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Research documentary: "Glasgow's Turnaround"¹

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Outline: "Glasgow's Turnaround" is the first part of a two part research documentary. It studies the history of Glasgow's planning strategies following on from the city's industrial heyday of shipbuilding in the 1930s, its industrial decline, population shrinkage (some of which was actively encouraged by city and government policies), to today's current regeneration strategies and their outcomes. In the documentary local practitioners, politicians and academics discuss critically the different strategies put in place to reverse the decline. These strategies presented include economics and housing, culture, education, and migration. Local governance and public spending play a key role. The documentary concludes with the city's relative and fragile success (the fragility is underlined by the current economic crises) at the cost of social and physical polarisation.

Duration of Part I: 19 minutes.

(Part II of the video, which studies community involvement in the political decision-making process, and which looks in particular at Govan, a former riverside shipbuilding community within Glasgow, is currently being edited).

Urban decline is not a recent phenomenon (Diamond 2004). The literature has long documented it and the socio-economic issues resulting from population migration, leading in the worst cases in the eventual abandonment of vast areas of commercial and industrial buildings, and entire neighbourhoods of housing (Downs 1997; Beauregard 2003). However, if the phenomenon is not new, its occurrence is spreading out, predominantly in industrialized countries but also all over the world, and at an accelerated pace. Recording the variation of a population in a delimited urban area, according to the Urban Audit (2007) out of 220 large and medium-sized European cities, 57% of the cities and 54% of the larger urban zones lost population in the period from 1996 to 2001.

This pervasive shrinking-city syndrome signs an "end of era" (Oswald, 2006). Although specific factors may be different for the developed and developing worlds, the multidimensional causes are deeply interrelated and anchored in the globalization process. This film and paper with the Glasgow's case, will detail the multidimensional and interrelated driving forces shaping this process and its multifaceted effects and sketch the diverse strategies implemented by the urban governance, trying to answer to this unwanted process.

In the current context of economic and urban development in Europe, cities are having to cope with intense economic restructuring (Bontje 2004). Contemporary globalisation processes (Amin and Thrift 1994), with an economy that is "spatially dispersed, yet globally integrated" (Sassen 2001), have been accompanied by generalised de-industrialisation, which has in turn set in motion changes in formerly industrial cities. Every city and its local government, which is by definition locally rooted, has to face the issue of global mobility of capital and jobs (Kantor and Savitch and Haddock 1997). Industrial cities, more than other cities, must face and cope with these changes effectively in order to survive. The increasing mobility of capital sets up de facto a fierce competition among cities, each of them wanting to retain or attract new investments, to maintain or gain a position on the global chessboard. Former industrial cities tend to be sidestepped by globalisation; they play for high stakes and usually struggle to re-enter or find a new place in the current worldwide economic competition. Developing a "new social geography of exclusion," to use a cosmic metaphor Castells (2000, 168), portrays these spaces as "black holes of social exclusion throughout the planet."

This exclusion results in growing inequalities between the cities that have integrated into the global networks and those that are not succeeding in finding a place in these networks (Scott and Storper 2003, Castells 2000). Knowledge, innovation, networking and learning appear as key factors of economic performance and spatial differentiation (Arthur 1996; Castells 2000). Some places attract investments and the most qualified workers, while others lose their economic base, their jobs and thereby their population. These polarisation processes occur at every scale -- globally, nationally, and locally within the cities themselves. Cities that focused on only one branch or one cluster of economic activities were particularly harmed by this process (Friedrichs 1993; Lang 2005). Glasgow is emblematic of this fate. In recent decades, the city has endured the most severe shrinkage, economic as well as demographic, of all cities in the UK.

Glasgow has fought and tried to gain competitive advantages to secure its future and to reverse the shrinkage pattern it suffers, and its future is being constantly questioned. The policies and strategies implemented reveal the strength of the dominant urban growth paradigm. The post-industrial and culture-led strategies chosen seem to have produced some increasing socio-economical polarisation effects.

After a brief overview of the patterns of city shrinkage in Great Britain, we will focus on the case study of Glasgow in Great Britain; the decline of Glasgow being the greatest and longest in duration of any cities in the UK.

