GLASGOW CENTRES

REVIEW

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NOVEMBER 2020

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NOVEMBER 2020

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FOREWORD

Research for this report was carried out before the coronavirus pandemic reached Scotland, but the study was concluded against the background of the lockdown which came into effect on 23 March 2020 and the subsequent restrictions throughout the year.

From that date, all non-essential shops and meeting places were closed, and people were instructed to stay at home except for essential shopping and daily exercise, or in some cases to travel to work. At the time of writing, most of these restrictions were still in place.

The impact on town centres and local centres has been profound. The data and intelligence specialists, Springboard, reported that, in April 2020, footfall in UK shopping centres was down 84.8% compared with the previous year, high street footfall was down 83.3% and footfall in retail parks was down 68.1%. The sectors most affected by COVID-19 were non-food retail, pubs and restaurants, hotels and hospitality, and arts and leisure, all of which are core town centre activities. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) reported that the value of all retail sales in the UK in April 2020 was down 23.1% on the previous year, and a record 18.1% lower than in the previous month. Clothing sales dropped 52% between March and April.

Key features of the initial lockdown period were:

- an increase in grocery sales, in supermarkets and independent shops
- the major supermarkets saw a very rapid switch to online sales
- some high street retail chains went into administration
- some online and multichannel retailers struggled to cope with increased demand
- despite this, online sales surged to 30.7% of total sales in April 2020, up from 19.1% in the previous year; for some goods and services, the online market share was between 60% - 100% (CACI).

A bounce-back can be expected when the lockdown is eased, but COVID-19 will inflict severe and lasting damage on town centres, whatever their scale. The Association of Town and City Management (ATCM) published its COVID-19 Impact Tracker in May 2020, based on a survey of BIDs and other town centre partnerships. Of those expressing a view, 47% thought that between 21% and 40% of town centre businesses might fail, and 31% thought that the losses could be even more severe. The survey revealed concerns that, in addition to the retail and restaurant chains that have already collapsed, there will be many branch closures. Despite the availability of national and local government support packages it is feared that many independent retailers, cafes and restaurants will fail, "consumed by debt". Other commentators have warned that, as the UK Government's furloughing programme tapers off, many more staff will be made redundant.

It is, of course, far too soon to gauge the long-term effects of the coronavirus on town and local centres. As we write, Scottish town centres are still in lockdown, some easing of the regulations is planned but not yet scheduled, and the continuing requirement for social distancing means that a return to normal trading conditions remains a distant prospect. As well as the concerns about the fate of individual businesses we do not know, for example:

- the rate at which the virus is going to spread in the coming months, and whether further lockdowns will be required
- if social distancing rules will be relaxed sufficiently to enable cafes, bars, restaurants, community and cultural facilities to operate on a viable basis
- whether people will be willing to return to town centres: will they feel safe and comfortable, or will the experience be compromised by social distancing?
- how much of the trade lost to online channels will return to the high street: some commentators claim that the projected switch to online advanced by 5 years in a month
- what the impact will be on travel to town centres: given the impact of social distancing on public transport, will consumers stay away or will more travel by car, taxing parking capacity and causing air quality to deteriorate?
- the likely scale & duration of the recession: how will reduced incomes and rising unemployment impact on consumer expenditure?

We can safely assume that every local centre will take a hit. The present crisis has exacerbated weaknesses – especially the over-supply of retail space – that have been obvious for decades. Some businesses have already failed, and more will go if the post-lockdown trading environment proves to be as challenging as most experts predict. The impact on cafes, restaurants, pubs and other commercial and community meeting places will be particularly severe. Online shopping has been an essential lifeline for many households during the lockdown, and millions of people have shopped online for the first time. Bricks and mortar retailers will claw back some of this trade, but not all of it.

The effects will be uneven. We can assume that previously popular and successful centres are likely to be more resilient than those that were already struggling, even though they have been hit particularly hard by the lockdown. The C-19 infection rate – which varies widely between (and within) towns and cities – tends to be higher in the most deprived communities. The latter will be most at risk of a second or third spike in confirmed cases and, possibly, a return to lockdown.

The impacts of the crisis have been overwhelmingly negative but there are still some grounds for optimism. The May 2020 CACI report on The New Consumer Reality finds that consumers now feel more attached to their local communities, while a growing number of independent businesses have developed innovative online services:

"Many local independents have set up transactional websites and are running delivery networks coordinated through social media. Veg boxes, isolation deliveries and knowing your local shopkeeper are now common, and small businesses that would not until now invested in the technology to facilitate orders are now stepping up to meet demand, and doing this in many cases has been business critical…

"Consumers are re-engaging with their local high streets, which by their very nature are well equipped to serve the local demographic… When lockdown has eased the most significant change consumers expect is to shop closer to home…, meaning that local high streets can expect a longer-term boost in footfall…"

This finding is corroborated by the Centre for Cities High Streets Recovery Tracker, which shows that, in terms of the reduction in footfall, popular centres which normally attract visitors and tourists from a wider catchment area have been affected most severely. Total footfall in Glasgow city centre in May/June 2020 was only 14% of the pre-lockdown level, but the number of visitors from outwith the city declined even more sharply, to 7% of the pre-lockdown level, reflecting the near-total shutdown of shops, offices and places of entertainment, and the cessation of travel.

The impact has been less severe, but still significant, in places that are more dependent on local markets. Although the tracker focuses on city and large town centres, we can reasonably infer that most suburban centres are in this category, and that the renewed appetite for local goods and services creates an opportunity that enterprising and innovative businesses can exploit. This does not make the post-lockdown business environment any less challenging, and it is not clear how long changes in consumer behaviour will endure, but it is a reminder that creative responses to the crisis may be rewarded.

Glasgow has joined many other cities by announcing the formation of a high-powered cross-sectoral group to develop a Post-Pandemic Economic Recovery Plan. But as far as local centres are concerned there can be no question of going back to the way things used to be. The Institute of Place Management has argued that the challenge will be all about transformation: steering our town and local centres towards a new normal which reflects the needs and aspirations of a changing society as well as the traumatic impact of the pandemic.

This will mean moving away from a narrow focus on consumption and commercial activity and paying more attention to town centres as residential communities, sites of production and creativity, centres of social and community life and – in some cases – destination attractions. We should accept that the urban hierarchy cannot be preserved in its entirety: some local centres will shrink and become small neighbourhood hubs, useful in their own right but not in any meaningful sense town centres. These issues are discussed in Chapter 6, which sets out our ideas on Glasgow's new urban hierarchy.

The coronavirus emergency has not changed our analysis fundamentally, but it seems certain to accelerate the change process and to expose the underlying weaknesses in Glasgow's network of centres, especially the over-supply of retail space. At the same time, new opportunities will emerge for some places, businesses and organisations and the experience of the lockdown suggests that innovation and creativity will be rewarded. Our report concludes (in Chapter 10) with a discussion of the case for a new strategy for Glasgow's local centres. We hold to our original conclusions, but we have updated our recommendations in the light of today's unique circumstances.

INTRODUCTION

This review of Glasgow's centres describes the evolution of the hierarchy and maps the geography of the network of centres. It analyses the performance of the centres and discusses their place quality. Planning policy for the centres is examined together with the experience of other cities and the report proposes a new hierarchy and recommendations for future policy.

The brief

1.1. In June 2019 Glasgow City Council appointed Willie Miller Urban Design (WMUD) to undertake a review of the Council's policies and activities concerning the city's "network of centres". The consultant team also included yellow book and Ryden.

1.2 The brief highlighted four specific tasks:

- to identify the outcomes of the City Council's investment in Glasgow's town centres, and the lessons we can learn from experience
- to identify best practice, including examples from other cities
- to advise on priorities for action in the next 10 years, and
- to provide advice on policy and delivery.

Work programme

1.3 Our work programme comprised three key elements:

Research

- briefing and site visits to a sample of the network of centres
- a review of the historical evolution of Glasgow's urban hierarchy
- a review of the Scottish and Glasgow policy context, and a review of approaches in other major cities
- a review of previous GCC interventions
- original research into economic and market conditions

Synthesis

- production of working papers and data
- spatial analysis, including the production of new maps of Glasgow's urban hierarchy
- a structured appraisal of the character, condition, and place quality of the network of centres
- team workshops
- two client workshops.

Reporting

- preparation of the draft final report
- presentation to the client group.

1.4 The evaluation of the impact of Glasgow's town centre action plans (TCAPs) examines six plans included in the Council's 2019 report on the City Development Plan Action Programme.

CCW Clothing, Byres Road, Glasgow

The structure of the report

1.5 The evolution and socio-economic geography of Glasgow's urban hierarchy is documented in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.6 Chapters 4 and 5 contain an assessment of the economic performance and place quality of Glasgow's town centres.

1.7 Drawing on this analysis we have proposed a new definition of the urban hierarchy, based on six categories of local centres (Chapter 6).

1.8 The second half of the report is dedicated to the development and implementation of town centre policy. Chapter 7 presents a survey of the national and local policy context.

1.9 Chapter 8 contains a concise description of the six town centre action plans and offers a provisional assessment of their effectiveness.

1.10 Chapter 9 looks at the approach to local and suburban centres in other major UK cities, and highlights Birmingham as an interesting exemplar.

1.11 The report concludes with recommendations for action in Glasgow, based on the proposed new typology (Chapter 10).

Saracen Street, Glasgow

THE EVOLUTION OF A HIERARCHY

This chapter describes the evolution of Glasgow's urban hierarchy and its changing retail landscape from the mid 19th century to today. It charts the development of substantial second tier centres, a large number of third and fourth tier centres and the rise of centres in peripheral estates and recent purpose built retail and leisure centres

2.1 Until the mid-19th century, Glasgow was a very **compact city[1].** Joseph Swan's 1854-55 Post Office map shows Glasgow confined mainly to the modern city centre and the immediately adjoining areas. North of the river, the city only extended as far as Finnieston, Woodlands, Port Dundas, St Rollox and Calton, with some scattered settlements beyond. South of the river, the area between Tradeston and Hutchesontown already existed. The map shows Govan as a tiny village.

2.2 The industrial revolution and the exponential growth of Glasgow – and other major cities – in the second half of the 19th century, led to the emergence of a **hierarchy of suburban centres.** Bartholomew's New Plan of Glasgow and Suburbs (1899-1900) reflects this dramatic expansion. North of the river, development had reached Partick, Whiteinch, Kelvinside, Maryhill, Saracen Street, Springburn, Alexander Park and Parkhead. Growth south of the river was equally dramatic: moving from east to west, Rutherglen, Govanhill, Shawlands, Pollokshaws, Pollokshields and Kinning Park had all been incorporated into the city, as had Govan, although it remained a separate burgh. The spaces between and beyond these outer suburbs were rapidly filling up with factories and railway lines.

2.3 Population growth and the development of manufacturing industry, drove the suburban expansion and the evolution of public transport enabled it. Nevertheless, Glaswegians were much less mobile than they are now. New local centres were needed where people could shop, access business, professional, civic and public transport services, and visit parks, pubs, dance halls and (later) cinemas within easy reach of home. This concentration of retail, services and leisure meant that the larger local centres also became an essential source of local employment. By the early 20th century, **Glasgow's urban hierarchy** included:

- a small number of substantial, well-established **second-tier centres** which had many of the characteristics of independent town centres, including public buildings; these included Partick-Hillhead, Maryhill,

1 This chapter draws on Peter Reed (ed), Glasgow: The Forming of the City, Edinburgh University Press, 1993

Dumbarton Road, Glasgow

Springburn, Duke Street-Dennistoun, Parkhead, Shawlands and Govan

- a larger number of **third and fourth-tier centres**, which were typically smaller in scale and had a more limited range of assets: some of these may have been not much more than a single street or a parade of shops; these included Queen Margaret Drive and Hyndland.

2.4 Suburban growth continued unabated through the interwar period and beyond. By this time more Glaswegians had access to cars, and an extensive network of bus, tram and rail services meant that residents were less dependent on local amenities. Nevertheless, the pattern was repeated, with new centres emerging to serve the **outer suburbs** in places like Anniesland and Giffnock. Typically, these local centres were smaller and had a more suburban character than the original second-tier centres. It was in this period that the edges of Glasgow and other cities saw the appearance of "parades of shops, filling stations, ice rinks, dance halls and the occasional...suburban super cinema" (Charles McKean).

2.5 In the interwar period, "Scotland came to accept the suburb and love the bungalow". In the 1920s, seeking to alleviate chronic overcrowding and poor housing quality, Glasgow's new suburbs began to stretch out into new, semi-rural territory, for example at Kelvindale, Carntyne, Riddrie, Knightswood and Scotstoun. Later, Blackhill, Maryhill, Possil and Lilybank saw the tenement tradition. But the pressure to provide new homes trumped every other consideration so that, in both private sector and public sector schemes, "there was virtually no provision of amenities and necessary facilities... [and] they were also far away from the centres of Glasgow life. Bus services were poor, expensive and in any case of little use to those with limited mobility on account of age, disability or the needs of childcare".

2.6 In the early 1950s work began on the vast **peripheral estates** that did so much to define the character of post-war Glasgow. Castlemilk, Drumchapel, Easterhouse and Pollok each had a population of 25,000 – 30,000; in parallel with the development of these estates, demolition

Victoria Road, Glasgow

and rebuilding took place in Comprehensive Development Areas including Hutchesontown/ Gorbals, Govan, Townhead and Royston. The four peripheral estates all had shopping facilities [2] and, over time, additional facilities and amenities,, but the level of provision was never adequate and the formats dated rapidly.

2.7 By the late 20th century Glasgow's urban hierarchy comprised traditional "town centres" in the inner suburbs, some of which were struggling to compete, and an outer ring of residential areas with only limited local shopping, services and other amenities. This pattern was typical of almost all large cities in the UK, and it reflected the reduced dependency of residents on local facilities and, possibly, a diminished sense of community.

2.8 Recent trends have created an even more complicated situation. Over many years, rising living standards combined with a rapid and sustained increase in car ownership had undermined local place attachment. They enabled many people (but by no means all) to access jobs, shops, services and entertainment across the city and in the wider region. People began to live their daily lives in a larger space than ever before.

2.9 In response to these trends, **new retail and leisure formats emerged**, initially edge-of-town/ out-of-town supermarkets, then retail parks and, increasingly, large format malls. These centres focused more narrowly on commercial activities than the traditional inner-suburban centres; they drew custom from a wider area, and the design of two malls (Silverburn and Braehead [3]) ensured operation at a regional scale. In recent years, some of the underlying socio-economic trends have stalled: for most of the working-age population, real-terms wages have been at a standstill since 2008, and car usage has also declined. It is too early to judge the long-term

2 Castlemilk: The Braes, Drumchapel Shopping Centre (previously Arndale), Easterhouse: The Lochs (previously Shandwick Square), Pollok Centre (opened 1979 – now demolished)

3 Braehead is in the Renfrewshire Council area, but it exerts a very significant influence on consumer behaviour in Glasgow.

Summerston Shopping Centre, Glasgow

effects on consumer behaviour. Still, there is clear evidence that investors continue to favour “super-prime” locations such as major city centres and regional malls over other locations.

2.10 The other key factor impacting on the high street – the rise of **internet shopping, leisure and service delivery** – shows no sign of relenting. Figure 2-1 shows the unbroken year-on-year increase in internet sales as a percentage of total retail sales between 2007 (2.9%) and 2019 (18.6%). Singleton et al (2016) argue that the impact of the internet on town centres has been profound but not uniform. Places with an attractive and varied town centre offer and a prosperous catchment area demonstrate greater e-resilience, as do places with poor ICT connectivity. Town centres with a limited, low quality and fragmented retail/leisure offer are at greater risk of online substitution. Consumers visit less frequently and for a shorter time, and they spend less.[4] The winners are most likely to be the “super-prime” locations described above while, unsurprisingly, many traditional suburban centres have struggled to compete. However, some suburban centres – often, but not always, in more prosperous neighbourhoods - have found niche roles as destinations for independent shopping, food and drink, cultural attractions and even new business locations.

4 A D Singleton, L Dolega, D Riddlesden, P Longley, “Measuring the spatial vulnerability of retail centres to online consumption through a framework of e-resilience”, Geoforum, Vol 69, 2016

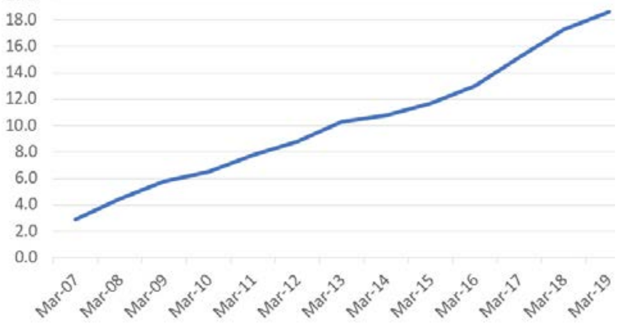


Figure 2-1: Internet sales as a percentage of total retail sales, 2007 – 2019

2.11 Modern Glasgow’s urban hierarchy is **complex and evolving,** and it can only be fully understood in the broader regional (Glasgow & Clyde Valley) context, taking account of the role of Paisley, Clydebank, Motherwell, East Kilbride and other large towns. Within the Glasgow City area, the concept of suburban “town centres” really only applies to the 19th-century inner urban areas. In contrast the outer circle of 20th-century suburbia and peripheral estates has a much looser urban structure in which retail and leisure functions are fulfilled in part by retail/leisure parks and, in some case, regional malls.

