Landry, *The Creative City*

These problem-solving and opportunity-creating qualities were most certainly tried during the financial crisis of 2007-2008. Many businesses - small and big - closed their doors, while those more fortunate were forced to quickly adapt to the new economic conditions. Other, more creative individuals and businesses saw the new circumstances as an opportunity for innovation and experimentation.

Unoccupied high street retail space was popular with small start-ups and the creative industries as it provided an alternative to the *normal market* with low-cost and small scale spaces.[3] These types of ventures also permit a t*rial-and-error approach* as they provide the user with a low-risk opportunity to learn in practice and be able to reflect and re-assess.[4,5] Jane Jacobs also applies this approach to cities as a whole: *'Cities are an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success in city building and city design.'* [6] Therefore, Bishop and Williams aren't wrong to ask: *'Could temporary uses be a manifestation of the emergence of a more dynamic, flexible or adaptive urbanism, where the city is becoming more responsive to new needs, demands and preferences of its users?'* [7]

The contemporary urban lifestyle is one that values mobility, flexibility and diversity. Over the last decade, there has been a change not only in the way people work. Virtual businesses and self-employment have also, in effect, transformed the way people use space. *Work-life integration*, a desire for collaboration between disciplines and the need for social interaction has increased the popularity of co-working and multi-use facilities. While the constant access to wi-fi and smart technology allows people to work virtually anywhere. A shift is also visible in the public realm with alternative cultures and activists using vacant sites for community gardens, urban farms or art installations.[8]

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A creative approach of the municipalities to the matter is crucial. Temporary activities fall outside of the normal economy, legal relationships and planning procedures, hence, economic and legal exceptions must be made in this instance.[9] Yet, institutionalising the process usually causes more damage than good.[10] Therefore, systems of regulation and planning need to adjust in a way to enable these activities without suppressing the element of creativity. [11]

The formation of a special unit or considering the applications on an individual basis could enable the process. In Glasgow, *Stalled Spaces* is a department of Glasgow City Council which deals with vacant city land.[12] *'Stalled Spaces is the re-use, re-imagination, regeneration of vacant and derelict land, land that's been stalled due to the economic downturn or land that is just generally underused.'*[13] *Stalled Spaces* facilitate formal groups with their proposals for stalled public and private sites. They assist with any required permissions, leases, and public liability insurance.[14] The unit however does not permit temporary land use for financial gain and does not facilitate meanwhile occupancy of derelict buildings.

The *No Vacancy! Project* studied the Central Eastside Industrial District of Portland to propose potential interim uses for derelict buildings and land in the area. They found that many existing organisations like the Regional Arts and Culture Council and the Portland Institute of Contemporary Art, were already promoting temporary use in the area. However, they also recognised that in order for temporary use to flourish the council had to: *improve connections between potential users and property owners, encourage interim use of publicly owned land, remove costly regulatory barriers and provide liability insurance.*[15]

Food & Culture

Food has a powerful hold on people. It isn't merely a physiological need. It also combines a series of sensory experiences with emotions and memories. *'Chillies excite the senses; they sting the hands when cut, and burn the mouth; the aroma of freshly baked bread inspires both hunger and a feeling of security.'*[16] The act of eating is also a social and cultural phenomenon.[17] The status of it is raised when done in public and accompanied by conversation and music. While national cuisine and traditional flavours give a sense of identity to cultural groups allowing them to be recognised amongst others.[18]

Food has also become the driver for contemporary urban movements. Environmentally aware urbanites turn to *vegetarianism* and *veganism*. Many people strive to purchase sustainably produced, organic food as a protest to GMO. *Locavores* focus on eating locally grown and artisan produce to support local businesses and reduce their carbon footprint. With the rise of obesity and eating disorders, the *slow-food* movement focuses on the way people eat and cook at home.

These forms of food activism are also reflected in the urban environment. In recent years, community gardens, farmers' markets and urban farms have been increasing very quickly in numbers.

Similarly, over the recent years, *street food* has been trending in cities across Europe and America. Street food vendors pride themselves in using fresh, locally-sourced, artisan products. It is so popular not only because it seems to embrace many of the urban movements under one name but it also showcases international cuisine in countries with less *distinctive and pervasive flavouring combinations, like England or Germany*.[19] For some, street food may provide an insight into foreign cuisine and new flavours experiences.

The Role of Street Food in the City

Originating from places like Mexico, Thailand and Vietnam, street food has not only played a role in the informal economy of these countries. In its original context, street food can be a reflection of the city, its people and culture. Julian Hanshaw, in the Art of Pho, portrays the traditional Vietnamese dish of pho bo as a craft which showcases the chef's personality and reflects the city: *'I began to learn the art of pho. Each stands taste was unique. And I strived to make each bowl as vibrant and intoxicating as the city.'*[20] Served by well-known neighbourhood characters, the dish fills the street with fresh aromas. And the morning pho is a ritual engrained into the daily routine of the city's inhabitants.