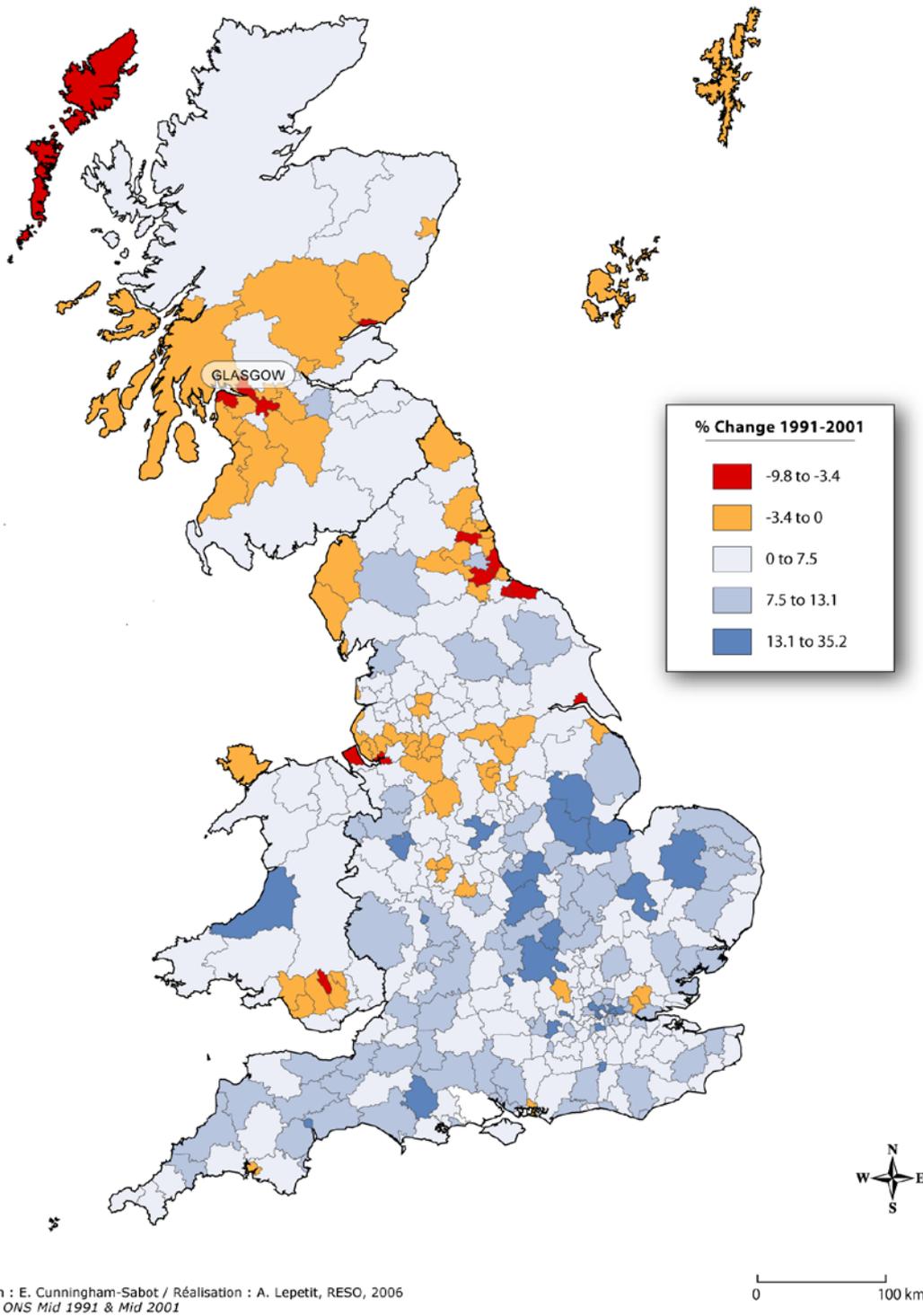
Urban Shrinkage in Great Britain

In Great Britain, the transformation of local productive systems resulted in a polarisation of regional spaces and a growing unbalance among urban territories. City shrinkage is a common phenomenon for a number of countries in Western Europe, yet it takes various forms, as the examples of Great Britain clearly show (Cunningham-Sabot and Fol 2007). While the relationship between urban decline and globalisation is obvious, it manifests differently according to national, regional and local contexts.