2.12 In the face of this complex reality, the standard definitions of the urban hierarchy used in Glasgow and other cities perhaps seem dated and inadequate. They describe the city as it was decades ago rather than the way it is now. In Chapter 6 we propose **a new, more nuanced typology** which better reflects the current reality.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CENTRES

This chapter examines the geography of Glasgow's centres, their topological structure and the dominant characteristics of the network they create. Natural clusters derived from network analysis and walking distances to the centres are analysed and overlaid on SIMD data creating centres as groups of interdependent facilities

3.01 Glasgow's network of centres comprises:

- the city centre
- five major town centres - Partick/ Byres Road, Glasgow Fort (Easterhouse), The Forge (Parkhead), Shawlands and Silverburn (Pollok)
- 34 local town centres
- 10 other retail and commercial leisure centres
- 167 local shopping facilities

3.02 These are mapped in the City Development Plan and represent over 200 centres across the city. There are many more local centres which are not mapped. All these centres vary considerably in size, balance of facilities and function in relation to their surrounding neighbourhoods.

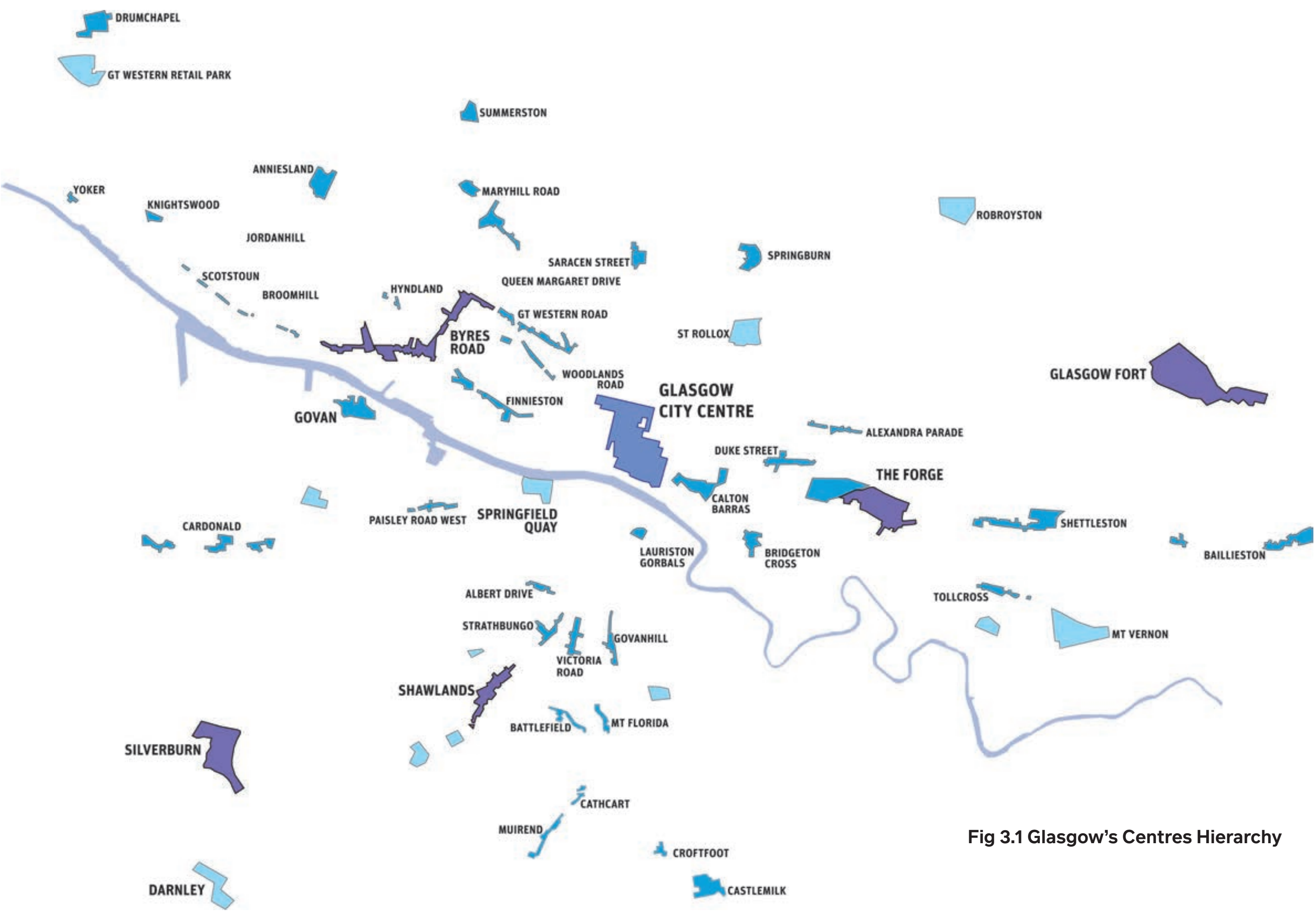


Fig 3.1 Glasgow's Centres Hierarchy

3.03 An analysis of the **topological structure** of the network of centres across the city shows:

1. the dominance of the city centre
2. the clear second tier nature of the five major centres
3. the close inter-relationships between smaller centres, particularly in the Shawlands, West End and Inner East End areas
4. the integration of traditional tenemental/ arterial route second tier centres (Shawlands and Partick/Byres Road) with their surrounding smaller centres
5. the lack of integration of recent second tier centres with their surroundings, notably Silverburn and Glasgow Fort

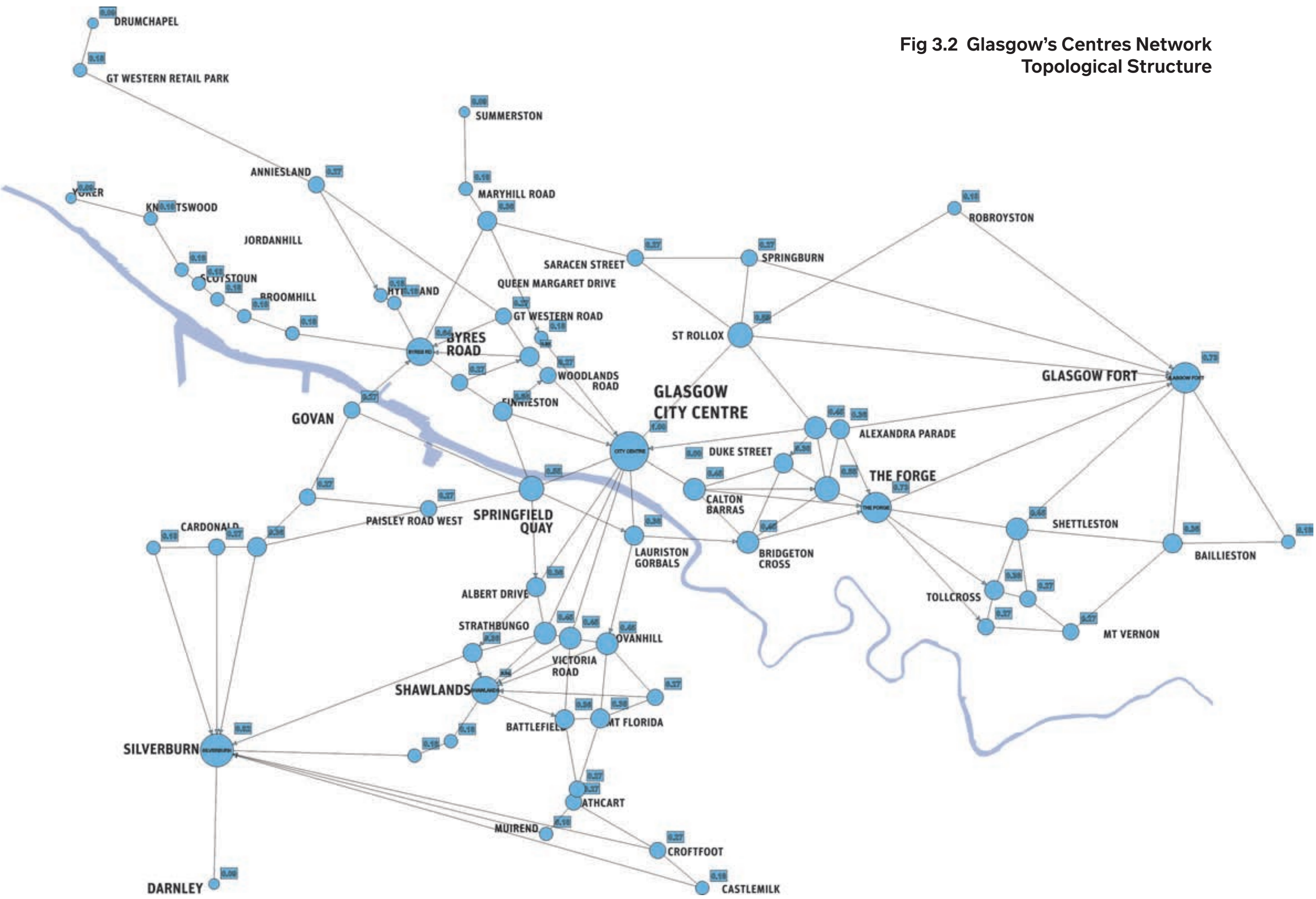


Fig 3.2 Glasgow's Centres Network Topological Structure

3.04 An analysis of **natural clusters** across the city reveals five groupings of centres namely:

- Byres Road/Partick including Maryhill, Finnieston, Woodlands, Hyndland, Anniesland and Govan
- Shawlands including Victoria Road, Govanhill, Strathbungo, Battlefield and Mount Florida but also Springfield Quay and Lauriston Gorbals
- Silverburn including Darnley, Cardonald, Muirend, Castlemilk and Paisley Road West
- The East End centres primarily The Forge and Glasgow Fort but also including Calton Barras, Duke Street, Bridgeton Cross and Alexandra Parade and extending to St Rollox and Springburn
- A smaller cluster including Scotstoun, Knightswood and Yoker

3.05 Some of these clusters may initially seem odd but they do highlight the robust topology of the traditional centres of Partick/Byres Road and Shawlands set against the disaggregated structure of the East End and the Silverburn cluster.

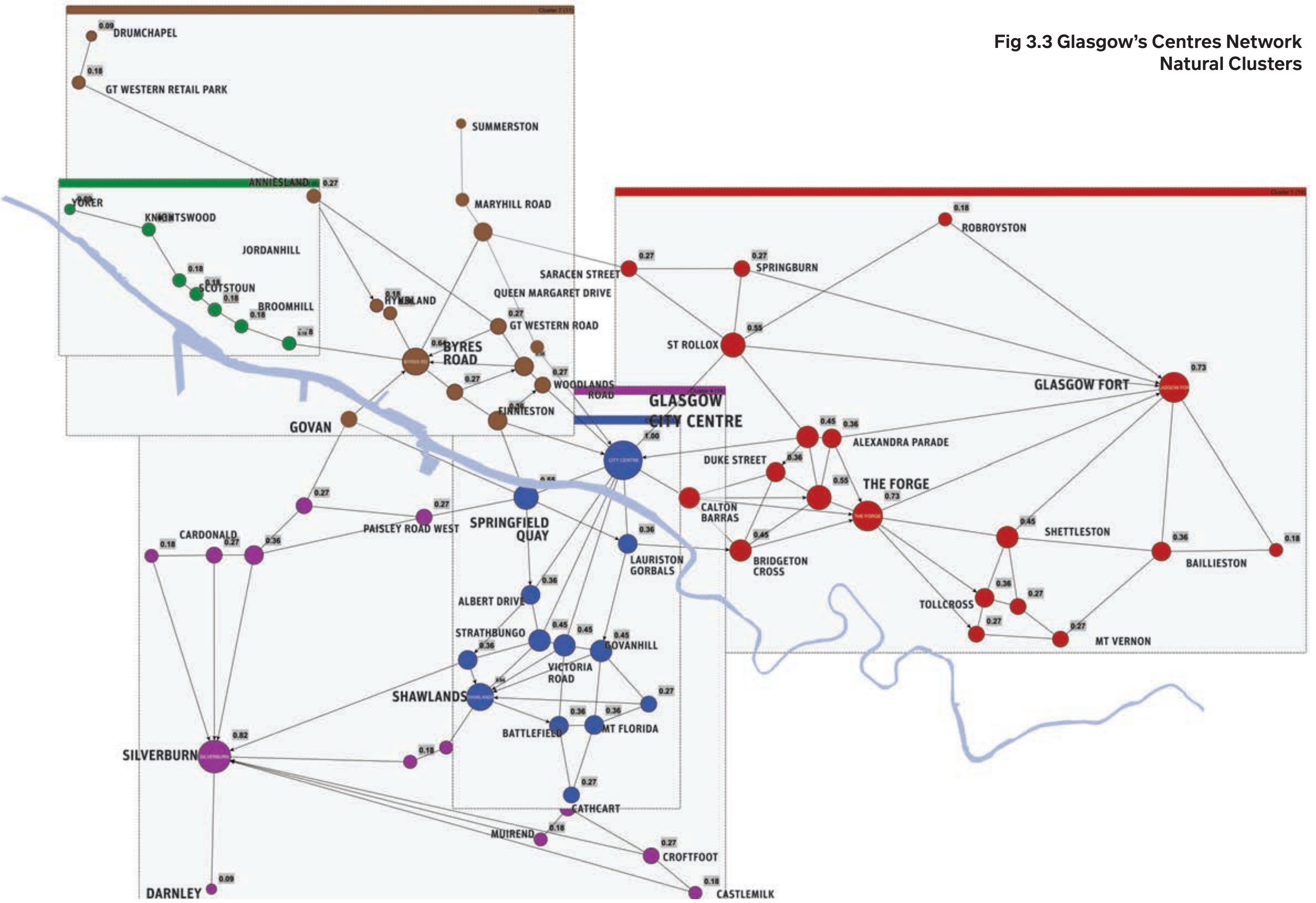
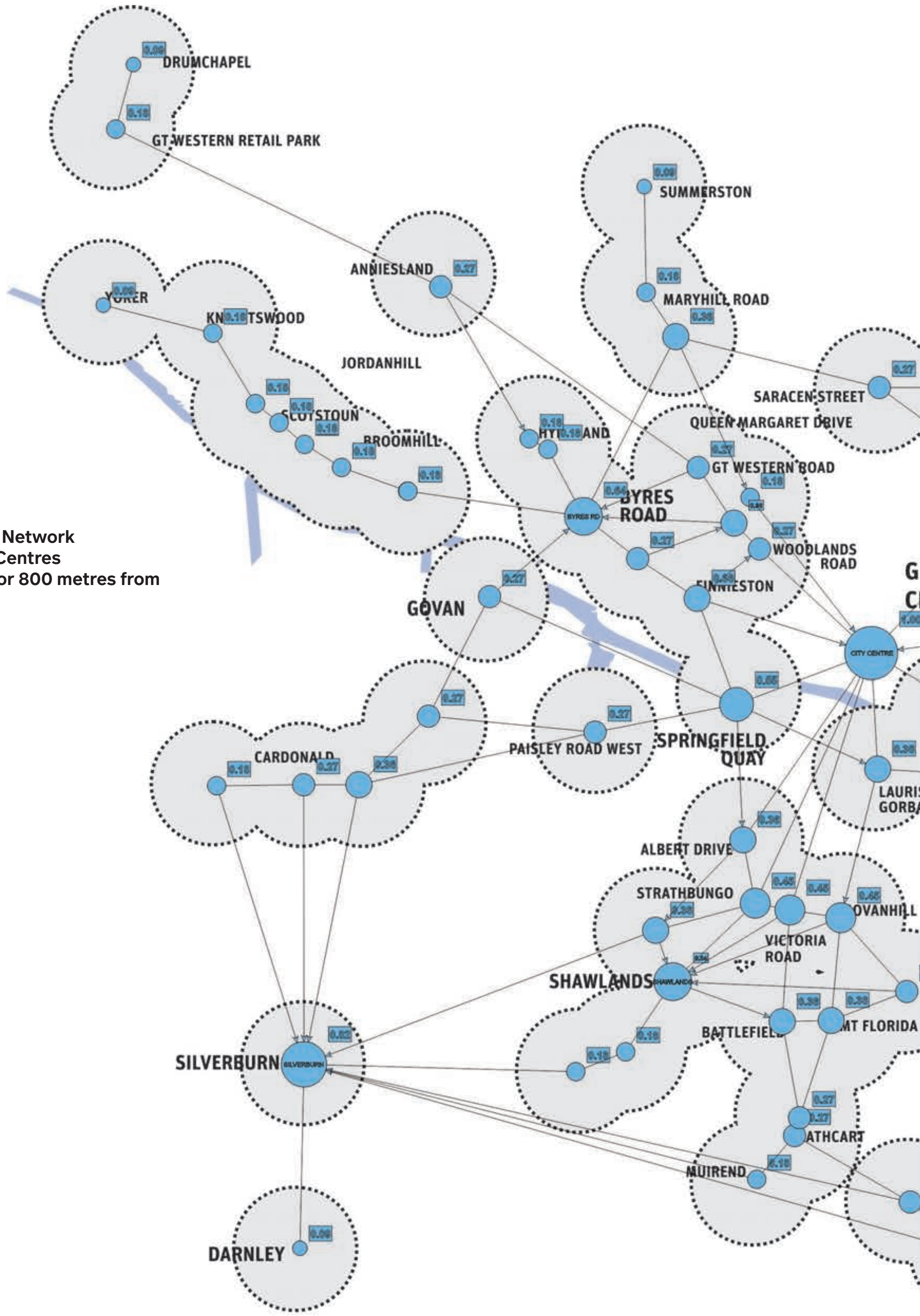
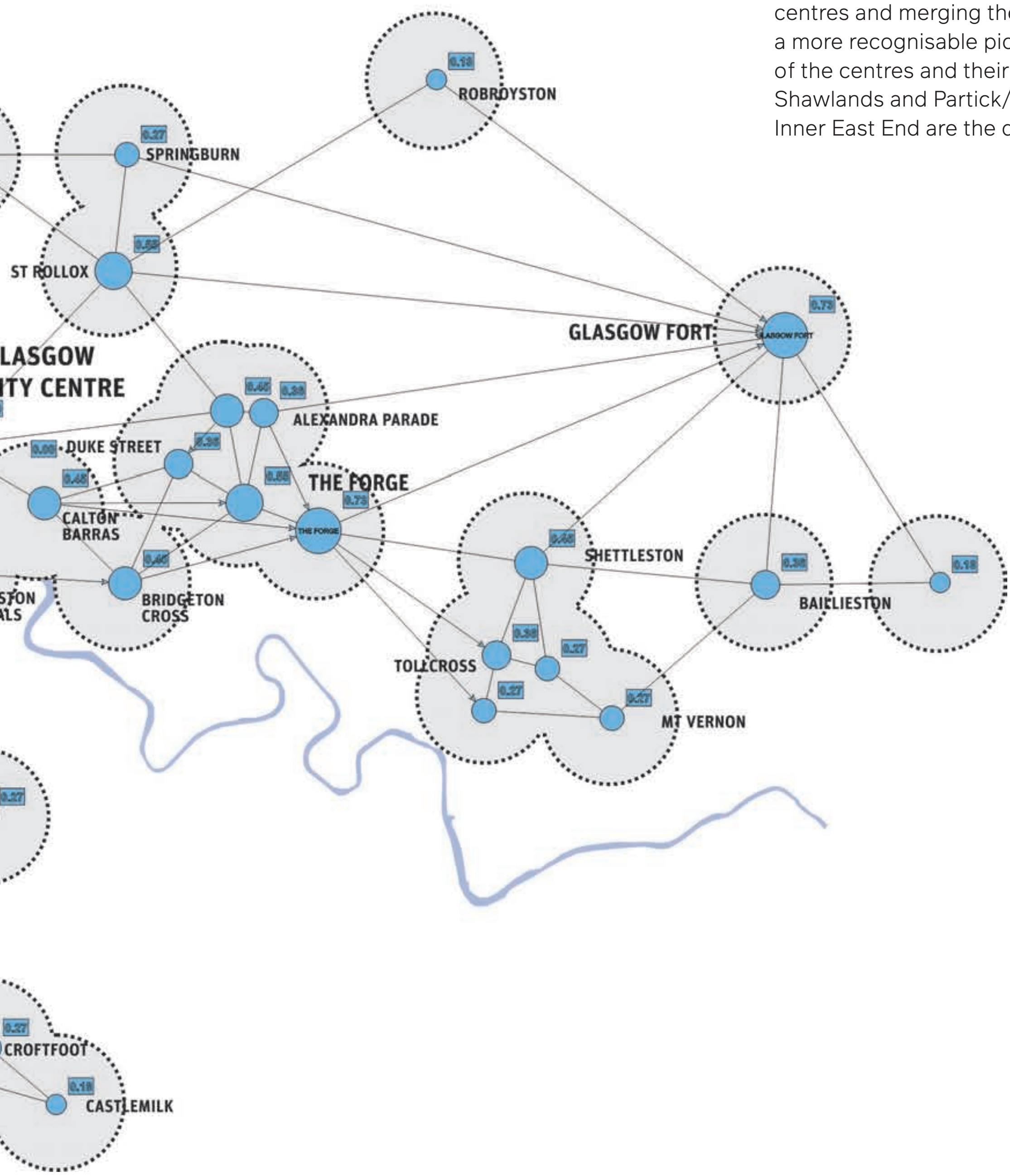