Physically, street food can also contribute to the identity of the city, the informal character and liveliness of its streets. The vivid carts and unceremonious plastic stools form a part of the dynamic streetscape. Robert Mantho, in *The Urban Section*, describes the streetscape of Bangkok's Thanon Khao San, as: *very layered, unregulated, lively and full of sensual experience. There is a dynamic mix of people, bikes, motorcycles, cars, signs, awnings, umbrellas, vendors' carts and food stalls. He highlights the direct interaction between the ground floor spaces and the exterior of the building. While the vendors' carts and market stalls break up the linear space of the street.*[21]

In the West, street food and street vendors have played a significant role in bringing vitality to public space. In *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, William H. Whyte simply states: *'If you want to see a place seed in activity, put out food.'*[22] He arrives at this conclusion after conducting a series of experiments in a newly opened plaza. He tests the change in levels of human activity through a variety of interventions. He finds that a food cart attracts more people than a flower cart or an outdoor café. The food cart had a knock-on effect: *'Food attracts people who attract more people.'*[23] Whereas, the plastic chairs, tables and colourful umbrellas add to the streetscape: *'It looks like one great party.'*[24]

PORTLAND

'I thought I knew exactly what was on the menu: a riot of restaurants, microbreweries, urban wineries, one of the world's finest farmers' markets.
The city invented the foodie hipster […], pioneering the whole farm-to-fork movement […].
I didn't realise that street food was as ingrained in the city's culture as the coffee grounds under the nails of its baristas.' [25]

Marina O'Loughlin, *The Guardian*

The first food cart appeared in Portland in 1965. However the biggest influx occurred between 2008 and 2009 when the number of vendors increased by 30%.[26] Currently, there are over 600 food carts operating in Portland, twice as many per capita than in New York City.[27] They are clustered into over 40 food cart pods, with each pod ranging between 3 to 60 carts. The downtown pod located on Alder Street and SW 9th-10th Avenues is said to be the biggest in America with over 60 carts. It provides a diverse selection of international cuisine ranging from Vietnamese *pho bo*, fish and chips from *The Frying Scotsman*, Mexican bites to more traditional European dishes, like those provided by *A Taste of Transylvania*.[28]

There are two types of food carts: *pushcarts* and *stationary mobile units*.[29]

Pushcarts mainly occupy space in the public right-of-way, like pavements, block corners or squares. They are transported by the vendor to and from its stance at the beginning and end of the day. Due to their location, they are subject to regulation by Portland Bureau of Transportation or Portland Bureau of Parks and Recreation, as well as fees, permits and design review.

Stationary mobile units usually take the form of bespoke food trucks and trailers, as well as overhauled caravans. Although they remain stationary in the same rented location, they are considered vehicles by law and therefore are exempt from building code.

Dowtown pod

Food pods are communities of food carts and trucks. They are located either on the perimeter of car parks or on underutilized land. There are two primary types of food pods:[30]

> • *Downtown pods*
> Like the pod on Alder Street and SW 9th-10th Avenues, they are located around the perimeter of private car parks. They are open between 11-3, Monday to Friday, and serve mainly city office workers. Usually seating isn't provided so food is taken away back to the office or, weather permitting, to one of the numerous city parks or squares.

> • *Neighbourhood pods*
> They are located outside of the city centre. They are destinations for Portlanders and tourists, and serve a third place role for the local community. The pods are open throughout the week and stay open late at the weekend. The food trucks and carts are usually scattered around the perimeter of a private stalled piece of land. Covered and sometimes heated seating is provided in the central area. Not only do they provide food but also live music, art installations, workshops, poetry readings and all other cultural activities.

The large majority of Portland's carts and trucks are located on private property. Due to positioning restrictions there are only 20 carts currently parked in the public right-of-way.[31] Car park owners were quick to embrace the scene as they realised that food carts generate 50% more revenue than parked cars.[32] The City of Portland also encourages the use of stalled and derelict private land for street food. Many private land owners spend a small initial amount on improvements to provide the vendors with electricity, fresh and grey water, recycling facilities and seating.[33] This interim use allows for a return on their investment while waiting for the right moment to develop the land.

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Neighborhood pod - *Cartopia*

The City Conditions & Planning

The success of Portland's food truck scene can be attributed to its layout, past and future planning strategies, as well as its progressive and flexible legislation.

The founders of Portland - Asa Lovejoy and Francis Pettygrove, are responsible for the structuring of the city, its blocks, and streets. The 200 x 200 foot grid is rumoured to have been coined as *lilliputian* by Louis Kahn, as it is indeed the smallest grid of any US city.[34] Although this may not have had an influence on the food trucks directly, it has contributed to the forming of the character of the city and its inhabitants. The small grid encourages walking and cycling, creates the feel of a small town with the density of a big city and promotes a sense of community. While the equal ratio of green space to developed blocks encourages the use of the outdoors. Therefore, it is walkability, locality, community and proximity to green space that have allowed Portland's food trucks to flourish.

The 1972 Downtown Plan shifted the planning focus from automobiles and suburbs to public transport and pedestrian-oriented streets, making the city user friendly and well connected. The introduction of the Urban Growth Boundary in 1979 is also said to have had an impact. By preventing city sprawl, metropolitan development focused on existing neighbourhoods creating a contained urbanism. This also meant that the city was at close proximity to farms and forests.[35] Therefore, fresh, organic produce could be sourced locally, allowing for a continuation of the city's agricultural heritage and artisan culture.