In Great Britain the areas affected by shrinkage are mainly large metropolitan areas and/or industrial areas clustered around the middle and north of the country. In Scotland it is in the central belt and also, as in Wales, in certain peripheral areas including the islands. Scotland has been significantly affected by shrinkage, especially Greater Glasgow and the Western Isles. The south and southeast of England show little signs of shrinkage.

¹ The research benefitted from an ANR Young Researcher Grant : ANR Jeune chercheure "Shrinking Cities" JCJC06_146013.

Population Change 1991-2001



Glasgow's declines: industrial crisis and urban sprawl

The city presents a common pattern with former industrial urban areas in West Germany or in the USA: they have followed a doughnut pattern, with industries leaving the central city along with the middle- and upper-class residents, leaving behind, in general, those who cannot afford to leave.

A long trend of shrinkage has led to a “doughnut” shape

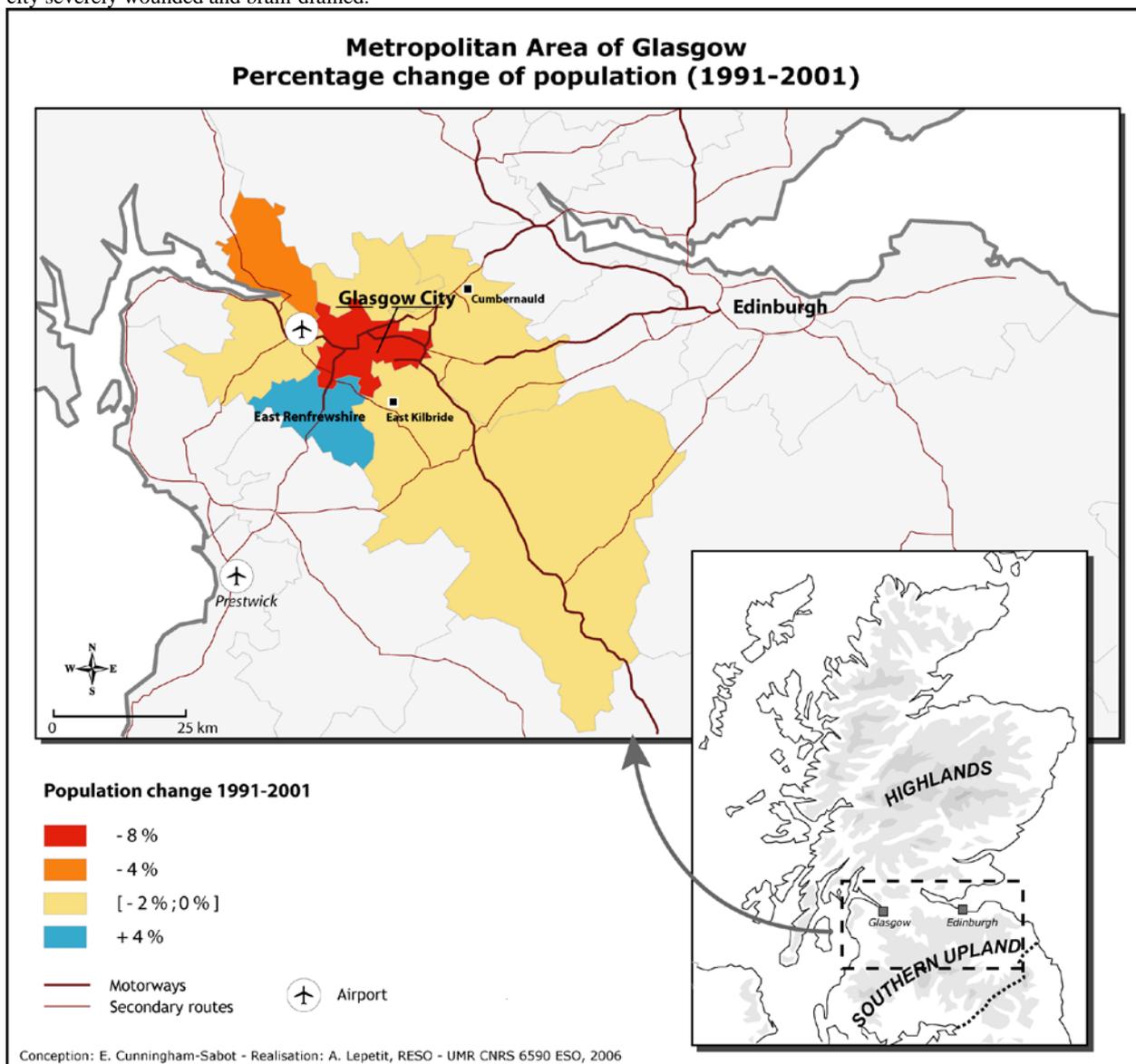
After being named "The Workshop of the World," the conurbation of Glasgow became renowned as an example of a rustbelt. The city of Glasgow, in terms of decline, is among the worst in advanced economy cities: in 1961 it had a population of 1.14 million, whereas today it has a population of 579,000. During the last 40 years, the city lost half of its population, and whatever the time period examined -- be it over 10, 20 or 40 years -- the British metropolitan area with the strongest decline has always been Glasgow.