Fig 3.3 Glasgow's Centres Network Natural Clusters

Fig 3.4 Glasgow's Centres Network
Walking Distance around Centres
(based on 10 minute walk or 800 metres from centre)





3.06 Analysing the walking distances around the centres and merging these into groups produces a more recognisable picture of the geography of the centres and their inter-relationships. Shawlands and Partick/Byres Road as well as the Inner East End are the dominant groupings.

3.07 Overlaying these centre groupings on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation mapping shows unsurprisingly that the Partick/Byres Road group and the Shawlands group are the least deprived centres in the city. The Inner East End, Springburn/St Rollox, Govan, Silverburn, Saracen Street and Maryhill are the most deprived centres. These are the clearest messages from the mapping but as with many large cities, deprivation can be a close neighbour of prosperity and some other centres such as Scotstoun, Knightswood and Cardonald show this marked contrast.

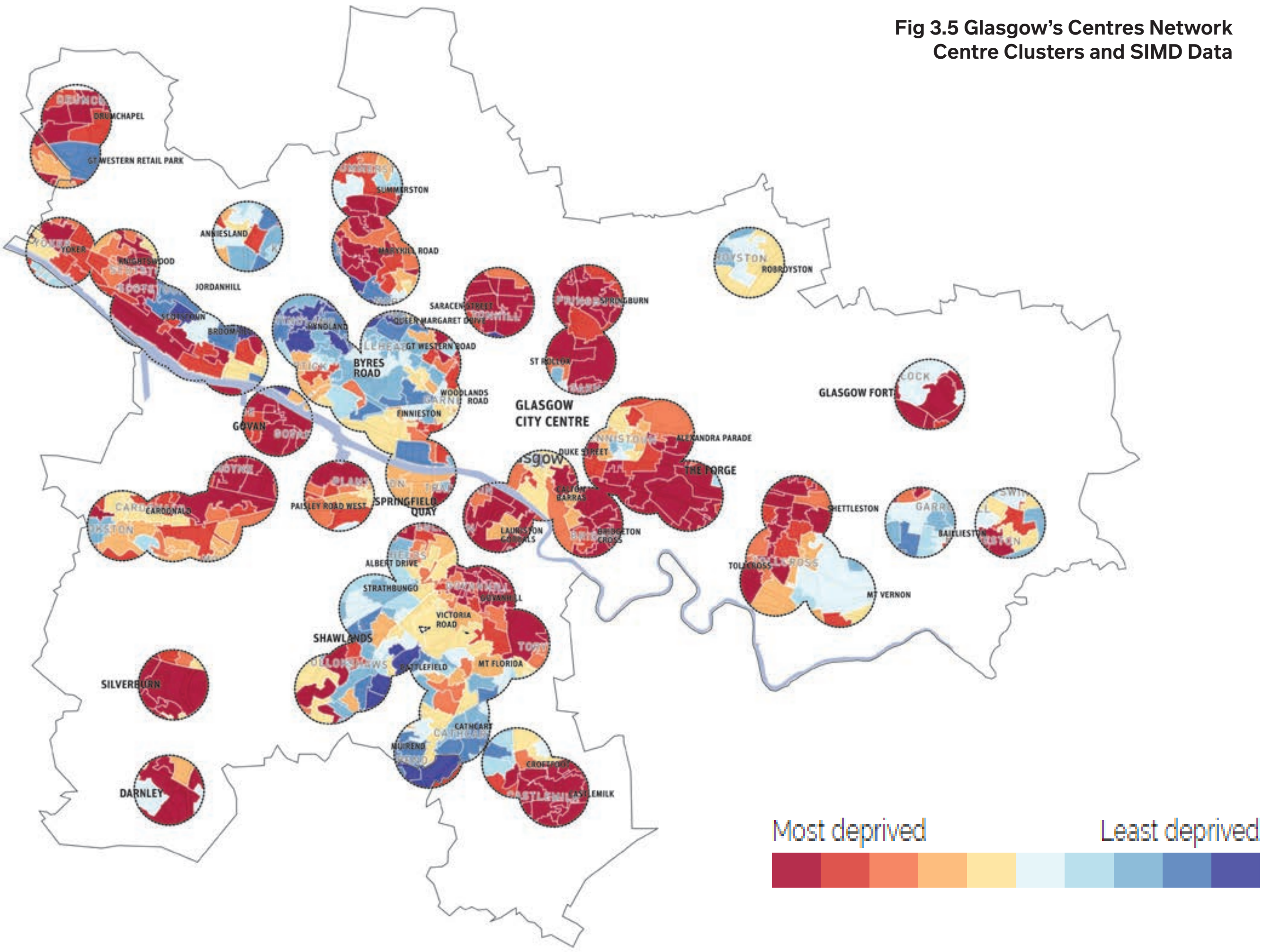
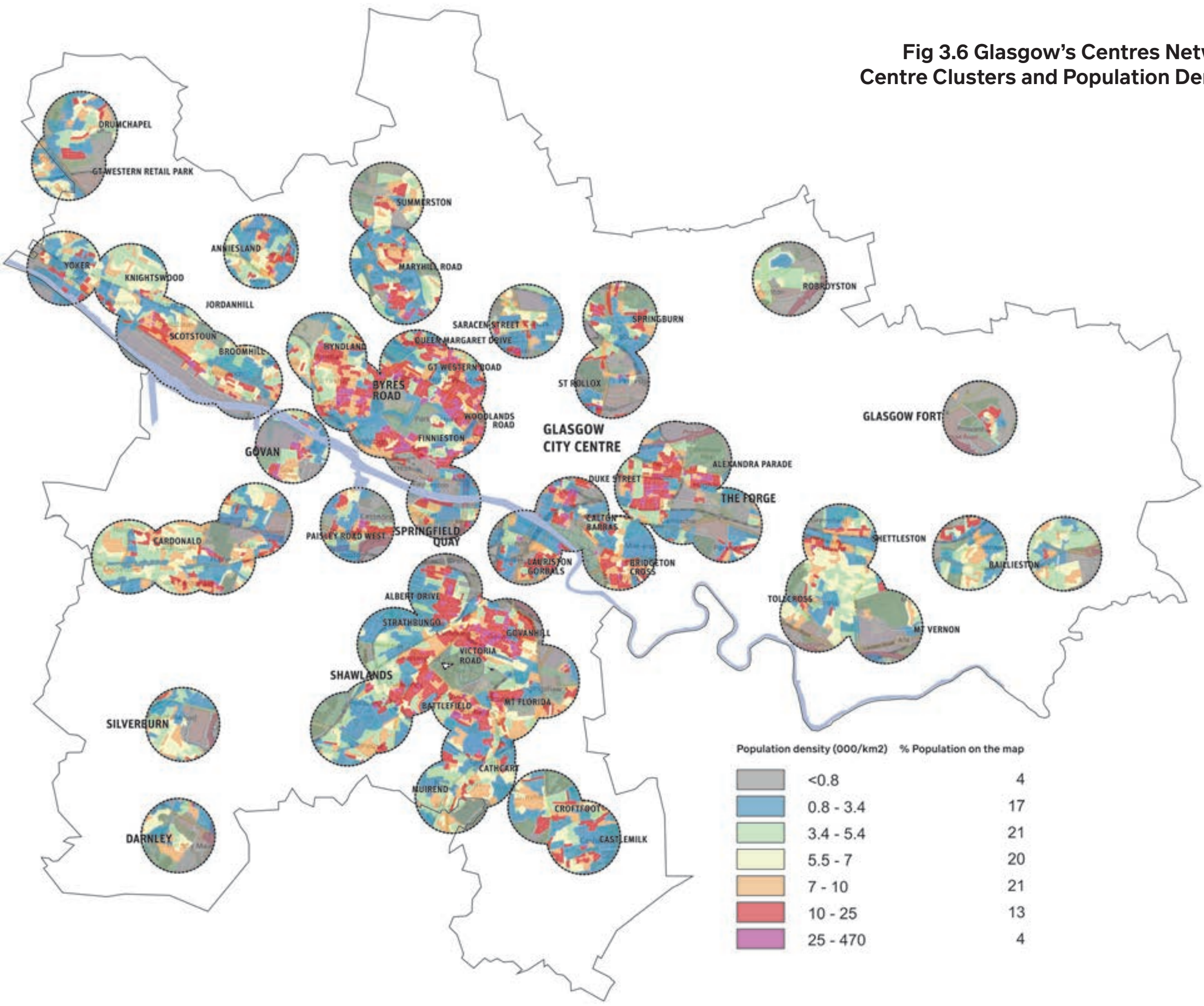


Fig 3.5 Glasgow's Centres Network Centre Clusters and SIMD Data

3.08 Overlaying the centre groupings on population density mapping for the city shows the highest densities occur in the cluster of centres around Byres Road, Gt Western Road, Woodlands Road Partick and Scotstoun. Other high density groupings occur in the East End around Duke Street and Alexandra Parade. On the south side, Govanhill, Victoria Road, Strathbungo and Shawlands are all based in high density areas.

Fig 3.6 Glasgow's Centres Network Centre Clusters and Population Density

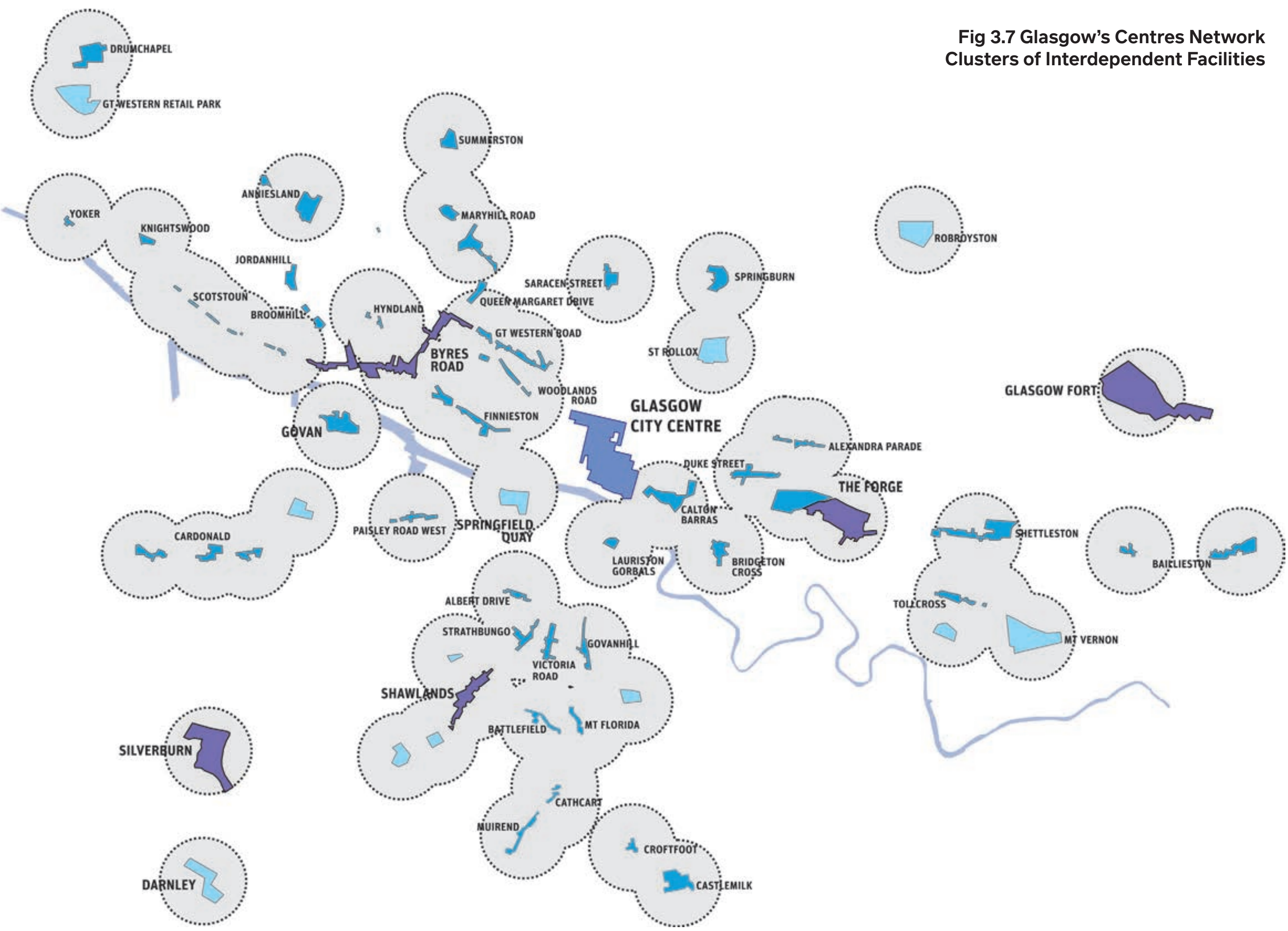


3.09 Mapping the network of centres suggests that there is value, in policy terms, in dealing with the centres as groups of interdependent facilities which might include community facilities, workspaces, cultural and leisure facilities and venues rather than as primarily retail locations.