In order to *'Keep Portland Weird'*, the City of Portland has recognised that a progressive approach towards legislation is essential.

Street food has thrived in the city because the process of establishing a food truck is straightforward and quick, taking a maximum of 2 months. The City has also transferred the food safety and licensing process to Multnomah County. This has eliminated the lengthy complaints procedure. Furthermore, food pods have had the possibility to form because food trucks are not required to move off their pitch at the end of each trading day. Also, in recent years, the Oregon Liquor Control Commission passed a law permitting the sale of alcoholic beverages from food trucks. Additionally, traveling microbrewery carts aren't required to hold an annual license. They can apply for special daily permits in different locations.[36] This fast, clear and flexible legislation allows for regulation of the essential health and hygiene requirements without overly institutionalising the process and stifling creativity. The city's plans for the future will also have a positive effect, not only on food trucks, but also on other small start-ups and creative projects.

In *Vision PDX* for 2030, one of the most important points made by Portlanders was *to support and protect the viability of local businesses to enhance a feeling of community, preserve the uniqueness of neighbourhoods and allow for creativity.* While the City of Portland itself committed to i*nvest in accessible gathering spaces where its diverse community members can interact and communicate.* [37]

Impact on the City, its Culture and its Inhabitants

Portland's street food scene is a reflection of the city, its inhabitants and their creativity.

Ethan Selzer, professor of Urban Studies and Planning at PSU, states: *'We're a land of small things: small firms, small lots, small jurisdictions, small neighbourhoods.'* [38] In fact, Oregon is a micro-enterprise state.

More than 90% of all business employs less than 20 people. [39]

Food carts reflect this well. They are small-scale businesses which occupy small rented lots in local neighbourhoods and usually employ up to 3 people.

Selzer also mentions: *'We live life on a pretty local scale, and that theme has its roots in over 10,000 years of human habitation. In what was a northern temperate rainforest, people didn't have to go far to meet their needs.'* [40] Portlanders' agricultural heritage, artisanal craftsmanship, DIY approach to life, creative entrepreneurship and love of food are all embodied by their street food scene.[41]

Food carts also express the diverse culture present in Portland. Food Cartology found that out of 170 surveyed carts:

51% of vendors were of 24 different nationalities. [42]

Not only do they showcase the food from different ethnic backgrounds, they also bring counter cultures and food activism to the public forum.

Food carts and trucks contribute to the urban economy.

Food trucks contribute to the creative economy, make use of stalled land and promote temporary use and small start-ups. They also provide entrepreneurial and employment opportunities for low-income families and ethnic minorities.

Food trucks require a **50%** *smaller investment than when investing into a small business with* **1** *employee.* [43]

This low-cost and low-risk character allows aspiring chefs to make their first entrepreneurial step in order to test ideas and create a customer base prior to committing to a permanent shop front. Furthermore, they provide employment opportunities for immigrants and low-income families. Local charity Hacienda CDC has embraced this opportunity and provides Hispanic low-income women with a free cart allowing them to better their financial circumstances.[44]

Food carts have a positive impact on urban vitality.

'Lowly, unpurposeful and random as they may appear, sidewalk contacts are the small change from which a city's wealth of public life may grow.' [45]

Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*

Food pods promote social interaction as they provide a public platform for people from different backgrounds to mix. They occupy a very particular space in the public realm, especially trucks parked around the perimeters of car parks. They take advantage of the edge between the public and private realm by encouraging people to linger.[46]   In one pod, surveyed in Food Cartology:

82% *of customers conversed with cart owners,* **71%** *conversed with other customers and* **63%** *met new people at food pods.*

Therefore, food pods have the ability to *foster social interactions* and increase *neighbourhood livability*.[47]   They are dog-friendly, family-oriented places where neighbours can *bump* into each other.[48]   What is more, food trucks cater for all tastes, pockets and alternative diets, therefore, they attract a mix of people. Benjamin Zanol sees food pods as equal to formal public spaces, like Pioneer Square, for diversity of people. In the space of an hour you can see: *tattoo covered teenagers, old men decked out in suits, a woman flying a kite, and a guy playing a keyboard.*[49]

Voodoo Doughnut, Cartlandia

'Let's face it: in most of Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, this energising innovation has been notable by its absence. So what's holding us back?' [50]

Cate Devine, *Herald Scotland*

"So what's holding us back?"

Food trucks have a negative image in Glasgow.

Food trucks may have a negative image in Glasgow, not only because of the legacy of the Glasgow Ice Cream Wars but also due to the unhealthy, deep-fried and low-quality food they are associated with. Jonathan MacDonald of Glasgow's former *Street Food Cartel* found that: '*People [were] objecting, saying they were bad for children's health […]. They assume you are going to sell deep-fried Mars bars to school kids.'* [51] Many people are unaware that the new street food movement aspires to provide healthy, high-quality food using local produce.