In the early decades of the 20th century, city employment and population rose fast. People moved to Glasgow from rural areas, including the Scottish Highlands and Ireland. During this period, the share of the total Scottish population contained within Glasgow city rose as well, but by the middle of the century the pattern had already started to change. While population and employment in the city continued to increase, there was a much higher increase in population in the suburbs thanks in large part to the development of suburban transport. Consequently, despite having an increasing population, the share of the national population in Glasgow started to decrease.

Paradoxically, even as the city was still growing, the doughnut process which led to later shrinkage had already started.

Two processes at stake: De-industrialisation and suburbanisation

Glasgow's effective shrinkage occurred also with de-industrialisation. After World War I, world competition and changing demand led to the decline of shipbuilding and other heavy industries. Employment and population decreased within Glasgow, and its share of the national population continued to decrease. Despite the wealth created by the Industrial Revolution, poverty and slum housing were endemic; by the end of World War II the city faced a serious housing problem, with 45% of houses suffering from overcrowding. This concentration of workers gave rise to a new name for the city: "Red Clydeside". To combat the threat posed by so many inhabitants concentrated in such a small area, the London-based British government imposed the creation of new satellite towns around Glasgow. These new towns successfully attracted the most skilled and qualified workers, and a quarter of Glasgow's population relocated from the city to them. New towns built in order to limit Glasgow's growth (Cf. Map n°3 Glasgow Metropolitan area) included East Kilbride in 1947 and Cumbernauld in 1956. From the 1950s to the '80s, 150,000 people were encouraged to leave Glasgow for these new towns. Originally these new towns had economic and social links to Glasgow, but eventually they gained their own autonomy. Some households also moved out of Glasgow because the city contained few home-ownership options; public authorities owned most of the housing land and used it for municipal housing. This shift to the suburbs of the city was selective by skills, income and family type. Middle- and upper-class income households moved out and to larger suburban homes. As the old economic base left the city, abandoned homes and a landscape of decay in the city fuelled further suburbanisation. At this time, shrinkage was not considered a problem; in fact, it was encouraged and planned as a solution to the city's former growth and overcrowding problems, leaving the city severely wounded and brain-drained.



During this period of suburbanisation, the majority of city centre slums were demolished (slum clearances). "Up until the early 1980s, Glasgow city centre symbolised the general demise of Glasgow itself" (Boyle and McWilliams and Rice 2008, 317). The city started building large

peripheral housing estates within the city boundaries: Castlemilk, Pollock, Drumchapel and Easterhouse, and the slum inhabitants (predominantly working class) were moved to these housing estates. This policy relocated people into new, quickly built housing stock, but did not relocate jobs or other amenities such as neighbourhood corner shops, schools and offices. Former urban communities were dismantled as people were moved into separate housing estates, breaking up long-term friendships and community relationships. Despite the initial will by the residents to keep in touch, their attempts were made all the more difficult by the lack of adequate public transport serving these new schemes. This demographic movement, coupled with a commensurate rise in unemployment in the new estates (and the migration of the middle classes to the new towns), resulted a few years later in the very same problem that the city had tried to overcome in the city centre: the creation of pockets of multiple deprivation in the housing estates.

Towards a post-industrial city

After a period of spectacular economic development for one century, Glasgow bore the full brunt of post-Fordist change to become a “post-industrial” city. This meant that between 1950 and 1996, overall employment fell from 559,000 to 326,000 (its lowest point) with at the same time a massive contraction in manufacturing (-90%). Since then a significant turnaround has taken place, with total employment reaching 393,400 in 2004. However, the new jobs and relevant qualifications do not correspond to the jobs lost; also, certain quarters of the city experienced structural unemployment that lasted over several generations, to which can be added other classic characteristics of multi-deprived areas. Manufacturing represents no more than 6% of jobs, but services are on the rise (cf. table 1).