3.10 This may also suggest that a different way of assessing where the Council might make investment in centres is required. Assessing the need for investment in a wider area might result in more thoughtful and focused projects rather than the roll-out of new public realm.

3.11 Some of the results from the networking software used to generate the preceding maps, especially the clustering of centres, may seem odd. For example, Springburn and St Rollox are part of the East End cluster rather than the Northern cluster despite more natural geographic links. Similarly, Govan appears at the edge of the West End cluster, primarily because of the Clyde Tunnel link and the Subway connection. Removing the link places Govan in the South West cluster. The completion of the Govan-Partick bridge may reinforce the connection to the West End.

Fig 3.7 Glasgow's Centres Network
Clusters of Interdependent Facilities



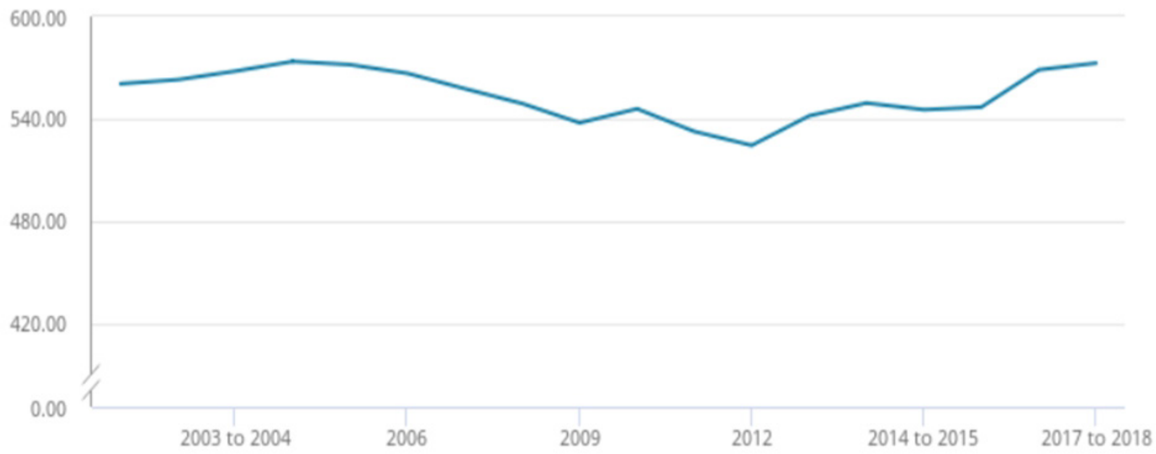
PERFORMANCE OF THE CENTRES

This chapter was written before the coronavirus outbreak. It is too soon to judge what the medium-long term impacts of the pandemic will be on the trends described here. It should be read together with the Foreword to this report.

Context: household expenditure

4.1 Weekly household expenditure in the UK has only recently regained its pre-global financial crisis level. Average weekly expenditure per UK household was £573 in 2017-18, but only £492 in Scotland. About 46% of the total is spent on retail purchases (24%) and leisure activities (22%). The balance is spent on housing, transport, insurance, health, education and other items.

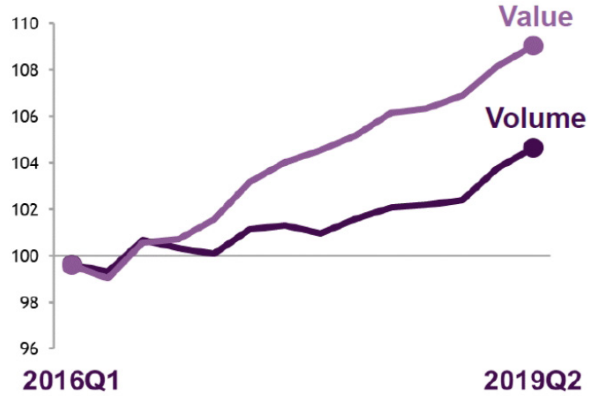
Figure 4-1: Weekly average household expenditure, UK 2002-2018 at 2018 prices



Source: Office for National Statistics

4.2 Consumer expenditure on retail goods has grown modestly since 2016 (Figure 4-2). The volume of sales has been growing more slowly than the value, reflecting price inflation.

Figure 4-2: Volume and value of Scottish retail sales, 2016 - 2019



Source: Scottish Government

4.3 Three key **market trends** are driving change in the retail sector:

- Concentration of activity into a smaller number of **prime locations**, including major city centres, regional retail/leisure destinations and major retail parks. Retailers and leisure operators are investing in these prime locations and disinvesting from a "long tail" of smaller centres. Developers and investors focus in turn on locations which are likely to attract multiples to larger pre ccounts for 20% of total sales. The effect has been to exacerbate the process mises.
- The value of **online shopping** has been achieving double-digit growth for many years, and now a traditional retail services into other uses including leisure, hotels, offices and residential.of concentration noted above, causing retailers, banks, estate agents, travel agents and others to rationalise their high street presence.
- Landlords and developers have responded to these challenges by **diversification** away from shopping and traditional retail services into other uses including leisure, hotels, offices and residential.

4.4 In Scotland as in the rest of the UK the effects of these trends include continuing **retail and restaurant closures** through administration, company voluntary agreements or the closure of outlets at lease breaks or expiries. Some market segments are expanding, notably discount food, budget mixed goods and parts of the food and beverage market. Personal services including health and beauty have also proved more resilient.

Glasgow's local centres

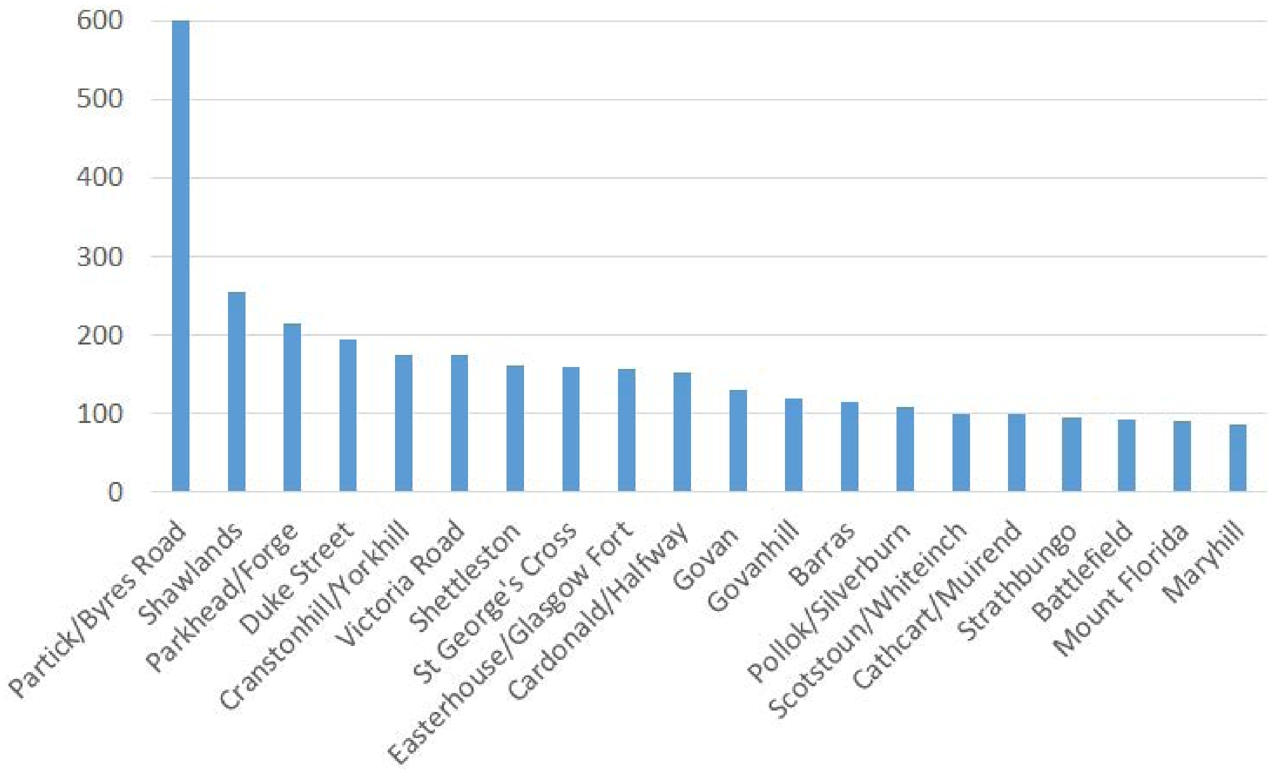
4.5 The City of Glasgow is one of the UK's most popular shopping destinations. Based on retail turnover, Glasgow is ranked second behind London's West End by Harper Dennis Hobbs and Experian. Nevertheless, the city has felt the effects of the challenges facing retail and retail services throughout the UK. The city centre and the destination malls (Silverburn and Glasgow Fort) have benefited from the flight to prime locations. Suburban locations with an attractive speciality/quality/leisure offer, and which serve relatively prosperous catchment areas are also proving to be resilient, especially in the West End. But many of the city's other local centres have experience the attritional effects of the long-term trends outlined above.

4.6 Arguably there are effectively two different types of retail networks within Glasgow. The local businesses which are more naturally suited to the traditional small floor space offering throughout the city and the domination of multiple retailers which have either located adjacent to historic centres or have found a home in one of the new shopping malls. This duality of centres is both a challenge and an asset.

4.7 The network of centres has an aggregate of 4,200 retail units. Based on data supplied by Glasgow City Council and analysed by Ryden we have identified and ranked the 20 largest local centres in Glasgow, which between them account for 2,900 units, 70% of the total. (Figure 4-3). Fourteen of these centres have at least 100 retail units. Of the two traditional major centres, Partick/Byres Road (601) is easily the largest, followed by Shawlands (253). The three other major centres identified in the City Development Plan are:

- Pollok, which is accounted for almost entirely by the Silverburn mall which serves a regional market
- Easterhouse, which comprises (i) Glasgow nearby local shopping centre

Figure 4-3: Glasgow's 20 leading retail/commercial centres ranked by number of units, 2017-18



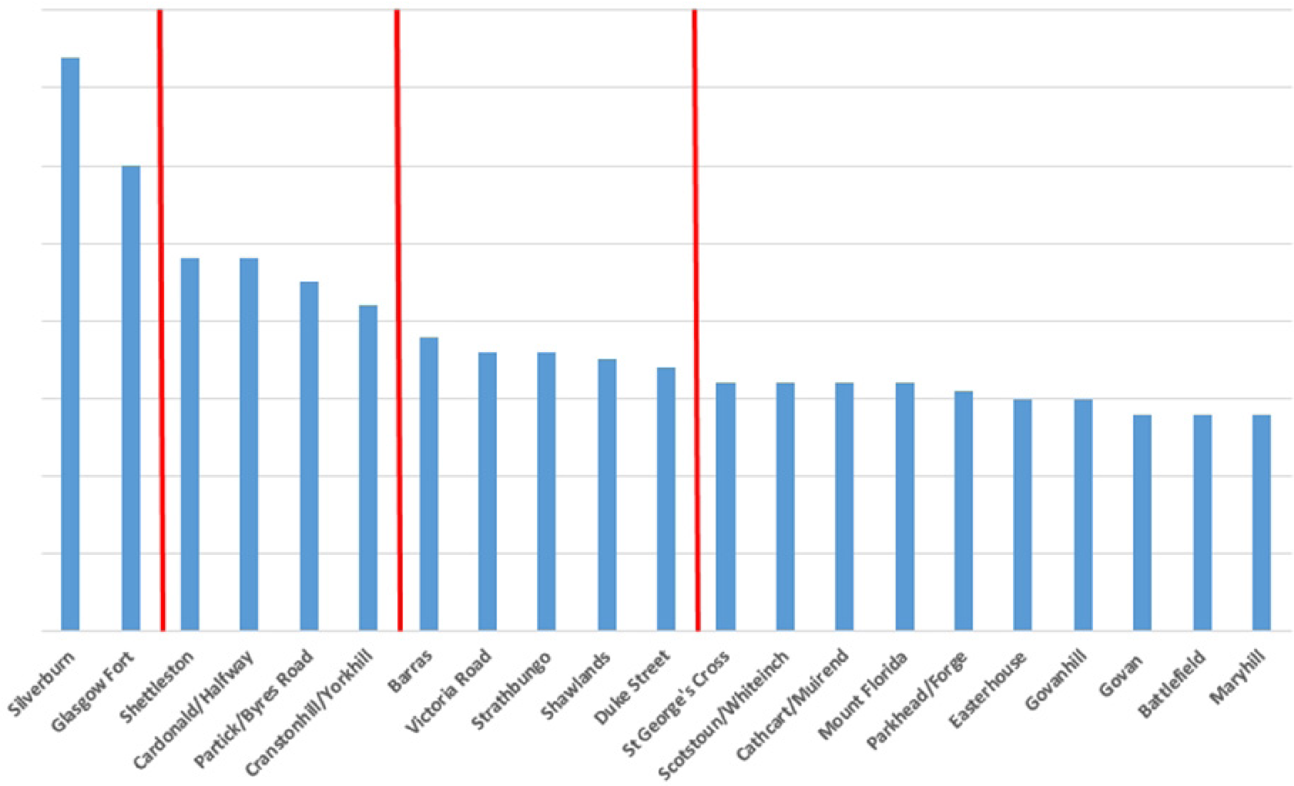
Source: Glasgow City Council

- Parkhead, which comprises (i) the Forge, a shopping and leisure centre which serves the East End of the city, and (ii) a traditional local centre.

4.8 Silverburn and Glasgow Fort are modern purpose-built destination shopping and leisure centres. They feature leading multiple retailers and food and beverage brands, multi-screen cinemas and other leisure facilities. The Forge is a more traditional indoor shopping centre, opened in 1988, populated largely by multiples but with fewer high-end brands. Figure 4-4 shows typical rents for commercial premises in town centres. Rents exceed £35 per square foot in Silverburn and £30 in Glasgow Forge – the two destination shopping centres. In some popular suburban locations, including Partick/Byres Road, rents are in the range £20-25. Rents are lower elsewhere, especially in smaller centres and lower income neighbourhoods.

4.9 Figure 4-5 shows the vacancy rates (measured by units) for the same 20 centres in 2017-18. Vacancy rates are highest in some traditional, tenemental centres, including Duke Street, Govan, Govanhill and the Barras. They are lowest in Pollok (Silverburn) where the vacancy rate is

Figure 4-4: Town centre rents per square foot, 2019



Source: Co-Star/Ryden

below 2%; the other purpose built centres (The Forge, Glasgow Fort) also have low vacancy rates, but the figures are skewed by the higher vacancy rates in neighbouring local shopping centres.

4.10 Figure 4-6 shows the shopping mix in the leading 20 centres. The purpose-built centres (Silverburn and Glasgow Fort) have the highest share of retail units, while Strathbungo and Battlefield have moved towards a post-retail economy and a number of other centres are split more or less equally between retail and other commercial uses.