Scottish drinking culture may also be an issue. It is a concern that the trucks would be used late at night by people under the influence of alcohol. Therefore, they might be a stage for unsociable behaviour and cause disruption in local communities.

Glasgow City Council seems to be concerned of the negative implications food trucks might have on existing businesses. This seems largely unfounded – considering the knock-on effect of food carts, other businesses could also potentially benefit from more people being drawn to the area. However, Richard Johnson in his article for *The Guardian* mentions: '*Unlike restaurants or cafés, street food vendors pay no rent or rates. […] Street traders argue that they do not use the same facilities as restaurateurs so shouldn't pay the same rates.'*[52]

Current policy stifles creativity, demotes low-cost start-ups and does not allow for spontaneity.

The process to set up a food truck in Glasgow is slow and often unfruitful. In order to trade the vendor is required to have a street trader's license and a stance. There are some restrictions in regards to this. The Land Services Department states that the stance: *must not be located within 20 metres of a road junction, pedestrian crossing or the site of a school crossing patrol; will not be permitted in streets less than 7 metres wide between kerbs; will not be permitted adjacent to footways less than 2 metres width.*[53] Further restrictions from the council apply: *the City Centre remains an exclusion zone where no new stances will be permitted and no new licenses will be granted; and trade within 300 metres of a secondary school is not permitted.* [54]

Most of these restrictions seem to be reasonable. They ensure the movement of pedestrians, vehicles and emergency vehicles and protect children from the consumption of unhealthy food. They again, aim to protect the value of city centre retail space and avoid conflict between street vendors and restaurant owners. Logically, a street food vendor, having complied with these restrictions, should expect a successful application. So why then do the council's guidance notes warn: *Compliance with said notes in no way guarantees that your application will be granted ?* [55]

Jonathan MacDonald of *Street Food Cartel* and Fraser Malcolm of *Breaking Bread* both confirm that the process is long and *notoriously difficult*. For *Breaking Bread* each application process took between 3 to 6 months, while for Jonathan altogether - a *tedious* 18 months. The process was prolonged by Council employees' mistakes and the lack of communication between the departments involved in the process. Officially, it is the *Licensing Department* that is responsible for managing the application across departments. Once all the required paperwork is in place the application is then passed to the councillors for decision-making. However, there is no on-going feedback in place throughout the whole process. Therefore, each time the applications were rejected, the vendors lost their application fees and were required to start the process from the beginning. [56 , 57]

Glasgow's food trucks are absent from the city, forced to operate indoors, not due to adverse weather conditions but due to the lack of suitable sites and flawed policy.

The matter of Glasgow's phantom food trucks cannot be analysed without considering Glasgow's *dreich* weather as a prompting factor - many seem sceptical about such a venture suceeding in the Scottish climate. Jonathan MacDonald argues, however: *'Takeaways flourish. So what's different about getting food from a hatch?'* [58]

Both Fraser and Jonathan agree that the direction their street food business took was largely out of their control, not due to natural forces but as a result of regressive legislation. They were forced indoors, to *SWG3* or *The Briggait*, due to the difficulties with acquiring a stance and license. In order to financially sustain their business, they were also forced to work outside of the city, heavily relying on events, private catering, festivals and farmers' markets. [59 60]

Food trucks have the potential to thrive on private stalled land. *Stalled Spaces* is the only council department which deals with temporary use of public and private land. However, street food ventures don't qualify for temporary use under *Stalled Spaces* as food trucks are seen as merely a source of financial gain for the vendor. Jonathan criticises this:

'We haven't got a great reputation for
food in this city.
[There are] a lot of creative people who […] are
financially incapable of
setting up a restaurant.
We have a […] diverse ethnicity and
people from all over the world
who could showcase their food.
There's also a lot of unemployment.
But they prioritise beekeeping or growing organic veg
over small start-ups.
You can't actually set up an enterprise or a business on
this land.' [61]

Jonathan MacDonald, *Streetfood Cartel*

Breaking Bread parked in Merchant City

Conclusions

The growing demand for temporary use of land and buildings reflects the needs of the contemporary urban lifestyle in a changing economy. A municipality which values the potential of temporary use can be seen as one which is receptive to change and committed to providing for the needs of the city's inhabitants. The City of Portland's commitment to temporary use and street food has had a positive effect on the quality of life of its inhabitants - on an individual basis as well as a local scale. In Glasgow, it would appear that temporary use and street food have been stifled because the wellbeing of chain stores and restaurants is often valued more than that of the city's inhabitants. However, street food, food trucks and pods still have the potential to contribute to the urban economy, change the food and drinking culture and become hubs of outdoor community activity.

Comprehensively, temporary use of street food and food trucks in Glasgow has the potential to:

- Test new creative ideas on a trial-and-error basis,
- Change the negative image of food trucks,
- Raise the profile of food in the city,
- Showcase food of diverse ethnicities and alternative cultures,
- Have a positive influence on drinking culture,
- Change the image of stalled land and contribute to regeneration of city areas,
- Contribute to the creative economy by providing low-cost, low-risk start-up possibilities for young creative people,
- Foster social interactions,
- Promote the use of outdoor public space throughout the whole year,
- Serve as a platform where culture and community life may flourish.