Table 1: Employee Jobs by Sector in Glasgow (%)

	1993	1996	1998	1999	2002	2004
Services	81,57	83,85	83,74	85,54	87,43	88,46
Manufacturing	11,11	9,53	9,45	9,53	7,17	6,02
Construction	6,19	4,78	4,92	4,6	4,31	4,5
Others (agriculture, energy, water)	1,13	1,84	1,89	1,07	1,09	1,02

Source : Office of National Statistics

However, there are about 40- to 50,000 jobless households (with adults of working age). An estimated 42% of those not working are not qualified for the available jobs (Scottish Government 2003). Unemployed Glaswegians have access to none of the new jobs requiring skills and/or education and indeed lack even the basic skills for low-wage jobs. Glasgow residents have fewer qualifications than the average Scottish resident. “There is no figure that threatens the future success of Scotland more than the year by year poor school outcomes in Glasgow, Dundee and parts of our other towns and cities” (*ibidem*).

Ambitious regeneration strategies

Glasgow is described as ‘black,’ ‘bleak,’ ‘working class,’ or ‘industrial’ (referring to their former mining and steel industries activities). For local authorities, re-imagining the city has been a concern for several decades (Damer 1989). Re-imagining has become a central issue in urban policies since the end of the 1990s (Sabot 1999). Glasgow was one of the pioneers in launching a marketing campaign and also in cultural-led regeneration policies.

A “categorical imperative”: making the city more attractive to bring back taxable households!

In Glasgow, culture and image have played a central role in its regeneration policies and, as a pioneer, is a reference point in all of Europe. These efforts started with the Mayfest Festival in 1981, shortly followed by the famous slogan “Glasgow’s miles better” in 1983 (a civic boosterism campaign mentioned as a success in most city marketing texts). The Garden Festival ensued in 1988; the coveted title of European Capital of Culture in 1990; its new built concert hall and new slogan “There’s a lot of Glasgowing on in 1990” replaced in 1994 by “Glasgow’s miles better,” resurrected after a not-so-successful “Glasgow’s alive”. This was soon followed by a new campaign, “Glasgow the Friendly City” in 1997 (a revamp of “Glasgow’s miles better”); and another title, “City of Architecture” (1999); then a campaign in 2004, “Glasgow: Scotland with Style”; and last but certainly not least, the hosting of the Commonwealth Games in 2012.

The city is still continuing a rather successful culture-led regeneration policy in tourism and leisure and its role as a major shopping centre (second only to London). Leaving behind its former image as a “city of production,” city policy was geared towards making it a “consumer city” (Sabot 1999). But the city's heritage has left it facing a major challenge: a financial crisis. One of our city contacts describes the city-region as a doughnut: “a cake with a hole in the middle- with the city's wealth located in the outer circle.” This doughnut metaphor also described the problems with the tax situation in the agglomeration, with the population of the suburbs commuting to Glasgow to work, and using its infrastructure and facilities, but not contributing to its tax base. Commuting between the city and the periphery is on the rise: in 1981, 77% of employment in the city was taken by Glasgow residents, whereas in 2000 the proportion was only 50%. The entire population of the metropolitan area of Glasgow benefits from the infrastructures of Glasgow city, which are financed solely by the city; at the same time, Glasgow's means are already reduced as it lodges a significant number of non-taxable households.

For this reason, planning decisions taken by the Glasgow city authorities in recent years have been aimed at attracting not only companies but also average and high-income (i.e., taxable) households to live within the city boundaries in order to fill the “doughnut hole,” particularly the brownfield sites left by the manufacturing industries. The challenge is to become more competitive, vis-à-vis its surrounding city-region, in attracting families with children and retaining households with two working adults. The increasing costs of commuting (fares, fuel) and the increase in commute time are also encouraging people to move back to the city. The policies aimed at recovery for the core city, or “urban renewal,” have had a definite impact on patterns of urban change. In the city centre, and particularly on the banks of the River Clyde

(from the centre westwards), Glasgow has undertaken a series of costly and prestigious operations costing more than £1 billion. In the short term these have not improved the financial situation, but it is hoped they will mean increased private investment and public-private partnerships.