Summary

4.11 Glasgow is one of the UK's most popular and successful retail and leisure destinations. Its most competitive locations include the city centre, Silverburn and Glasgow Fort, together with some suburban locations – notably in the West End – that serve city-wide/regional markets and attract tourists. These include Byers Road, Finnieston (part of Cranstonhill/Yorkhill)

Figure 4-5: Glasgow's 20 leading retail/commercial centres – vacancy rates, 2017-18 (Data not available for Parkhead and The Barras)

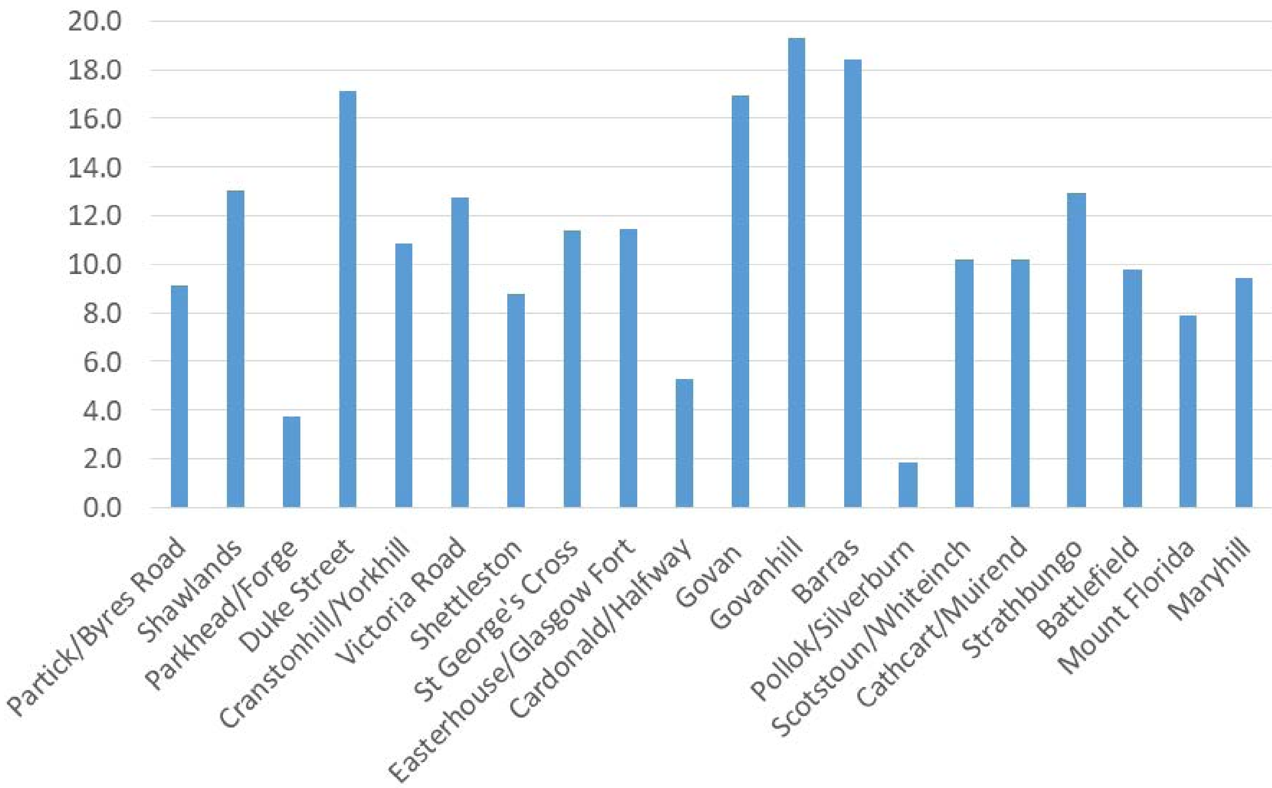
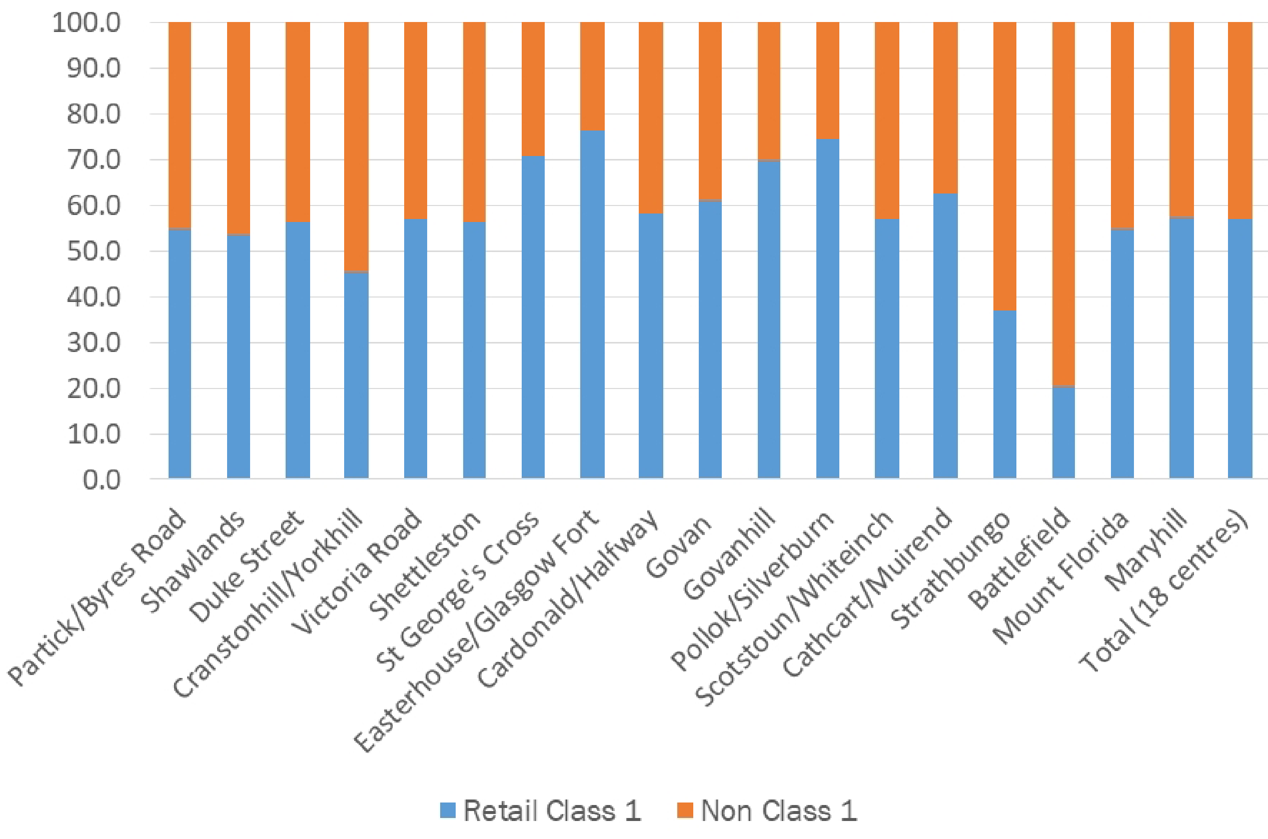


Figure 4-6: Glasgow's 20 leading local centres: % share of occupied units by retail and other commercial, 2017-18[6]



6 Data not available for Parkhead and The Barras.

and neighbouring smaller centres, some of which are now established as destinations in their own right. The critical success factors include:

- relatively high income catchments (regional/ city-wide/local)
- large student populations
- proximity to the SSE Hydro and the city centre
- an excellent food and
- high quality urban environments with heritage and cultural assets
- good public transport connections.
- drink offer
- speciality shopping
- high quality urban environments with heritage and cultural assets
- good public transport connections.

Tesco, Maryhill Road

THE PLACE QUALITY OF CENTRES

Retail is a core element of a successful local centre, but it is not the whole story. Indeed, the over-supply of retail space is a major cause of the "crisis on the high street". Town centres should also provide leisure, entertainment and cultural facilities as well as access to public and private sector services

5.1 Retail is a core element of a successful local centre, but it is not the whole story. Indeed, the over-supply of retail space is a major cause of the "crisis on the high street". The Association of Town and City Management (ATCM) says that town centres should also provide leisure, entertainment and cultural facilities; access to public and private sector services; business service and employment; and a range of transport options. It is not realistic to expect that every local centre in a large city will offer all these features, and a degree of specialisation and/or complementarity is inevitable, but the ATCM definition is a reminder that town centres are multi-functional places. They are also the locations that the local people recognise as central places in the life of the community.

5.2 Building on the ATCM definition and our own research we have identified the following **assets, attributes and qualities** which are typical of a well-functioning local centre, although not necessarily a requirement in every case.

- a **mixed economy** providing a range of employment opportunities
- a **food and drink offer** to complement retail
- access to **cultural, leisure and recreational activities**
- **civic, social and community facilities**
- proximity to **schools, further and higher education**
- **public transport** connections to the wider city, walking and cycling networks
- **parking** for shoppers, visitors, employees and residents
- good quality **public realm, parks and civic spaces**, accessible to all
- a distinctive **built environment and heritage**
- a programme of **events, activities and place promotion** and evidence of **community engagement.**

5.3 **Mixed economy**
Historically, Glasgow's local centres have provided a range of business, financial and professional services in addition to retail, but employment in these sectors has been squeezed and jobs have either moved online or concentrated in the city centre or the larger town centres. A small number of places, including Govan, provide a significant number of town centre office and/or industrial jobs. Some smaller

Silverburn Shopping Centre, Glasgow

centres such as Battlefield and the Barras have become popular locations for start-up and microbusinesses.

5.4 **Food and drink**
The rise of coffee culture is evident at almost every level in the urban hierarchy. Many traditional retail units have replaced by cafes that provide places to meet and have an "affordable treat". Fast food and takeaway outlets are also a feature, while some suburban streets now offer high quality restaurants and the decline in traditional pubs has been at least partially offset by upmarket bars. Food and drink choices tend to be best in more prosperous parts of the city and in locations (like Byres Road and Finnieston) which have become "destinations in the city".

5.5 **Culture, leisure and recreation**
Historically, every local centre of significant scale would have a cinema and possibly other leisure facilities, but that model has been superseded by multiplex cinemas and large footprint sports and leisure facilities serving large (sometimes city-wide) catchment areas. These new facilities are scattered across the city, often in purpose-built centres and malls. Their relationship with traditional local centres has, few exceptions, broken down. Finding productive new uses for redundant cinemas is a challenge across Scotland.

5.6 **Civic, social and community**
Glasgow's large town centres (Patrick, Shawlands, Govan) are still unmistakably urban places and some smaller places such as Maryhill also have an urban character. This is reflected in their commercial architecture, but also in the survival of civic buildings, public halls and community facilities. Some of these buildings may be underused or in a state of physical decay; revitalising and repurposing them is a key priority, helping to maintain the vitality of local centres.

5.7 **Schools, further and higher education**
Traditionally, the distribution of educational facilities has been uneven. Primary schools tend to be smaller and are widely distributed across the urban hierarchy; secondary schools serve a larger catchment, and some have relocated to suburban campus settings. Further education


West End Festival Parade, Glasgow

colleges and universities have a positive impact (in terms of footfall, activity and vitality) on neighbouring town and local centres, especially in the West End.

5.8 **Public transport, walking and cycling**
The Connecting Glasgow report (2019) describes Glasgow as “a city of connectivity contradictions”. It has the UK’s best rail network outside London, but the bus network – which carries far more passengers – is in crisis and has experienced the steepest decline in usage of any UK city, “isolating communities from the city’s economic, social and cultural core”. The Climate Emergency Working Group has recommended steps to improve the city’s public transport and to explore the possibility of a free-to-use system. Partick is one of Glasgow’s principal public transport hubs and an interchange for rail, subway and bus services. All the centres in the hierarchy are served by buses which connect them to the city centre and larger local centres. Seven centres are served by the subway, and there is a bus station at Govan. Twenty nine of the centres have access to a station within a short walking distance.

5.9 **Parking**
Glasgow’s relationship with the car is under scrutiny following publication of the report of the Climate Emergency Working Group. A revival in the fortunes of local centres has the potential to reduce the distance travelled by private vehicle, encouraging active travel and the use of public transport. At the same time, the purpose-built retail-leisure centres are predicated on access by private car and the availability of tracts of free surface parking. This issue will be a challenge for policymakers: conventional market wisdom places a premium on the availability of parking across the network of centres, but the climate emergency means that we need a new approach.

5.10 **Public realm, parks, civic spaces**
A review of the local centres reveals a very mixed picture. The purpose-built centres are essentially private spaces where the “public realm” comprises car parks, access roads and indoor malls which are closed outside trading hours. These are some of the reasons why the purpose-built centres of all sizes cannot be considered “town centres”, whatever their other

Summerston Shopping Centre, Glasgow

merits. By contrast, all the town centres have public realm features but, in many cases, they have been degraded, especially by the impact of traffic. However, in Govan, Calton-Barras and Saracen Street, substantial investment has been made in public realm improvements to mitigate and improve the pedestrian environment. Some of the larger centres have a formal public realm of parks, squares, and other open spaces. Protecting and enhancing these spaces will be an important priority for the future, helping to confirm local centres as a focal point and meeting place in the life of the community.

5.11 **Built environment and heritage**
Many of Glasgow's town centres are of high architectural and townscape value, reflected in listed buildings and Conservation Area status. Govan – a burgh with a long history – is particularly richly endowed as is Calton Barras where St Luke's Church and the Pipe Factory have been brought back into use with GCC intervention. Similarly, the Olympia building in Bridgeton has seen investment from Clyde Gateway. Elsewhere, key buildings, public sculpture and other assets reflect the rich social, industrial and cultural heritage of the towns they serve. They are a source of pride and local identity and, through restoration and creative reuse, they can provide a platform for regeneration and enterprise.

5.12 **Events, activities, place promotion, community engagement**
Long-term market trends have weakened the traditional relationship between communities and their town centres, and undermined local loyalties. Policymakers and local activists need to find ways to reengage with residents and re-establish the town centre habit. We have not attempted a comprehensive survey, but we are aware of events and festivals (some of them of long standing) in, among others, the West End, Govan, Springburn and Queen's Park (Shawlands). There are Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in Byres Road and Shawlands which lead a programmes of place marketing and place promotion activities. These are business-led initiatives, but there are other models including the Woodlands Community, an active local development trust, the Dennistoun Business Forum and the Possilpark/Saracen Street BID supported by NG Homes. Other initiatives include the Parkhead Housing Association's involvement in diversifying into building incubator space.

5.13 Finally, there is a strong relationship between population density and the more successful traditional centres. This is referenced in Fig 3.6. Anecdotally, the 'number of chimney pots' is a typical consideration among retail investors.

Summary

5.13 These are the elements of successful local centres. They cannot all be present in every case, but they are the ingredients that we need to encourage and cultivate if we are to restore local centres to their traditional place at the heart of the community. They will not be the same as they were before, but they can still be busy, valuable, sociable and attractive places which play a key part in the life of the city. The city's commitment to tackling the climate change emergency will place a renewed emphasis on **living local** and ensuring that people can live a full and rewarding life in nearby places. Cultivating these assets and attributes and encouraging the take up of new lifestyles will require action on a wide front by a range of players. The City Council has a key role to play, but the changes needed cannot all be achieved though top-down action. Business groups and other stakeholders will make an important contribution, but so will communities. The public sector must become an effective enabler and supporter of community enterprise.

A NEW URBAN HIERARCHY

In the course of this study we have concluded that a more accurate and nuanced definition of Glasgow's urban hierarchy is needed, taking account of centres' function, character, catchment area and size.

6.1 The roles of local centres are constantly evolving and any attempt to "fix" the urban hierarchy is doomed to fail, but policy needs to start with a robust understanding of the status quo and an appreciation of the factors which are driving change.

Even with the refined definitions set out below it is not always easy to assign local centres to a category, and some appear to be in transition from one category to another.

6.2 With these qualifications we now propose a new typology of local centres in Glasgow, comprising six categories which are summarised in Figure 6-1 below and described in more detail in Figure 6-2.

	Category
A	Large town centres
B	Purpose-built destination centres
C	Destination high streets
D	Local centres
E	Local centres in transition
F	Other commercial centres

Figure 6-1: Glasgow's urban hierarchy – summary

6.3 The categories have been defined based on a combination of factors including **scale, function, built form, character and catchment area**. Crucially, we distinguish between the privately-owned, purpose-built centres (B and F) and the traditional local centres/high streets (A, C, D and E). Both groups make an important contribution to the life of the city, but it is a category error to describe purpose-built centres, which are overwhelming devoted to retail and commercial leisure, as town centres. The latter perform a wide range of civic, community, cultural, economic and transportation roles, and are central places in the communities they serve.

6.4 There is no fixed rule but, as a rule of thumb, centres with fewer than 50 retail premises should be treated as neighbourhood shopping facilities as defined in the City Development Plan (see Chapter 7).

6.5 As shown in Figure 6-2, the role of local centres is defined largely by the **catchments** they serve, which may range from local to regional and may in some cases include UK and international tourism markets:

- all categories depend, to a greater or lesser extent, on a local customer base, particularly the traditional, retail-led centres (categories A and D) and the smaller commercial centres (F)
- the scale, reach and history of the large town centres (A) mean that they serve a wider, city sector catchment (for example, the West End or the South Side)
- categories B, C and E are less dependent on local markets; in the case of the purpose-built destination centres (B) their business model is focused on city-wide and regional markets; by contrast, the small group of destination high streets (C) has emerged organically, but they now also serve the city region and even attract a significant proportion of their trade from UK and international visitors
- a few local centres are best understood as places in transition (E); in some cases, they may be about to join the ranks of the destination high streets.

6.6 We rehearsed an earlier version of this hierarchy at the client workshop, where it commanded broad recognition and support. Based on this analysis we conclude that:

- the purpose-built commercial centres of all sizes (B and F) form an important part of Glasgow's urban hierarchy
- the large town centres (A) are important places which help to define parts of the city; they face challenges but their heritage, scale, diversity, urban character and vitality mark them out from the other categories; they are unevenly distributed - large parts of north and east Glasgow do not have access to a centre of this size and type
- the smaller, traditional centres (D) which are distributed across the city encompass places of varying scale but are typically retail-led, albeit with a variety of other amenities and uses; this is the group most dependent on local expenditure and the condition and prospects of these centres tends to reflect socio-economic conditions in the catchment area
- Glasgow has two destination high streets (C); one of these, Byres Road, is long-established, while Finnieston has emerged in the past 10 years, partly as a result of its proximity to the SSE Hydro; they join the city centre as locations which attract net additional expenditure to the city region
- the local centres in transition (E) form a diverse group: they include local centres where the historic level of retail trade is unsustainable and new uses are starting to emerge.