To achieve this *Glasgow City Council* could:

- Reconsider their policies on temporary use, start-ups and street vending by allowing for these activities to be more flexible and the application process to be clear and quick,
- Encourage private owners of stalled land and buildings to employ temporary use,
- Use Stalled Spaces to actively source private stalled land for temporary use and better connect user groups with landowners,
- Provide strategically identified and reasonably taxed pitches with amenities like electricity, water and waste management,
- Provide a designated piece of public land in a regeneration area to be used as a street food destination, strategic public space and outdoor community hub,
- Provide assistance with establishing food pods as social enterprises, focusing on a good balance between serving the community and providing a living profit for the vendors,
- Allow the sale of small servings of bottled craft beer, ciders and ales at food pods to encourage a reasonable approach to alcohol consumption.

WHAT
WE
LEARNE

4

Generally...

CREATIVITY IS A SPECTRUM

Over the course of the project, it has become clear that what we may refer to as the Creative City covers a huge range of aspects of urban life, making the task of categorising what constitutes a creative city a challenging and complex task. Florida's remark that "Cities are cauldrons of creativity", highlights the way in which the city, by definition, is a creative institution, a place of variety, density, overlapping activities and ideas, industries, peoples and cultures.

The city, as a concentration of people, built forms and activities, inevitably represents elements of creativity as the city evolves, adapts, and innovates over time. The city and creativity are inseparable, and therefore the task of identifying one city as creative and another as a non-creative city, is not realistic or appropriate to understanding an urban situation. The task, rather, is to identify what are the particular creative attributes of a city, and in this sense identify in which areas one city may be excelling and successful, and in which areas another city may build.

If we consider the focus of this study, one can perceive this sense of a spectrum of areas in which Creative City Attributes are present. A city may host a calendar of festivals, embracing the talents and creativity of its population, which in turn contributes to the city's identity. Major events may also encourage and incorporate the city's creative industries into the economic and social life of the city, melding commerce and industry with participation and identity. We have seen how Glasgow's West End Festival aims to simultaneously be a participatory community event, while also serving to attract visitors to the city, as well as stimulating economic activity. This multi-faceted understanding of The Creative City can be seen elsewhere, such as in a city's attitude towards the use of the public realm.

We have seen how Portland's Pioneer Square allows for informal and formal activity, and is a stage for events and festivals, as well as for the everyday social life of the city as a whole. The space is simultaneously a usable asset for the city, an urban living room that welcomes and encourages public community use, as well as a symbol for the city, an exciting epicentre that contributes to the image and reputation of Portland locally and beyond. The study of The Creative Street and Street Food have illustrated that the street, like a city square, can foster and represent a wide range of Creative City Attributes. The sense in which independent stores and businesses, or pop-ups of street food are synonymous with local talent, local initiative, and community involvement within the commercial functioning of a city, is an extremely important conclusion. The Creative Café, considered as a key constituent of the street, can in this sense, incorporate local identity, host and facilitate inclusive participatory activities, becoming a community hub. This can be said not only of streets, but also of a city's other major spaces and infrastructure. The focus on Portland's river-front revealed that such a key constituent of the city can also become a strong asset to host large scale and small scale activity, while also being a welcoming public space, a facility in which participation in urban life is encouraged.

The realisation that the attributes of a Creative City can be found across a range of urban elements may at first make the task of quantifying and understanding this area of urbanism difficult. The lesson to be learned from the conclusion is that the Creative City is wide ranging, and is therefore able to embrace the ideals and principles of the Creative City beyond what is considered the traditional creative elements of a city.

The Creative City is more than artists' quarters, more than music venues, and studio spaces. The principles of participation and innovation can be found in the way a city uses its streets, in the dynamic and creative life of a local café, and in the way a river-front is made use of by the city as a whole. The creative attributes of the city have been found, in this regard, to be important tools for gaining an understanding of the two cities of Glasgow and Portland, across a wide range of urban subject matter. They are qualities that cities possess in different ways and to different degrees, and can help form guidance on new initiatives and projects that any city may undertake.

PARTICIPATION AND COLLABORATION

While the project has examined a wide range of aspects of urban life, the notion of participation has emerged as an extremely valuable and significant attribute of the Creative City, as something that sits at the core of a range of spaces and activities. The significance of participation is simple, in that if a city is the interaction between the people and the urban realm, then a flourishing city is one in which the city encourages meaningful involvement and participation of its people. If the people of the city are engaged in the life of the city, then the city becomes a more livable and accessible place, a place where the unique qualities of its people and culture thrive, and a place which as a result nurtures a strong and distinct sense of place and identity. In this sense, the quality of life in a city relates to the levels of participation in its population.

The idea resonates through the various strands of research that the project has undertaken. For example, the Creative Street highlighted the way in which the public realm and landscaping of the streetscape can provide an environment that encourages informal public life. The street can be a destination, a well used asset and inviting environment that encourages the people of the city to participate meaningfully and inclusively in urban life.