Governance...

This rise of cooperation between local authorities in France, encouraged by the state, is "a dream that never came true" for Glasgow, despite the numerous local authorities' reorganizations (1990, 1996) and the devolution (1999). The successive boundary changes have redrawn the Scottish institutional landscape, restricted large cities' boundaries, and intensified the competition among the councils, putting into practice a convenient "divide and rule" strategy led by the new Scottish Executive (Cunningham-Sabot 2007b). The Glasgow municipality in conjunction with its economic development agency (we refer here to the clearly visible hand of the public sector, not Adam Smith's neoliberal "unseen hand of Providence") made the brownfield sites more attractive as a whole, cleaned up the place and built recreation infrastructures that were both impressive and costly (the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, the Science Centre, and the Millennium Tower). Private enterprise participated only after the investment risk was minimal, with profits guaranteed and at their maximum, thus providing them with a "spatial fix" (Harvey 2001). The reoccupation of wastelands with clear urban development potential (near the city centre, with an attractive environment and good services) occurs when the differential profit ratio (the difference between real and potential rental income) is the greatest. This leads Smith (1979) to define this particular process of gentrification as a return of capital, not necessarily of population, as has been the case with Govan.

Focus on one flagship project

Glasgow's waterfront has always played a major role in the city's development, and this is where most of the flagship buildings (emblematic of Glasgow's renaissance) are located. Since the construction projects have been realised, we have chosen to evaluate on a micro-level the socio-spatial effects of this flagship policy.

Within two decades (1965-1985), Glasgow's world-renowned Clydeside shipbuilding industry saw most of the shipyards closed down, followed by the demise of many of their sub-contractors. Govan, at the heart of this zone, once the "*shipbuildingest burgh in the world*," (Macdonald 1951) experienced massive unemployment and a drastic drop in population. Processes of out-migration of part of the population, and impoverishment of the populations remaining in the surviving housing estates, were encountered in Govan. Over the last 30 years, more than 60 shops have closed in Govan and 70% of the tenements have been demolished -- for reasons of unsanitary conditions, it is true, but without new (replacement) council housing being built on the sites. The replacement housing provided in peripheral housing estates led to a sudden, unprecedented decline in population, school closures, loss of social infrastructures, and the break-up of the historical community in Govan. The area took on the appearance of a ghost town, with enormous polluted industrial wastelands and commercial enterprises closing down one after the other. This scene echoes the Latin inscription on Govan's coat of arms, chosen in a period of prosperity, but also apt for the period of decline: *Nihil sine labore*, which can be interpreted in two ways: "You have (gain) nothing without work" and "Without work you are nothing." The Central Govan Action Plan report drafted for the area in 2005 eloquently describes how, following extensive housing clearance, demolition and urban renewal programmes, the out-migration and resettlement of the economically active population resulted in:

- higher levels of unemployment, long-term sick leave and disablement benefits, much of the population on social welfare, children in homes without employed adults, elderly people, and antisocial behaviour patterns
- lower levels of available money for spending, and lack of higher education among the population. The population remaining in Govan today is particularly poor, since 51% of adults of working age are not working (twice the Glaswegian average), and among these 40% have not worked in the last five years.

Nevertheless, a radical policy of outright gentrification on the banks of the Clyde close to the city centre has been pursued by the Glasgow municipality (Cunningham-Sabot 2007a). The docklands left underutilised by the closure of the shipyards have slowly been rehabilitated under the authority of the city of Glasgow and economic development agencies.