Figure 6-2: Glasgow's urban hierarchy revisited

			Catchment areas			
	Category	Description	Local	City sector	City/city region	UK/Int tourists
A	Destination high streets	Multi-functional centres (retail, commercial, civic, educational, community) of significant scale, with an authentic urban character, and a broad range of amenities including transport infrastructure	High dependency	High dependency	Some dependency	Little or no penetration
B	Purpose built destination centres	Retail and leisure centres serving city-wide and/or regional markets. May offer some civic/community facilities, but these are private spaces with little or no public realm. Public transport facilities but most users travel by car	Some dependency	High dependency	High dependency	Little or no penetration
C	Destination high streets	A small group of local centres that have developed into destinations for speciality retail, luxury goods and services, food, drink, culture and the night-time economy. They serve a city-wide catchment (especially students and young people)	Some dependency	High dependency	High dependency	Some dependency
D	Local centres	Local centres with 50-150 units, primarily devoted to local or neighbourhood shopping, but may include some commercial, civic and community uses	High dependency	Some dependency	Little or no penetration	Little or no penetration
E	Local centres in transition	Local centres which have begun to diversify and specialise, some of which may be on course to become destination high streets. Includes streets where retail uses have been superceded by business, commercial and social enterprise	Some dependency	Some dependency	Some dependency	Little or no penetration
F	Other commercial centres	Retail parks, smaller malls, superstores and other com-mercial developments dating from the late C20 onwards	High dependency	Some dependency	Some dependency	Little or no penetration

THE PLANNING POLICY CONTEXT

Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government 2014) states that "town centres are at the heart of their communities and can be hubs for a range of activities"

National Policy

7.1 SPP affirms the town centre first principle advocated by the Town Centre Action Plan (National Review of Town Centres, 2013), and it sets out four key policy principles:
- applying town centre first for retail, commercial leisure, offices, community and cultural facilities
- encouraging a mix of activities to support vibrancy, vitality and viability
- ensuring that development plans and ecisions support town centres
- promoting residential development in town centres where there is need and demand.

7.2 SPP introduces the concept of a network of centres. Within such networks town centres will be identified as places which exhibit:
- a diverse mix of uses
- accessibility
- character, identity and sense of place
- economic and social activity during the day and in the evening
- integration with residential areas.

7.3 SPP confirms the case for applying a **sequential test** to development priorities, giving priority to town centres (including local centres) for activities which generate significant footfall.

7.4 Practical guidance on applying these principles was set out in the Town Centre Toolkit (Scottish Government 2015). The Toolkit "contains ideas and examples of how people and organisations can make their town centre more **attractive**, more **active** and more **accessible**". These three themes provide an organising framework for town centre regeneration and the toolkit documents a wide range of good practice models and case studies.

Framing local policy

7.5 Glasgow City Development Plan Policy CDP4 applies the concept of a **network of centres**, to the local context. It describes a hierarchy comprising:
- the **city centre**
- five **major town centres** (Partick/Byres Road, Easterhouse, Parkhead, Shawlands and Pollok) which "provide a full range of town centre uses and are important shopping, commercial and civic destinations

Glasgow Vintage Shop, Kelvinbrisge

serving a wider population catchment"
- 34 **local town centres**, serving local communities, "but vary[ing] widely in scale, function and character"
- 10 **other retail and commercial leisure centres** with "trading formats that cannot be easily accommodated in a town centre"
- 167 **local shopping facilities** that "meet the day to day needs of local communities

7.6 The stated aim of policy CDP4 is "to ensure that all of Glasgow's residents and visitors have good access to a network of centres which are vibrant, multi-functional and sustainable destinations providing a range of goods and services". CDP4 reiterates the town centres first principle.

7.7 CPD4 describes the hierarchy of town and local centres in Glasgow, but despite its title it does not attempt to describe how the centres operate at as a "network". Supplementary guidance SG4 (see below) states that the whole network of more than 200 centres is "highly interconnected" but does not say what form these connections take or set out policy goals for the operation of the network. We have addressed these issues in the spatial analysis contained in Chapter 3 (The Geography of Glasgow's Centres)

7.8 The policy direction set out in CDP4 is supported by supplementary guidance SG4 (2017), which proposes the following **policy aims** for Glasgow's town centres:
- protect and revitalise all town centres in the network [our emphasis]
- direct appropriate footfall generating uses to town centres
- support the role town centres play as transport hubs
- embrace the placemaking principle.

7.9 SG4 also sets out **guiding principles** for development in the major and local town centres:
- support local services in accessible locations
- maintain an appropriate balance between retail and other uses
- promote local distinctiveness and the quality of the physical environment
- encourage enterprise and accommodate new local businesses
- protect town centres from development elsewhere that would undermine their vitality and viability.

7.10 SG4 includes descriptions of the spatial form, roles and functions of the five major town centres. These descriptions highlight the practical difficulty of defining Glasgow's urban

Springburn, Glasgow

hierarchy when the centres in each tier are so diverse. For example:

- Partick/Byres Road and Shawlands are based on traditional high streets
- Parkhead, Easterhouse and Pollok are hybrids where sub-regional/regional shopping malls are located close to residual local centres.

7.11 SG4 states that the roles of local town centres are to:

- cater for the day-to-day shopping needs of local communities
- provide accessible locations for other local services
- provide a source of employment for the local community
- provide a focus for social interaction and community life.

7.12 The supplementary guidance confirms the local centres' "primary shopping function". Other uses such as professional services, community facilities and leisure and entertainment may provide additional reasons to visit and generate activity at different times of the day, but they must not be allowed to "undermine the shopping function or overall health of the centre".

Conclusion

7.13 If it is agreed that the **new urban hierarchy** described in Chapter 6 is a more accurate and useful description of Glasgow's network of centres, it follows that policy CDP4 and supplementary guidance SG4 should be updated. This report has shown that Glasgow's urban system is not static, and we strongly advocate an evidence-based approach which recognises that change in the urban hierarchy is both inevitable and desirable. Policy makers need to be guided by a combination of strategic imperatives such as the climate emergency and social justice, and a deep understanding of the social, economic and technological factors that are reshaping our cities. However, it may not be possible to promote the success of all its town centres given resource constraints.

7.14 Effective urban policies need to show how town and local centres will contribute to the key themes of Glasgow City Council's Strategic Plan, especially:

- a thriving economy
- a vibrant city
- a sustainable and low carbon city
- resilient and empowered neighbourhoods.

Figure 7-1: The contribution of Glasgow's centres to the city's strategic goals

	Category	Economy	Vibrant	Low-carbon	Neighbourhoods
A	Large town centres	**xx**	**xx**	**xx**	**xx**
B	Purpose-built destination centres	**xx**			
C	Destination high streets	**x**	**xx**		**x**
D	Local centres		**xx**	**xx**	**xx**
E	Local centres in transition	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
F	Other commercial centres	**x**			

NB Local centres are important in a variety of ways but their economic contribution, as we have defined them, is negligible

7.15 Figure 7-1 shows the results of a first-cut exercise to show how the different types of centre might contribute to the city's strategic agenda.

7.16 We think this is a more useful and constructive approach – and a better way of setting priorities – than the current policy. The latter is essentially protective in intent, seeking to preserve the inherited urban hierarchy and to protect and revitalise all the town centres in the network. We doubt that this is achievable or even desirable.

There is an opportunity for Glasgow – which is already recognised for its creative and innovative approach to economic development and placemaking – to take the lead in developing **a positive and imaginative vision for its local centres** and, in particular, to show how a "local revival" could help the city to achieve its 2030 zero-carbon targets.

We return to these issues in Chapter 10.

GLASGOW'S CENTRE ACTION PLANS

This chapter looks at Glasgow's town centre action plans and the difficulty of comparing performance or attributing benefits as a result of investment. It is suggested that a more structured performance management framework could monitor activities, outputs and outcmes associated with future interventions

8.1 The Glasgow City Development Plan Action Programme (June 2019) summarises the key features of the three town centre action plans (TCAPs) shown in Figure 8-1

Figure 8-1: Glasgow TCAPs

Location	Timescale
Govan	2006-2022
Shawlands	2012-2018
Calton Barras	2015-2022

8.2 **Govan**
The Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP) is one of Scotland's most celebrated regeneration success stories, and Glasgow's biggest and longest-running town centre initiative. In 2014, CGAP won British planning's most prestigious award, the RTPI Silver Jubilee Cup. The citation described "life changing investment [which] is not only physically transforming Govan, it is also raising the quality of life and instilling a sense of positive and lasting change in a community and place that had been in decline for the last 60 years or more". The judges stated that: "With high quality planning practice and planners at the very heart of the process, CGAP's excellence lies in a genuine, grassroots community response to regeneration challenges, the impressive scale and scope of work to date despite resource restrictions and its proven ability to bring together public, private and third sectors to respond innovatively to local needs while engendering a sense of ownership , confidence and pride in the community".

8.3 The eight themes of the original (2006) action plan were:

- desirable homes: more people living in Govan
- greater prosperity: more employment and business opportunities
- a flourishing town centre: vibrant shops and services
- increased tourist and visitor numbers: appreciation of Govan's heritage
- Govan's unique sense of place and distinctive urban form
- improved access to, from and in central Govan
- pleasing landscaped places to enjoy
- popular community, leisure and recreation facilities.

Water Street, Govan,, Glasgow

8.4 In 2015, Glasgow City Council in partnership with the Scottish Government commissioned yellow book to prepare a case study to record CGAP's achievements and its distinctive way of working[7]. The report is not a full evaluation of the economic and other impacts of CGAP, but it is the most comprehensive independent study of Glasgow's town centre policies in action, and the authors carried out original research including consultations and survey. The case study provides a detailed account of content and implementation of the action plan between 2007 and 2015 with descriptions of four key areas of activity:

- the development of new homes for sale and rent
- the reuse of historic buildings to create new business space
- the repair and restoration of other historic buildings through the Govan Cross Townscape Heritage Initiative (GCTHI)
- public realm schemes and a variety of other projects.

8.5 In the period under review 45 CGAP projects were completed with a total investment of around £89m. Only about £7m of this was funded through the core CGAP/GCTHI budget, but the action plan was the catalyst for expenditure by housing associations, social enterprises, community organisations and the private sector.

8.6 The research findings recorded in the case study corroborate the assessment of the Silver Jubilee Cup judges. They reflect the "remarkable" achievements of CGAP's first decade, but also a clear consensus that a lot remains to be done. It highlights the key finding, still relevant for policy makers today, that while physical regeneration can happen relatively quickly, changing economic and social conditions in a community can take a long time. The report identifies the production of the original action plan, the appointment of a dedicated project manager, and the formation of a representative steering group as vital building blocks. Building on this platform, seven critical success factors are identified:

- continuous active engagement with the community
- an active role for community anchor organisations
- the role of the City Council, providing leadership, resources and expertise
- a project manager who has the trust and

7 Central Govan Action Plan: Case Study, yellow book ltd, 2015


Water Street, Govan, Glasgow

confidence of the community and partner organisations
- funding partners who back up commitment with investment
- a culture of transparency and openness
- a long-term perspective.

8.7 A report to the City Council's Neighbourhoods, Housing and Public Realm Committee (October 2018) brought the story up to date. For CGAP, the focus is now on three major projects:
- Water Row masterplan – which will deliver 200 homes and 3,550 m^2 commercial space
- Govan Old Church cultural destination
- restoration and reuse of the Lyceum cinema.

8.9 The report also recorded progress on the second phase of GCTHI, with targeted buildings/ locations including:
- Govan & Linthouse Ancillary Building
- 883 Govan Road
- Hills Trust School
- Govan Old Church
- Govan Cross public realm
- Govan War Memorial.

8.10 Figure 8-2, which is extracted from the City Development Plan Action Programme, records progress in the plan period.

Figure 8-2: Implementation of Central Govan Action Plan - summary

Central Govan Action Plan	
Action	Continued delivery of CGAP with focus on addressing market failure, improving connectivity, celebrating heritage and improving place quality.
Partners	GCC DRS, NS, GCR City Deal, Elected Members, residents' and housing associations, SPT, SURF
Plan period	2016-22
Post-plan period	2023-27
Funding	£1m GCR City Deal
Progress to date	CGAP strategy updated 2017 (publication of Imagine Govan) Five priorities: Water Row, Govan Old, Lyceum, active travel, THI/CARS

Shawlands

8.11 The Shawlands Town Centre Action Plan was launched in May 2012, with a 5-year commitment by Glasgow City Council to invest a total of £3.3m. Publication of the Action Plan followed baseline research and consultations with local partners including the Community Council and the Shawlands Business Association. An Executive Board was formed with sub-groups to coordinate activities relating to economic development, movement and public realm, and place management.


Shawlands Square- Southside Fringe Festival 2019

8.12 The Action Plan proposed a strategic approach which treated Shawlands as:
- a business
- a series of places and spaces
- a place offering people what they need and enjoy, and
- a sustainable urban quarter.

8.13 The partners' stated goals were to:
- increase footfall
- establish new anchors
- establish Shawlands as a destination in the city
- develop the Shawlands Business Association
- make it a more welcoming place
- create a better environment for customers and businesses
- diversify the offer,

8.14 Figure 8-3, which is extracted from the City Development Plan Action Programme, records progress in the plan period.

Figure 8-3: Implementation of Shawlands TC Action Plan – summary

Shawlands Town Centre Action Plan Shawlands BID	
Action	Continued support for TCAP and BID
Partners	GCC DRS, NS, other partners
Plan period	TCAP 2012-18 BID 2017-22
Post-plan period	2023-27
Funding	GCC £3.3m BID £720k
Progress to date	Public realm phases 1 and 1A complete Phase 2 (Civic Square) at design stage Shop front scheme under way Bridge repainting works complete Additional taxi rank created Public toilet being developed Farmers' market introduced

8.15 Other achievements include:
- the creation of Shawlands Square, a new events space
- the regeneration of Langside Hall
- a £1.05m transport hub, delivered in partnership with SUSTRANS
- public realm, traffic calming and lighting schemes
- the designation of a Conservation Area
- the relocation of Southside Market
- launch of the Heart of the Southside brand
- residential developments close to the town centre
- events, business start-ups and premises improvements.

8.16 The Shawlands TCAP was a winner in the Place category of the 2019 Scottish Awards for Quality in Planning. The judges' comments noted the evident depth of knowledge and understanding reflected in the TCAP and welcomed the "bottom-up" drive to create a better place, not just through physical change. The project had "embraced the unique qualities of the community and nurtured a creative collective" of local traders. Shawlands is a place of "vibrancy, confidence and style".

Calton Barras

8.17 The Calton Barras Action Plan was approved by the City Council in 2012, to build on the 2009 East End Local Development Strategy. The overarching objective was to create *"an attractive and well-connected neighbourhood with a distinctive and vibrant Barras Market at its core".*

8.18 Three key projects were identified:
- the development of a masterplan to rationalise land use, identify risks and opportunities and encourage development and investment
- preparation of development proposals for Bain Square
- a grant scheme to bring vacant and underused properties back into productive use.

8.19 An early action programme improved pedestrian routes to the East End and Commonwealth Games venues. Completed projects included:
- Barrowlands Park/Schipka Pass temporary open space

- London Road/Greendyke Square public realm works
- Shop front improvements to 70 premises

8.20 A committee report (November 2017) noted that subsequent projects had "focused on the development of vacant buildings and public realm enhancements". Projects delivered included:

- St Luke's music and arts venue
- Many Studios gallery and studio space
- BAaD events venue
- Stalled Spaces funding for six projects in the market area
- environmental improvements to Bain Square.

8.21 The Barras Masterplan was adopted in 2017, and it has provided the framework for subsequent interventions. The masterplan aims to revitalise the market/retail function of the area while encouraging new uses to emerge. City Deal-funded improvements to the internal streets of the market and the resurfacing of Mercat Cross was carried out in 2018-19, and work is underway on infrastructure investment for the £27m Collegelands Calton Barras (CCB) projects.

8.22 Figure 8-4, which is extracted from the City Development Plan Action Programme, records progress in the plan period.

Figure 8-4: Implementation of Calton Barras Action Plan – summary

Calton Barras Action Plan	
Action	Support delivery of CBAP including delivery of enabling infrastructure, site remediation, access and public realm improvements, reuse of key vacant/derelict properties. Capitalise on adjacent drivers of growth
Partners	DRS, NS
Plan period	2015-22
Post-plan period	To be confirmed
Funding	£27m CGR City Deal £3m CBAP
Progress to date	Public realm Phase 1 delivered (City Deal) Public realm Phase 2 to be delivered (City Deal) Further projects to be identified.

8.23 The achievements of the Calton Barras action plan were recognised by the 2019 SURF Awards, in which Calton Barras won the Scotland's Most Improved Place category. The judges described "a targeted investment programme of practical improvements":
"These include a property and public space improvement programme, which has attracted new investment into the previously struggling Barras Market by restoring shopfronts and floor spaces, and upgrading the local streetscapes, and developing urban parks and civic squares. A grant programme led to the transformation of cultural and business venues, including St Luke's, Many Studios, the Pipe Factory and Barras Art & Design, which have greatly enhanced the area's identity and visitor offer. Footfall has significantly increased and new businesses and social enterprises such as Vox Liminis, Glasgow Collective and Soul Food Sisters have chosen to locate in the area".

8.24 The citation concludes that:
"Perceptions of the area have clearly shifted, and Calton Barras has undoubtedly become a more attractive place to live, work and visit. The judges...were impressed with the long-term partnership focus by Glasgow City Council, working with local businesses and the community through a comprehensive Action Plan, to re-establish Calton Barras as a successful and attractive place. Alongside Council investment in a range of improvements, local businesses have responded to the opportunity, investing in a vibrant and growing economy around a revitalised market. With an emphasis on culture and food, the area is now home to a wide range of independent retailers, venues and new housing. From being a leftover place sandwiched between the vibrant city centre and the Clyde Gateway, the area is once again a destination in its own right... [T]he unique character of the place has been retained alongside major physical and economic changes".

8.25 These findings reflect our conclusion (in Chapter 6) that Calton is one of Glasgow's local centres in transition. They are reinforced by a commendation in the Excellence in Planning for a Successful Economy category of the 2020 RTPI Awards for Planning Excellence.