A strong presence of independent establishments, of which the café is a key example, indicates and represents participation in a city. Participation is central to successful public spaces of a city, with city squares having the potential to become the urban living room for the city's population and having the potential to host street food vendors that celebrate local initiatives and cultures, through their culinary trade. A city that embraces participation is therefore a city that becomes a distinctive and inclusive environment, a place of variety and innovation, centred around its people.

Specifically...

CULTURAL FESTIVALS

The Analysis has found that although both city festivals are successes to the local residents, The Portland Rose Festival is on a much higher scale, attracting hundreds of thousands more attendees annually. While Glasgow's West End Festival is loved by the city population, it struggles to become anything more than a summer attraction; The Rose Festival is a globally known and spoke of event. The approaches that both events take differ entirely. The Rose Festival incorporates the community and encourages the people to participate in the events, while the West End Festival is not even known to many Glaswegians. Those who are aware often are not given the opportunity to participate and the events are not highly advertised, spoke of or celebrated.

Whilst the Rose Festival has been running for over a century, the West End Festival only began two decades ago. It is significantly younger and less developed than Portland's event. With time, the West End Festival could compete on the same spectrum as the Rose Festival, but it still needs a great amount of time to grow and flourish, to be embraced by its people and to develop a bond with the city.

CREATIVE RIVERS

A successful reciprocal relationship between a city and its riverfront results in an enhanced urban identity and a strengthened status as a creative city. The river is a unique and natural urban environment which through its presence and use can help to balance out the cultural, economic and social aspects of a city's daily life. Nevertheless, for this environment to be beneficial it must be holistically developed and conserved as well as perceived in a positive manner by citizens and visitors alike. Only if these conditions are true can a riverfront support a vibrant public life where different communities can enjoy a range of open spaces and, consequently, become a place for creative exchange.

THE CREATIVE STREET

Contemporary Sauchiehall Street has suffered a decline not just economically, but in terms of its identity. Much of the street is populated by chain stores, which do not represent local innovation, enterprise, and culture. This compares to the former days of Sauchiehall Street, when a collection of entertainment venues, department stores, and specialist stores contributed to the sense in which Sauchiehall Street was an institution of Glasgow, somewhere special and not found elsewhere. It represented, through its businesses, something distinctive. Contemporary Sauchiehall Street lacks identity, a key constituent of the Creative City, as a consequence of a proliferation of chain stores. Innovative, local, distinctive establishments should be encouraged to take up residency and do business on the street, to help create a place Glasgow can enjoy and be proud of.

Contemporary Sauchiehall Street does not encourage, through street furniture, landscaping, and the arrangement of the elements that make up a street, an inviting and useable public space. There are few places to stop and to linger, for group activities, for the social life of the city to thrive. Instead, the street functions merely as a route through the city, a place of movement and transition.

A more generous provision of seating, landscaping, and thoughtful design could encourage a much more vibrant and participatory public realm, which would in turn help to foster a more distinctive identity for the street. The street must not just be seen as a route through the city, but instead stage for the life and culture of the city.

Sauchiehall Street's past provides many examples of exciting establishments that blur several functions within one location. This multi-functionality has the power to bring life, excitement and variety to the street at different times of the day. Furthermore, this approach to urban establishments provides stimulating and innovative environments, in which different disciplines, sections of society, and ideas of all sorts mix. Sauchiehall Street must learn from its historic establishments such as The Empire and The Locarno, and contemporary examples such as its multi-level music-bar venues, and the CCA, to understand the importance of adopting a multi-functional approach. The pedestrianized section of Sauchiehall Street, for example, suffers from a lack of variety and overlap, contributing to the lifeless night time environment that arises when single function retail units shut after 6pm. To create an exciting and dynamic street, the street must possess variety, and overlap, in times, business types, and activities, something that much of contemporary Sauchiehall Street currently lacks.

THE URBAN LIVING ROOM

If we compare the city to a living organism, and the public realm to its veins, the square would be its heart. As veins bring life to the body, so too do the streets bring life and vitality to the city. If the public realm is run-down and derelict, the life of the city suffers. In the same way when the square is unusable, public life suffers. When looking at Portland and Glasgow, we can see a noticeable difference in how each city utilizes its public realm and the result that has on the creative activities and connections within it.

Portland's Pioneer Square was designed to cater to the needs of its users. It is people-oriented, and therefore is always in use. Glasgow's George Square, on the other hand, is used as a more formal space, not a place where spontaneity and creative connections can happen. The effects of these two different types of spaces can be seen in how creativity is expressed in the urban realms of the cities. Portland has an inclusive, participatory urban realm which aims to utilize all public space in a people-oriented manner. This allows for a more vibrant and welcoming sense to the city. This participatory and diverse feeling creates an environment which allows for creative connections to happen. Without this participatory orientation, these connections would not be possible.

CAFÉ CULTURE

The research stresses the value of the café in terms of providing an important and informal social space that brings local communities together. Cafés are successful as a result of their flexible nature, affordability and inclusiveness towards all. The findings emphasise that independent cafés provide a much more conducive atmosphere for creativity to thrive than the average chain, and more specifically within independent cafés that go beyond the typical requirements of a coffee shop.