One of the first cornerstones of Glasgow's regeneration policy was the 1988 Garden Festival located in Govan. The city continued in 1997 with the completion of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (the SECC) on the other bank of the river. Resembling the Sidney Opera House, it is known locally as "the Armadillo" because of its shape. On the Govan side followed a rotating tower with a restaurant at the top, a Science Centre, an Imax cinema, and several luxury hotels near the Armadillo. Continuing further development of the quays include a series of high-rise luxury flats lining the river on the site of the former docks, and some riverside sites are to be converted into marinas. Property values are the highest in the area. Some buildings are already complete and lived in, still others are on the drawing-board. This rapid development is mobilising the inhabitants of Govan, who are proposing alternatives entailing a more mixed offer of housing, with building heights more in harmony with the rest of the quarter, and opposing the creation side by side of two worlds, the haves and have-nots, each in their own ghetto. The Queens Dock 2 Project integrates leisure, business and entertainment. Private and public sector investment is estimated at £2.8 billion over the next ten years. By mid-2007, as part of the QD2 project, further luxury hotels are already planned; the city even attempted, in 2007, to bring a Las Vegas-style casino complex. By 2011 a "sustainable urban village" comprising 1,585 houses, is expected to be built. If historically one can say that the Clyde made Glasgow, Glasgow is today making the Clyde. This will further continue with the venue of the Commonwealth games.

Numerous prestige-industry zones have been created² on the Govan side, but they have not offered much in the way of jobs for the local inhabitants of Govan (except for cleaning and security jobs in the buildings). Other more classic industrial estates were built by the local economic development agency on the sites where social housing previously stood, not without arousing protest, since the community was thus deprived of the sites required for reconstruction and replacement of the demolished social housing. Unfortunately, this construction failed to create much employment, as the estates were "mainly distribution centres, trade warehouses – huge buildings with only a handful of employees," as the managing director of Govan Workspace told us.

Limits and problems of these urban policies

In Glasgow's core there is a huge amount of construction (houses and offices, leisure activities, shopping centers, hotels), and its economy is certainly not shrinking, especially the service sector. Between 1996 and 2004 Glasgow's rate of employee job growth (20.5%) was largely superior to Scotland's (11.3%) and even to the national average in Great Britain (12.5%). In 2004 the GDP per capita of Glasgow city reached 24,000 USD, which was 73% of the average Glasgow Metropolitan level. This is a huge improvement since 1980, when the GDP was 64%.

² Including for instance the BBC and STV (Scottish television).

Figures revealed at the annual State of the City Economy conference showed that the rate of employment growth and GDP in Glasgow were better than in similar cities such as Genoa, Marseilles and Turin. In 2004, Glasgow's GDP per capita was £5,000 more than that of Marseilles. In a top-10 list of the world's "must-see" places for 2006 compiled by the travel publisher Frommer's, Glasgow is the only European city listed. Frommer's describes the city as "more cosmopolitan and modern" than its traditional rival, Edinburgh. Such elite status, superbly illustrated with the latest campaign "Glasgow: Scotland with style," is quite an achievement, and is the direct result of years of culture-led regeneration policies. Glasgow's situation has indeed improved, "but only for some – those able to cash in on the rebirth of the city centre as a post-industrial service centre" (Boyle et al. 2008). All the signs now point to an "inverted doughnut" with the former hole filling up (especially along the River Clyde and the part of Govan close to the city centre), but leaving pockets on the edges of the doughnut as multi-deprived areas. It seems that most of the money is being poured into the central hole of the doughnut, to fill it up, at the cost of some people living on the edge. While very high concentrations of well-educated people can now be found in the centre of Glasgow (Urban Audit 2007), still in 2001 28% of Glaswegians had limited education and virtually no employment qualifications (the percentage was only 14.4% in 1997, but the city had the same unfortunate first rank within Great Britain). In January 2002, 43% of the primary school children in Glasgow were poor enough to be entitled to a free school meal, compared to one-fifth in Scotland (Scottish Government 2003), and more than half of the neighbourhoods within Glasgow City rank among the 15% most deprived neighbourhoods nationally. Male life expectancy in Glasgow is 69 years -- the worst in Scotland, according to the Registrar General for Scotland (2005) -- and in some neighbourhoods it is down to 54 years. In comparison, the male life expectancy in the new satellite town of East Renfrewshire is 77 years (one of the highest in Scotland).

Urban planning and economic regeneration as they have been conducted thus far have not solved the problems of unemployment, income disparity, and demography at some micro-local levels of the city. In fact, Govan is experiencing a distressing decline in its population with, above all, equally inexorable imbalances that are setting in and being reinforced by these economic policies. We observe in Govan the departure of the middle and working classes, leaving only the most underprivileged, with a marginal influx of well-off populations in their luxury high-rise flats and marinas by the River Clyde; territorial imbalance, with proliferating industrial estates alongside council housing which is being whittled away to nothing, where the industrial estates created do nothing to solve the local under-employment problem. The challenge for the neighbourhood of Govan is to cease being treated by Glasgow City on one hand as a jet-set ghetto, referring to the area of renovated industrial suburb in the best location (close to the city centre), and on the other hand as a declining suburb without a future, and even as a waste-tip suburb³. These conflicting attitudes overall serve to exacerbate the increasing polarisation between the areas inhabited by the rich and those inhabited by the poor in Govan.