Other initiatives

8.30 The **Maryhill Town Centre Action Plan** report (KMA, 2011) focused on a one-mile section of Maryhill Road and set out proposals to create a more attractive main street, building on earlier improvements including the restoration of Maryhill Burgh Halls. The themes of the plan are quality of life, environment and economy, and specific recommendations include:

- the creation of hubs of civic and retail activity
- safer walking and cycling connections
- greater use of the Forth & Clyde Canal and the Kelvin Walkway
- action to repurpose neglected buildings and derelict land.

8.31 The TCAP was not implemented as originally envisaged, although an undated report by the Executive Member for Development and Regeneration approved the action plan and the Gairbraid Avenue public realm project, which was completed in October 2012.

8.32 The Parkhead Cross Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) was established in 2006. More than £3.5m was invested in projects including repairs to Parkhead Congregational Church and the former Glasgow Savings Bank, as well as the restoration of 23 traditional shopfronts. A second phase of the THI was launched in 2013, and it has funded a new roof for St Michael's RC Church, the restoration of the Eastern Necropolis gate lodge, and eight more shopfronts. The current priority is the restoration of former Parkhead Public School to create a new enterprise centre.

Business Improvement Districts

8.33 Glasgow City Council also provides support for two Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in Byres Road & The Lanes and Shawlands:

- the Byres Road & The Lanes BID was launched in 2015; its priority themes are:
  - Getting there and getting around
  - Working for our businesses
  - Marketing, PR and promotion
  - Events and festivals
  - Clean, green and safe
  - Environment and streetscape
- the Shawlands BID, which evolved out of the Shawlands Business Association, went live in 2017; its priority themes are:

BAAD, Barras, Glasgow

- Promotion through marketing and services
- Accessibility
- Environment and streetscape
- Working together
- Crime and safety
- Communication

Summary

8.34 Information on Glasgow's town centre action plans and related initiatives including BIDS is extensive for some localities, but much less so for others. In the absence of an agreed performance management framework or a regular monitoring regime, and without additional research, it is not possible to measure performance against targets or to evaluate the impact of the TCAPs. That said, substantial progress has clearly been achieved in Govan, Shawlands and Calton Barras, and all three have been recognised by awards from professional bodies. The Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP) won the UK's most prestigious award for the planning, the Silver Jubilee Cup, and CGAP's achievements are also documented in the independent case study by yellow book ltd, which draws on original research and consultations.

8.35 We can still learn important lessons from the experience of the TCAPs, especially in Govan, Shawlands and Calton Barras. Govan is the best documented TCAP and one of the striking features of its experience has been the way in which the limited human and financial resources available to the core team have succeeded in leveraging much larger contributions (in a ratio in excess of 10:1) from partner organisations. The presence of a strong network of civic society partners, some of them with significant financial and organisational resources, was a key factor. Another lesson from Govan is the importance of long-term commitment: aligning partners, building trust in the community, turning around a struggling local centre and getting it onto a sustainable trajectory contribute a decades-long process. This implies a need to focus more intensively on the regeneration of a small number of centres rather than light-touch interventions in multiple locations.

8.36 CGAP Govan is a widely admired exemplar, and the TCAPs in Shawlands and Calton Barras are also considered to have been a success. They have all won significant awards and there is an undeniable sense that these centres are in the process of changing for the better. There is therefore a clear case for extending the

Sandfield Street, Maryhill, Glasgow

TCAP model to other locations. However, this conclusion comes with a health warning: the regeneration process is costly, labour-intensive and difficult, and the City Council should be careful not to take on more commitments than it can sustain, or to raise community expectations that it cannot meet.

8.37 If a further roll-out of the TCAP model is agreed in principle, it would be sensible to start by building a better understanding of what has worked (and what has not) than has been possible within the scope of this study. Case studies could usefully be commissioned to examine the experience of Shawlands and Calton Barras in more detail, based on a forensic review of available management information and consultations with the key actors, and the CGAP case study could also be updated. There might also be value in cameo studies to analyse why Maryhill have failed to gain traction in the same way.

8.38 Any future TCAP programme should be underpinned by a robust and consistent performance management framework (PMF). The key elements of the PMF should include:

- a comprehensive baseline study
- a broad range of quantifiable socio-economic goals
- targets for project outputs and outcomes
- a system for monitoring progress towards the targets and assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of interventions
- arrangements for periodic post hoc evaluation of TCAPs to determine their impact on place quality and place value[8].

8 For a useful discussion of these topics see Place Value & the Ladder of Place Quality (Place Alliance, 2019)


Parkhead Cross THI, Glasgow

POLICY IN OTHER MAJOR CITIES

This chapter looks briefly at the experience and approach of Bristol, Leeds and Manchester but the approach of Birmingham and its framework for action appears to break new ground in terms of the sophistication of the analysis, the development of a strategic framework and the production of action plans for 'centres of transformation'

9.1 The years 1990-2005 were the high point of the so-called "urban renaissance". Great industrial cities such as Glasgow, Manchester and Leeds, emerged from decades of decline and entered a period of regeneration and renewal. The policy discourse emphasised the benefits of city living in contrast to the car-dependent suburbs.

9.2 By the start of the present decade, think-tanks such as the Centre for Cities and the Smith Institute had begun to highlight the challenges facing city suburbs, which had been somewhat overlooked in the previous 10-20 years. Commentators highlighted issues including stagnating employment and population, and the congestion and poor air quality associated with car dependency. Suburban lifestyles have become less desirable to a new generation and there has been an increase in suburban poverty. In recent years, jobs growth has been more rapid in inner cities than in suburban locations[9].

9.3 The Smith Institute talks about "worrying times for suburbia", but recent analysis by the Centre for Cities distinguishes between low-knowledge suburbs, many of which are struggling economically, and high-knowledge suburbs which are more likely to thrive. Large cities like Glasgow have suburbs in both categories[10]. The Smith Institute makes the case for "a suburban renaissance", with city districts reinventing themselves to support job creation and become more attractive and liveable places. They advocate an agenda based on three key themes: growing the suburban economy, improving connectivity and getting the housing offer right.

9.4 Some large cities, including Bristol, Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, have undertaken research to define the urban hierarchy of their administrative areas and develop planning policies. For the most part, the treatment of these issues in statutory plans is technical rather than visionary.

9 The Smith Institute, Towards a Suburban Renaissance: an agenda for our city suburbs (2016)

10 Centre for Cities, Trading Places 2: the role of cities in delivering the industrial strategy (2017)

Goal, Ferry Steps, Bristol

Bristol

9.5 The Bristol Development Framework Core Strategy (2011, retained in the new Local Plan) identifies a "hierarchy of centres" comprising:

- the city centre, which includes several named quarters
- 11 town centres
- 9 district centres
- 27 local centres

9.6 This hierarchy is determined primarily by present and future retail provision, with the town centre tier being defined as including places that serve a wider catchment area, including some that are destinations in their own right. However, the policy is also intended to support the development of "offices, leisure and entertainment, arts, culture and tourism uses". Bristol's Core Strategy presents a static view of the city's urban hierarchy, with little evidence of creative thinking or innovation, surprisingly so for a Council which has a reputation for creative placemaking.

Leeds

9.8 The Consolidated Core Strategy (2019) for Leeds repeats the familiar mantra that "town centres are at the heart of communities…and contribute to [their] character and identity". The strategy does offer a relatively sophisticated classification of Leeds' 27 town centres and 33 local centres. Unlike Glasgow, the boundaries of Leeds include an extensive suburban and semi-rural hinterland. As a result, the hierarchy distinguishes town centres in the "main urban area" from stand-alone towns.

Manchester

9.9 The Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) has made town centre regeneration one of its top priorities. In addition to the city of Manchester, Greater Manchester contains 8 principal towns (including Bolton, Bury, Rochdale and Stockport), 20 smaller towns and 50 significant local and suburban centres. Within the city, the Manchester Core Strategy (2012) defines a hierarchy of 17 district centres and 24 local centres which overlaps with the GMCA's analysis. As in Leeds and Bristol, the policy direction repeats conventional wisdom, calling for "thriving district centres, with distinct local character, providing a good range of accessible key services, including retail, health facilities, public services, leisure activities and financial and legal services".

Selly Oak

Birmingham

9.10 From a policy perspective, Birmingham is the most interesting exemplar. The Birmingham Plan 2031 (2017) calls for "the promotion of sustainable neighbourhoods as a means of supporting the city's increasing and diverse population…to flourish they will be supported by high quality infrastructure and services, including a thriving network of local centres that provide for the local population and are accessible by a range of sustainable travel options…provid[ing] a focus for growth in the retail, office and leisure centres." Birmingham defines its urban hierarchy as follows:

- one sub-regional centre (Sutton Coldfield) which provides "an extensive range of facilities and services for a more than local population"
- three designated district centre growth points
- 18 district centres and 51 local centres.

9.11 All this is familiar enough, but a new policy document, *Urban Centres*: a *framework for urban growth* (2018), sets out a more comprehensive and ambitious strategy for change across Birmingham's urban network. It acknowledges the diversity of the urban centres, but also that the way in which people use them has changed. This means that maintaining the traditional retail focus in some centres will be a challenge. They will need to find a "new focus…to remain attractive, viable and vibrant". Their role needs to be reimagined so that they can "offer more than just somewhere to shop". The strategy selects 10 local centres – from different levels in the urban hierarchy – which will be treated as **"centres for transformation"** (CFTs).

Figure 9-1: Birmingham centres for transformation

Local centres	Level in the urban hierarchy
Sutton Coldfield	Sub-regional centre
Perry Barr	District growth point
Meadway	District growth point
Alum Rock	District centre
Coventry Road	District centre
Erdington	District centre
Northfield	District centre
Stirchley	District centre
Bordesley Green	Local centre
Stechford	Local centre

9.12 The document stresses that some local centres are already in transition, and it presents cameo studies of interventions in Selly Oak, Longbridge, King's Heath and Soho Road which represent a variety of approaches. The ten CFTs have been selected for their potential for adaptation and change. The approach will vary from place to

Selfridges, Birmingham

place but the core themes of the strategy are:

- **activity**: promoting a diverse mix of uses including, in some cases, a niche offer
- **connectivity**: public transport, walking and cycling, a safe road network and digital links
- **design and local identity**: higher density, attractive streets, environmental quality and active communities
- **delivery** (discussed below).

9.13 For each of the nominated CFTs the framework sets out:

- a **strategic vision**
- key projects – the **Big Moves**
- actions linked to the **core themes.**

9.14 The framework is accompanied by a toolkit, which "provides practical advice and information to communities, businesses, local groups, landowners and other organisations on how to make their local centre more active, attractive and connected".

9.15 We have only been able to conduct a selective literature review, but Birmingham's framework for action appears to break new ground in terms of the sophistication of the analysis, the prioritisation of 10 out of more than 70 local centres, the development of a strategic framework, the production of action plans for the CFTs, and the development of the toolkit. It recognises that local centres of every size and type are important places and it acknowledges that they will follow different trajectories of change.

Conclusion

9.16 With the exception of Birmingham's Urban Centres: a framework for urban growth, the policy prescriptions adopted in other large cities are of limited interest and value, but that does not reflect the reality on the ground. Like Glasgow, every UK city of significant scale has exciting examples of:

- destination suburban centres, offering speciality shopping, food and drink
- secondary employment locations of significant scale
- traditional town centres with a strong local identity
- local centres which act as a hub for transport and public services.

9.17 There is a growing awareness of the value of successful local centres and the contribution they make to city economies and quality of life. It is beyond the scope of this study, but there may be real value in talking to planners, policy makers, entrepreneurs and community activists about the changing roles of local centres and how they can be nurtured. Among the possible sources of intelligence and ideas, the archive of the **Academy of Urbanism's Great Place awards** is particularly rich. Nominees in the Academy's neighbourhoods and streets categories come from a wide variety of district centres in the UK and Ireland. They include inspiring stories such as Holbeck (Leeds), Bedminster (Bristol), Kelham Island (Sheffield) and Ouseburn (Newcastle) where former industrial centres have reinvented themselves as hotspots for food, fashion, entertainment, digital and creative industries, and culture: Govan and Calton Barras are on a similar trajectory. Planning has played an important part in these and other success stories, but – as in Govan – policy is most effective when it is informed by active community engagement and acts as an enabler for enterprise. The defensive posture typical of most big city policies for local centres strikes the wrong note. As the relentless advance of online shopping, services and entertainment proceeds, Glasgow's network of centres will need to think less about preserving retail units, and more about the rich mix of activities which will sustain and animate them in the years ahead. Instead of an ailing retail monoculture, future success will be all about diversity and community.

TOWARDS A NEW STRATEGY

This report has reviewed Glasgow's network of centres from a variety of perspectives. This analysis presents policy makers with choices. There are no definitive 'right answers' but the Council and its partners need to decide which of the centre categories should be given priority. This chapter presents a way forward.

10.1 This report has reviewed Glasgow's network of centres from a variety of perspectives. A new foreword discusses the **impact of COVID**-19 on Glasgow's network of centres. The impacts will be profound but unpredictable and some places will be more resilient than others. The COVID-19 emergency may accelerate existing trends and expose weaknesses in the urban system, especially the over-supply of retail space.

10.2 The main report:

- describes the **historic evolution** of the city's complex urban hierarchy through successive phases of suburban expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries (Chapter 2)
- maps the **geography of the network of centres**, revealing their uneven spread and the emergence of clusters centred on the large town centres (Chapter 3)
- assesses the **performance** of the local centres, taking account of the drivers of change, with a closer look at the "top 20" centres (Chapter 4)
- explores the dimensions of **place quality** in local centres, identifying the assets and attributes of successful places (Chapter 5)
- draws on the analysis in Chapters 2-5 to propose a **new urban hierarchy for Glasgow,** based on six categories of local centre (Chapter 6)
- sets out the national and local **policy context** for the study and discusses how it could be better aligned with the Council's strategic goals (Chapter 7)
- describes the five **town centre action plans** with a commentary on activities and performance, and recommendations for the role out of future TCAPs (Chapter 8)
- reviews the policies on local centres pursued by **other major UK cities**; the approach adopted in Birmingham is of particular interest (Chapter 9).

10.3 The study has been timely, and we hope that it will help shape **future planning strategy** and the wider policy agenda. We recommend that the urban hierarchy described in CPD4 should be amended in line with the proposals in Chapter 6 which correspond more closely to the reality on the ground. In our view current policies are too concerned with preserving all local centres (there are more than 200 named in CDP) and not enough with achieving the strategic goals of a thriving economy, a vibrant city, a sustainable and low carbon city, and resilient and empowered neighbourhoods. A sustainable network of attractive and prosperous local centres has a key role to play in achieving these and other corporate goals.

10.4 The City Council's Climate Emergency Working Group has set out a challenging agenda, including a recommendation that the new City Development Plan should "present a vision for a low carbon city". This vision will need to take on board the potential to create sustainable neighbourhoods served by lively and attractive local centres. It argues for a more "local life", based on the Parisian concept of the **15-Minute City,** with people able to access more of the goods, services, amenities and facilities they need close to home, within easy walking and cycling distance.

10.5 The transition to a carbon-neutral city in 2030 appears daunting, but the urgency of the situation means that we need to start now. We cannot continue to duck the hard decisions or continue with forms of development that will compound our dependency on the private car. An early decision to make the development of **sustainable neighbourhoods based on multi-functional local centres** one of the guiding principles of future planning policy would send a clear signal of intent. But we need to be clear

that such a decision would have consequences and would entail **hard choices**, for example:

- it will be necessary to **prioritise investment in a network of, say, 5-6 strategic local centres** across the city, equivalent to Birmingham's centres for transformation
- there is a strong case for **prioritising investment in the current or potential future destination high streets** to maximise the net additional benefits for the city-region economy
- it may be necessary to declare a **moratorium on new purpose-built retail and leisure centres** in out-of-town locations, unless they are fully integrated with public transport services, walking and cycling networks, and have credible strategies for reducing car dependency.

10.6 The **aggregate demand** for retail, leisure and other town centre services in Glasgow is finite and is constrained by macro-economic conditions including the decade-long squeeze on real-terms earnings, not to mention the long-term effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. Visitor expenditure in the city centre makes an important additional contribution to GVA but, apart from the destination high streets, this is not the case in suburban locations. Smaller centres are highly dependent on local demand and the quality of the offer is therefore usually an accurate reflection of socio-economic conditions in the area: prosperous neighbourhoods are better able to sustain high quality shopping, food and drink than deprived areas.

10.7 Our analysis presents policymakers with choices. There are no definitive "right answers", but the Council and its partners need to decide which of the local centre categories should be given priority. Figure 10-1 shows a suggested prioritisation process:

- **Step 1:** Distinguish between the urban centres of all sizes (A, C, D, E) and the commercial centres (B, F).
- **Step 2:** Focus on the large town centres (B) and other local centres with growth potential (D - part). This group should be treated as Glasgow's **strategic centres** and given top priority.
- **Step 3:** The existing **destination high streets** (C) and other local centres with the potential to move in that direction (E - part) should also be treated as a high priority.