From the two case studies, it is clear that some cafés accommodate for the creative needs of local people by providing a multi-functional space to display art, host music, clubs or events – a feature which shows innovation and celebrates the significance of community involvement and widespread participation. In Portland, independent cafés are successful because of the inherent nature of the people to support small-scale establishments, and Glasgow can learn a lot from this positive attitude towards independent business, against corporate chains. In Glasgow, cafés do provide social hubs of creative activity around the city, and their success also lies in the people: the drive by the owners to provide a creative space, and the local citizens who use and participate in these cafés.

STREET FOOD

Portland nurtures alternative lifestyles and the creativity of the individual. Temporary activities, small start-ups and street food are all initially enabled by the mind-set of Portlanders but are then further supported by an existing framework of policies. These ventures provide low-cost and low-risk business opportunities for individuals, foster social interactions and make use of stalled land. Most importantly, however, if used strategically and in multiple they have the potential to bring long term benefits, on a larger scale, to the city - its economy, identity and people.

In Glasgow, street food has the potential to raise the profile of food in the city by showcasing the food of its diverse ethnicities and alternative cultures. It may also positively influence drinking culture, promote healthy eating and encourage a more creative use of the outdoors. A designated street food area in the city could make use of stalled land or a derelict building but also serve as a platform where culture and local community life may flourish. In order for this to happen, Glasgow City Council need to re-assess their policy on street vending and licencing, small start-ups and the temporary use of stalled land.

and Finally...

THE ROLE OF THE CREATIVE CITY

The Creative City agenda is not without controversy or criticism. It is clear that there are very real and valid concerns with regards to a city adopting what some have coined 'The Creative Fix' as a measure to spearhead redevelopment and economic growth. The question of whether the Creative City is a positive or negative strategy is to over-simplify the dynamics and complexity of both urban issues and The Creative City as a topic.

There have been significant issues that have been raised in relation to a Creative City approach, such as the knock on effects of gentrifying areas, which can lead to increased rents and living costs for the local population. Furthermore, the strategy to establish new creative districts within cities is often inseparable from the profitability of such programmes for developers and land-owners. It is important to avoid considering the Creative City as an exclusive approach, but instead try and see it as forming a valuable part of the many considerations and factors within the urban realm. In this sense gentrification and its associated social effects is a constituent part of The Creative City, a drawback that is a necessary by-product of the approach. It is a sign that a city has not considered The Creative City responsibly, with other important issues such as affordability of housing and living costs within a district in mind.

So what place does The Creative City approach have in the 21st Century? How should the conclusions and analysis of this project be understood for cities and, in particular, for Glasgow and Portland? The Creative City sits alongside other important urban considerations such as The Smart City, The Sustainable City, The Connected City, The Walkable City, and The Green City. These are all essential perspectives and approaches to urban life. In particular, the 5 Creative City Attributes identified and explored through this work, and the centrality of participation that the project seeks to highlight, should be present and understood in any discussion and consideration of city policy and activity. The examples and case studies presented are to be seen as providing examples and ideas about how a city can embrace creativity across a range of areas, beyond the stereotypical image of the traditional creative disciplines, and what the benefits of such an approach are.

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THE CREATIVE CITY RESEARCH TEAM

The Creative City Team has worked over the last year to bring together this comprehensive book. We hope that you have found it engaging and informative.

Professor Brian Evans

Professor Evans has set up this research project because of his work with the Glasgow Urban Lab, the Mackintosh School of Architecture, and as a practicing Urban Planner, which has lead him to have a passion for the city and finding ways to improve the urban realm. His suggestions and guidance have been instrumental in the completion of this work.

Professor Rudy Barton

Professor Barton is visiting from Portland, Oregon where he is a Professor of Architecture at Portland State University. Currently he is working with the Glasgow Urban Lab under the Fulbright Scholar Program where he is researching the wider impacts of the Creative City. Rudy's 40 years of living in Portland has filled holes in this research that would have otherwise been missing. For this we are immensely grateful.

Aaron Borchardt

Aaron is a Stage 4 Architecture student at GSA who is completing his Dip. Arch. Degree at the Mackintosh School of Architecture. Coming from the U.S. where he received his Bachelors of Science in Architecture at the University of Idaho, he has previously studied in Rome, Italy where his work focused on the urban life of piazzas and how to improve usable space in the city. His interest in researching the Creative City comes from his desire to improve city life and how people interact in the city. He hopes to continue the work started in this research project with his thesis next year.

Thomas Brumby

Thomas currently studies Architecture at the Glasgow School of Art, where he is completing his penultimate year of training. Prior to embarking on his current studies, he studied English Literature and Philosophy at Durham University. His interests in the Creative City are centred on the nature of local institutions and establishments in Glasgow, such as music venues, independent local businesses and public spaces, and in particular the way in which they contribute to creating unique and exciting city environments. He originates from Newcastle upon Tyne, but has lived, worked and studied in Vietnam, Durham, and Cairo, before moving to Glasgow.