Glasgow has managed to secure a position on the global map. But how long will this status last? Its enhanced reputation rests on continued consumption of services and culture, at a time when people suffer from credit-crunch and the near-universal economic decline. Moreover, while the city of Glasgow met with some success in reshaping its image and improving its former industrial areas, parts of the city have been sacrificed on the altar of this renaissance. The success of the anti-shrinkage policy implemented must be qualified, and is not necessarily long-term.

The Glasgow local development agencies promoting urban economic growth are an integral part of what Molotch (1976) called "growth machines," assembling coalitions of public and/or private operators wielding decision powers over urban economic development. Their modes of operation demonstrate the shift of governance "from managerialism to entrepreneurialism" (Harvey, 1989) which could be characterised by the passage from a "welfare-local authority" (after the Welfare State) to local authorities that have turned to "capital-conscious welfare" (Sabot 1999), somewhat neglecting their own communities. These local economic agencies, with their semi-public/semi-private status, no electorate to reign them in, and not accountable to the local community, do however need to balance their accounts. This is why, in Govan, they have sought to create industrial and commercial premises so as to ensure long-term income from rental; they have tried to become large commercial landlords in order to mitigate the loss of European Union funding which since 2006 continues to be reduced. The quest for regular, sustainable capital returns via the creation and accumulation of industrial and commercial properties fits into their "entrepreneurial" mode of function.

Conclusion

Population change within cities is a measure of their popularity as places to work and live. "Not only do city trends differ from place to place, but localised patterns of city population and economic change have become more diffuse and fragmented" (Scottish Executive 2002). For Glasgow, the strategies implemented tend to confirm a standardisation of regeneration policies in old-industrial cities, leading us to question the long-term impacts and efficiency of these strategies (Boland 2007). Similar cities choose the same solutions for the same problems. Strategies tend to be uniform, although they are thought of and referred to as unique. This results in intensification of the competition between cities. Local choices thus reinforce the globalisation process.

When industrial cities become post-industrial, former industrial workers are, in the best case, pushed into low paid service jobs, or pushed out of the work market, while professionals and more highly educated people benefit from the shift to the new economy. Places within the city suffer the same fate. The fights against shrinkage that lead to a city becoming "postindustrial" can lead sometimes to a more divided city, or a "dual" city, where the rich and the poor draw further apart from each other socially and spatially. The claim of being a post-industrial city or a "recreative" city hides a more trivial reality: a "dual city", where the spatial and social divide between rich and poor is becoming greater. Globalisation, which led the city of Glasgow into a services and culture-led regeneration strategy as a classical solution to its shrinkage problems, has helped to enable the Govan community to articulate its demand towards the local authority. The rise in power of the local communities – or even the micro-local community in the case of Govan – is a classic counterpart to globalisation. The local Davids are now unhesitatingly taking on the Goliaths (the "growth machines"). For example, representatives of the Govan community lodged a complaint with the Scottish executive in 2004, denouncing the fact that the local economic development agency was in fact seeking its own sustainability at the expense of that of the community, which had, as a result of the policies implemented, become a "shrinking community" that was unbalanced and unsustainable.

The quest for growth has become like a quest for the Holy Grail, and in both our cities has led to questioning of this growth paradigm. It seems imperative to review the growth paradigm through the lens of the established views of urban development (Herfert 2004, Pallagst 2005, Audirac 2007), as shrinkage becomes more prevalent – a result of global processes yet interacting within local contexts. Indeed, local context and

³ In 2003 plans for a waste processing plant involving transportation, crushing, reprocessing, bulk storage, redistribution of demolition waste and related materials, which would have created 30 foot-high mountains of rubble and bring around 700 daily convoys of heavy trucks onto the streets of Govan, were successfully rejected by the local community.

strategies interact with globalisation to shape the transformation of cities in different ways. All urban territories are not affected in the same way by globalisation (Amin and Thrift 1994).

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