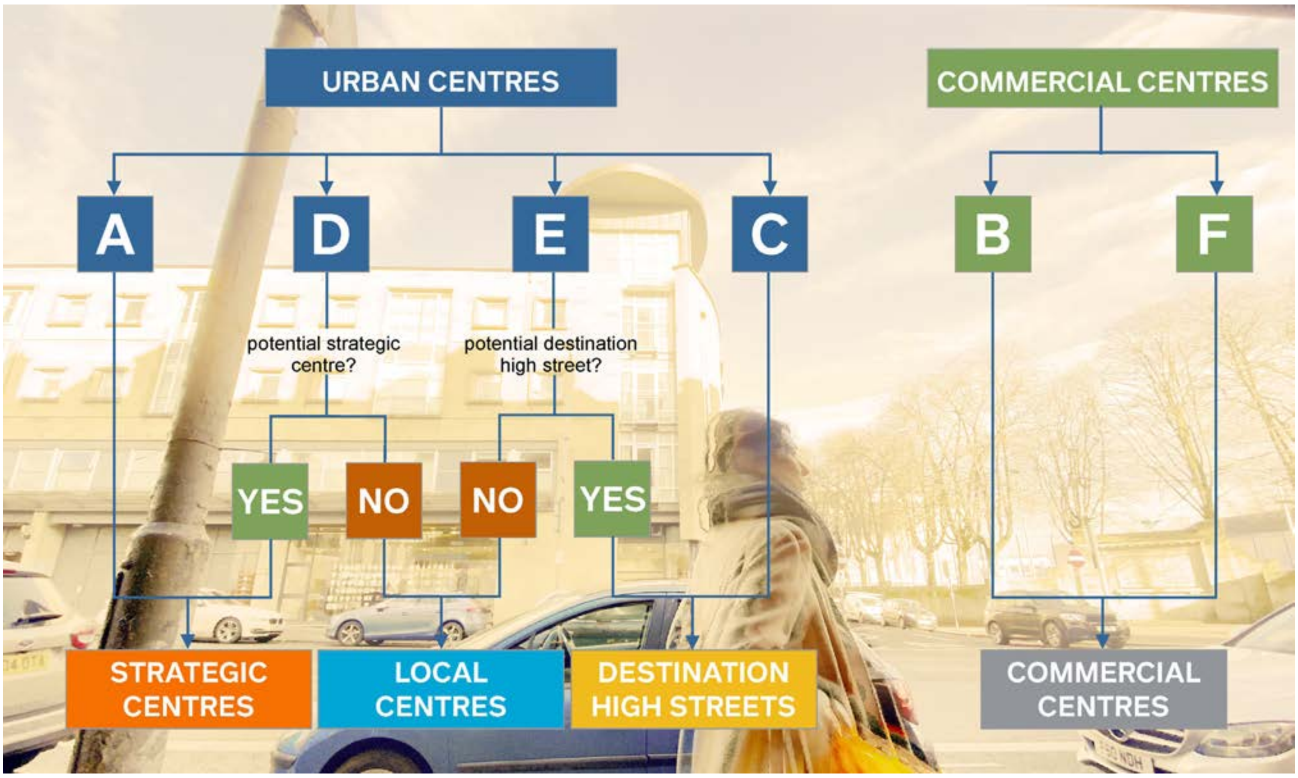


Figure 10-1: Setting priorities – key steps

- **Step 4**: The other **local centres** (D, E – part) should normally be treated as a low- to medium-priority unless local circumstances dictate otherwise.
- **Step 5**: A revised policy framework should be determined for the **commercial centres** (B, F) focusing on opportunities to reduce their carbon footprint and promote sustainable transport.

Strategic centres

10.8 We recommend a **multi-faceted approach** to growing and strengthening the strategic centres, aimed at creating a network of attractive and successful centres serving the whole city and the wider metropolitan area. Investment in property and infrastructure will play an important part, but so will policy initiatives, business support, community capacity building, place promotion and other measures and interventions.

10.9 Drawing on the analysis in Chapter 5 we suggest that the **strategic priorities** for the strategic centres should be to:

- **grow and diversify the city economy**, to provide a broad range of employment opportunities, promote business start-ups and attract knowledge-based and tech companies
- invest in excellent **public transport, walking and cycling links** to connect the centres to the city centre, residential quarters and smaller local centres
- make a concerted effort to **reduce the impact of traffic** by removing and/or calming traffic and downsizing over-engineered roads to reclaim space for pedestrians and cyclists
- provide **a choice of good quality housing** by type and tenure to increase the local population, establish a demographically balanced community and increase local spending power
- establish a concentration of **modern healthcare, education, cultural and community facilities** to meet the needs of a growing population
- **invest in the built environment,** including historic buildings and townscapes, parks and the public realm to create attractive, green, sociable spaces where community life can prosper

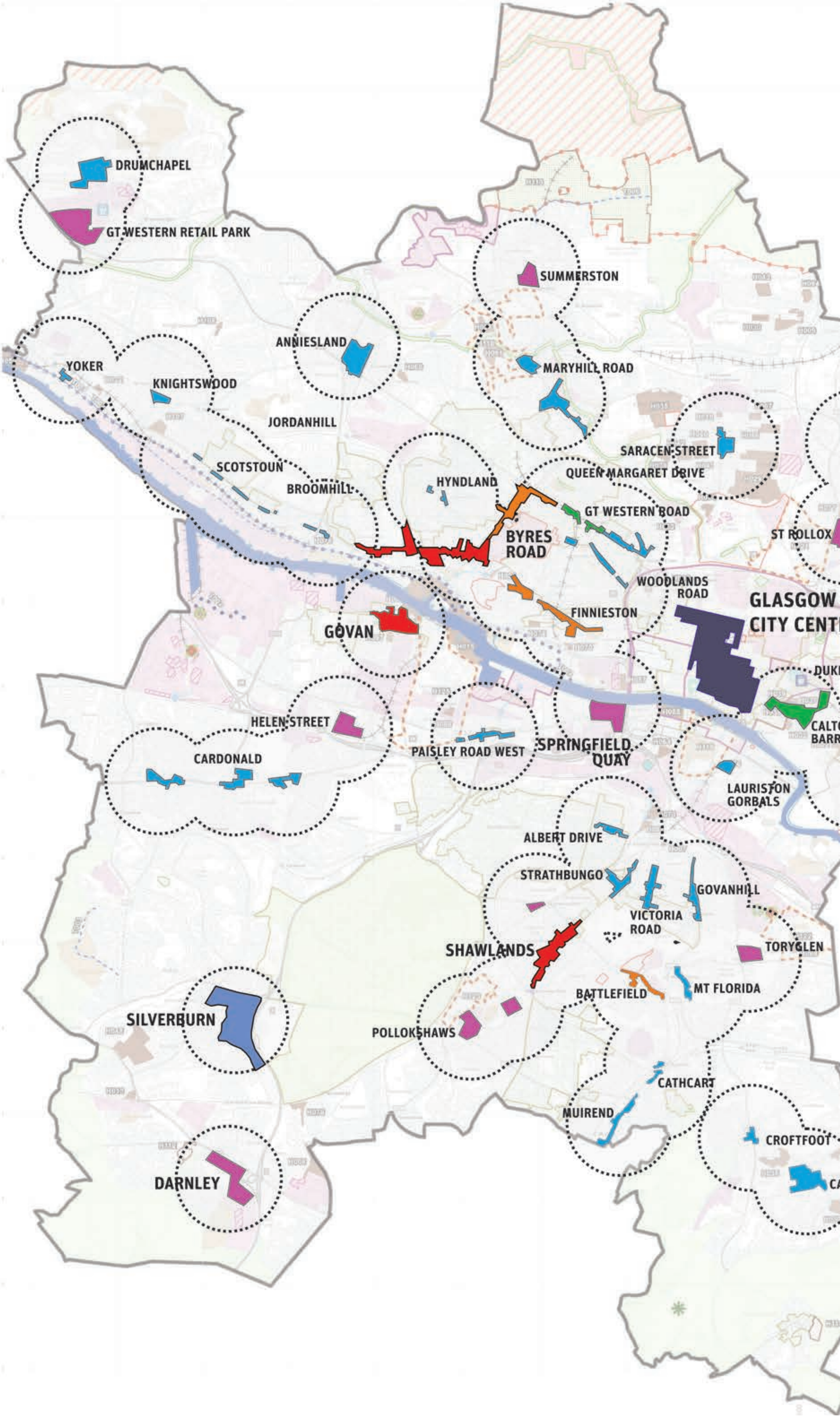
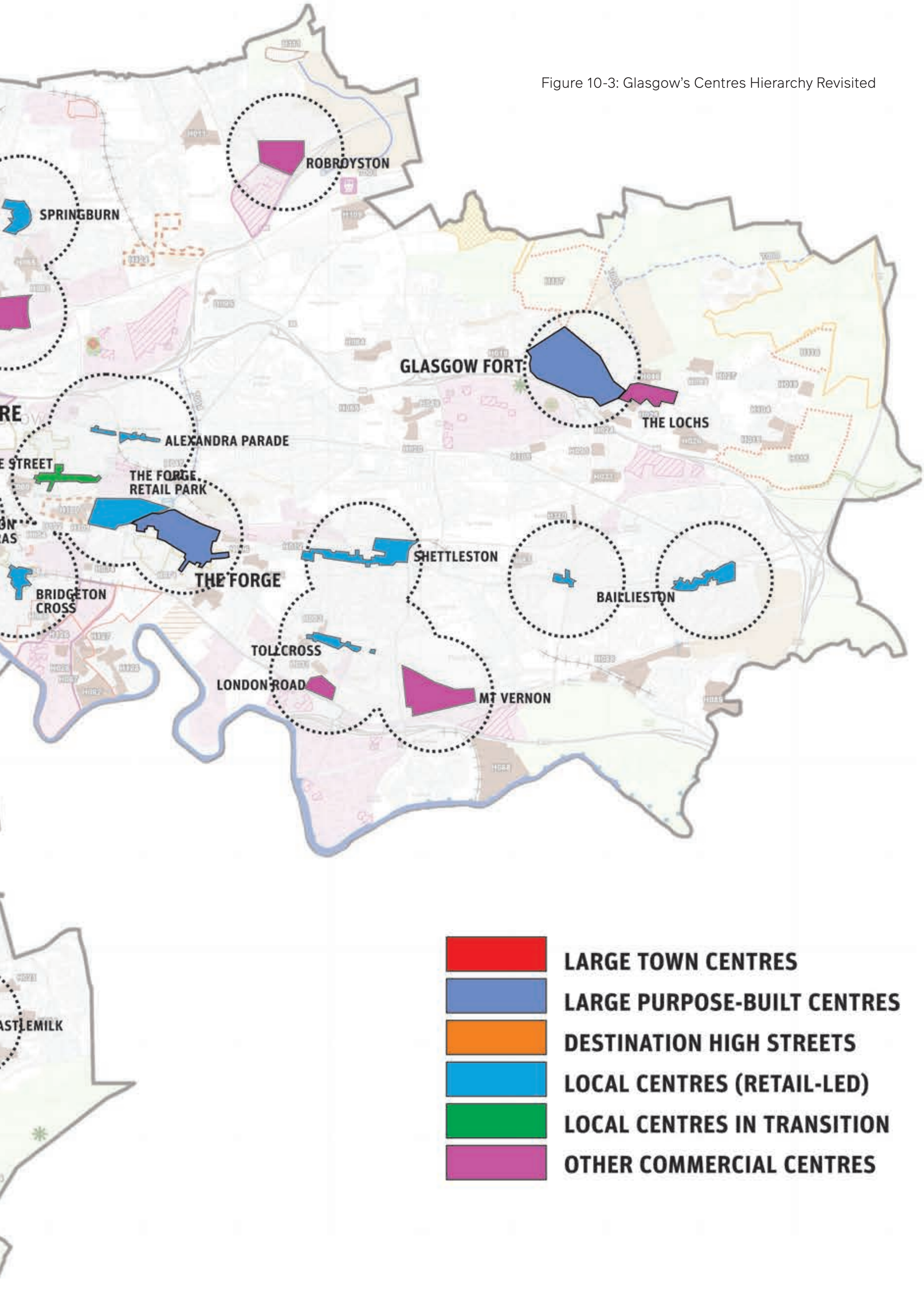

DRUMCHAPEL
GT WESTERN RETAIL PARK
SUMMERSTON
ANNIESLAND
YOKER
KNIGHTSWOOD
MARYHILL ROAD
JORDANHILL
SARACEN STREET
SCOTSTOUN
QUEEN MARGARET DRIVE
HYNDLAND
BROOMHILL
GT WESTERN ROAD
ST ROLLOX
BYRES ROAD
WOODLANDS ROAD
GLASGOW CITY CENT
FINNIESTON
GOVAN
DUK
HELEN STREET
CALTO BARR
PAISLEY ROAD WEST
SPRINGFIELD QUAY
CARDONALD
LAURISTON GORBALS
ALBERT DRIVE
STRATHBUNGO
GOVANHILL
VICTORIA ROAD
SHAWLANDS
TORYGLEN
BATTLEFIELD
MT FLORIDA
SILVERBURN
POLLOKSHAWS
CATHCART
MUIREND
CROFTFOOT
DARNLEY

Figure 10-3: Glasgow's Centres Hierarchy Revisited



- **empower, support and enable civic and social enterprise**, encouraging active citizenship and unlocking the energy and creativity of residents.

Destination high streets

10.10 The destination high streets will provide a specialised offer to complement the strategic centres. They will serve city-wide and regional markets and, increasingly, they will attract UK and international visitors. Speciality retail and a quality food and drink offer will be key attractions, but Byres Road is the gateway to a cluster of outstanding cultural attractions, while emerging areas such as the Barras may also function as hotspots for the creative economy. An attractive environment or an edgy urban feel will draw visitors who are seeking something new, different and locally distinctive.

10.11 Many of the policy prescriptions set out above will also apply to the destination high streets, but especially those that enrich the visitor experience. Connectivity and investment in the public realm will be key, as will **place promotion**: establishing the local brand, raising quality and service standards, and organising an exciting programme of events and festivities. Striking the balance between the needs of visitors and residents will be a challenge for the Council, business groups and community organisations.

Local centres

10.12 The priorities suggested here broadly reflect an opportunity-led approach, which will work with the market grain to deliver investment. However, **social justice** demands that deprived communities and places that are in danger of being left-behind should also be supported. The balance between the opportunity-led and the needs-led approach is a matter for policy makers to determine, but we would argue that, for many local centres, the focus will be on managing the decline of retail and other traditional town centre functions, and in facilitating the transition to new roles as attractive, fit-for-purpose neighbourhood hubs.

A new wave of TCAPs

10.13 We have aimed to provide guidance to inform the development of policies for Glasgow's network of centres and to assist with prioritisation. These are decisions for the Council to make, and we recognise the challenges and sensitivities they will present. However, trying to sustain the entire network in something approaching a steady state is neither practicable nor desirable. What is needed is a more forward-looking policy, which shows how a **right-sized network of centres** will contribute to achieving Glasgow's strategic goals.

10.14 In Chapter 8 we concluded that there is enough evidence to justify the **roll-out of a new wave of TCAPs.** But this recommendation is subject to two important qualifications:

- first, the Council should commission – or carry out in-house – case studies of the Shawlands and Calton Barras TCAPs, and consider updating the 2015 CGAP case study: this will provide a more robust evidence base to inform the design of the next phase of the TCAP programme
- second, the Council should carefully consider the financial and human resources that will be needed to deliver each TCAP: this will help to decide how many action plans should be launched, how long they should last, and how many should be running at any given time.

10.15 Each TCAP should be underpinned by a **performance management framework** (PMF) which will gauge whether policy goals are being delivered and if value for money is being achieved. PMFs will be tailored to meet the requirements of each TCAP, but they will have some common features. A typical PMF should comprise:

- a comprehensive baseline study
- a broad range of quantifiable socio-economic goals
- targets for project outputs and outcomes
- a system for monitoring progress towards the targets and assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of interventions
- arrangements for periodic post hoc evaluation of TCAPs to determine their impact on place quality and place value.

Figure 10-4: Summary of proposals

PARA REF	PROPOSAL	DESCRIPTION
10.3	**Changes to Urban Hierarchy**	We recommend that the urban hierarchy described in CPD4 should be amended in line with the proposals in Chapter 6 which correspond more closely to the reality on the ground.
10.4, 10.5	**A city-wide transition to carbon-neutral**	a) prioritising investment in 5-6 strategic local centres b) potential in the current or future potential destination high streets c) a moratorium on new purpose built retail and leisure centres
10.7	**A prioritisation process for investment**	Introduce a 5-step process to decide which of the local centre categories should be given priority
10.8	**Growing and strengthening strategic centres**	We recommend a multi-faceted approach to growing and strengthening the strategic centres, aimed at creating a network of attractive and successful centres serving the whole city and the wider metropolitan area. Based on Chapter 5 criteria
10.10	**Focusing on destination high streets**	Provide a specialised offer to complement the strategic centres based on improving the local environment and distinctiveness
10.12	**Balancing local centres needs**	Achieving a balance between an opportunity-led and a needs-led approach
10.13	**A new wave of TCAPs**	developing a forward-looking policy, which shows how a right-sized network of centres will contribute to achieving Glasgow's strategic goals.
10.15	**Introducing a Performance Management Framework (PMF) for TCAPs**	A typical PMF should comprise: • a comprehensive baseline study • a broad range of quantifiable socio-economic goals • targets for project outputs and outcomes • a system for monitoring progress towards the targets and assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of interventions • arrangements for periodic post hoc evaluation of TCAPs to determine their impact on place quality and place value.

WMUD

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