Debbie Cawdron

Debbie is a Stage 4 Architecture Student at Glasgow School of Art who is about to complete her Bachelor of Architecture with Honours. Her interest in The Creative City theories developed from a desire to understand and improve the urban centre in terms of the relationship between the city and its people. Having lived in Glasgow all her life, she was curious to see how Glasgow compared to other 'creative' cities. Debbie hopes to feed her interest in festivals and events in to her final year of university in Glasgow.

Charlene Gilmour

Charlene is a Stage 4 Architecture Student at Glasgow School of Art, who is about to complete her BArch (Hons) at the Mac. After studying in Glasgow for 4 years and working in Barcelona for 1, her decision to work on the project came from an interest in how the two cities can learn from one another through an understanding of the Creative City theory (and as a result of watching far too many episodes of Portlandia).

Natalia Jejer

Natalia Jejer lives, studies and works in Glasgow. Her interest in the Creative City stems from her involvement in an urban interventions group in Krakow, Poland. The groups' aim was to re-invent neglected urban space through art installations and events, and with the participation of the local community. She is currently involved with Barras Art & Design further exploring the idea of regeneration by the means of street food, art and music.

Laura Rudokaitė

Laura is a Stage 4 Architecture student who is currently undertaking the Diploma in Architecture programme at the Mackintosh School of Architecture. Previously, she completed a BA with Honours in Architecture at the University of Kent before going on to work in practice for a period of two years in London. Her current interests lie within the analysis of existing urban conditions with regards to the implementation of public buildings and spaces and how these affect the daily life and activities of the city and its citizens. Laura chose to join the project to further explore these notions in the context of the Creative City theory.
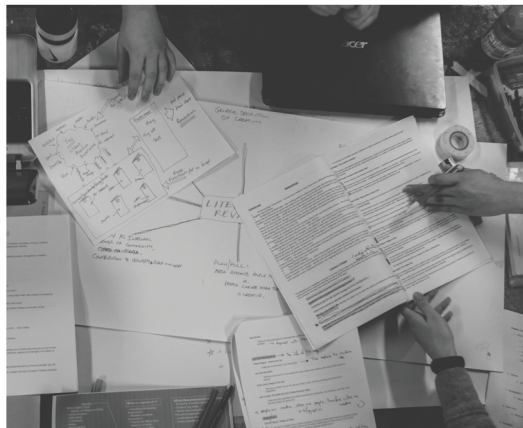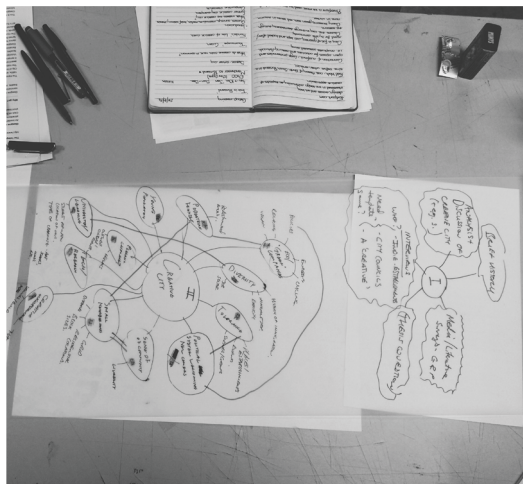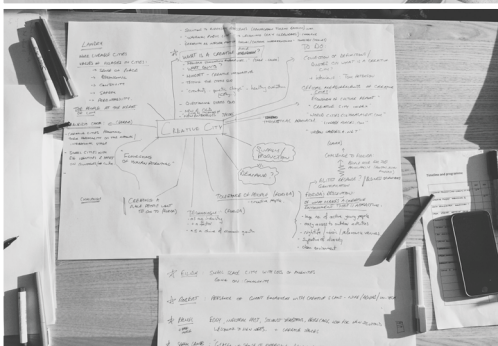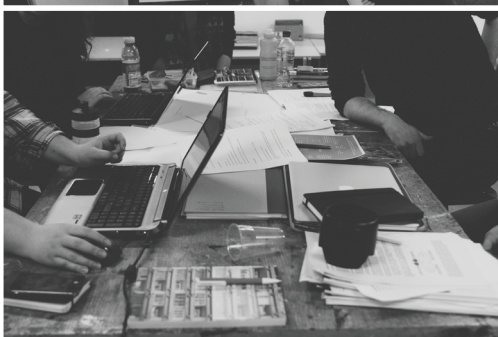
Throughout history cities have been the home to civilisation. A city connects people and place; a focal point and platform for culture and identity.

What is the role of creativity in a city?

The Creative City: Connecting People, Place, and Identity sets out to explore creativity in the urban realm, why this has become important to the cities of today, and how it can be used as a means to respond to the issues and challenges of the 21st Century.

Glasgow and Portland are considered by many to be creative cities. In this book, the two cities are examined through a series of comparative case studies and research topics to build a greater understanding of the role and significance of creativity in the urban realm.

"A great contribution to our discourse on cities."

– Professor Chris Platt, Head of The Machintosh School of Architecture, The Glasgow School of Art

"This urban design expedition perhaps tells us as much about here as there."

– Kevin Kane, Business Director, International Public Policy Institute, University of Strathclyde