

Glasgow's Italian Centres: Narrative, Identity, Regeneration

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ABSTRACT

This essay is the first interdisciplinary account of literary and non-fictional responses to the Italian Centre – a mixed-use development in Glasgow City Centre - since its inception and completion in the 1980s and 1990s. The essay argues that this early and important example of Glasgow City Council's regeneration of the Merchant City district became a contested terrain for historic and emerging ideas about civic and national identity, cosmopolitanism and social inclusion. By examining a range of little-studied narratives – novels, architectural reviews, city marketing, interviews with the architect, visual narratives and autobiographies - I consider how these narratives promote or critique the 'culture-led regeneration' that the Centre embodied.

Introduction

This essay will explore a range of literary and architectural narratives that represent and reshape the city of Glasgow through its historic and contemporary associations with Italian culture. It will focus, in particular, on the diverse and conflicting representations of the Italian Centre, a mixed-use development of flats, shops, cafes and restaurants that was an early and important example of Glasgow City Council's regeneration of the 'Merchant City' district. By examining a range of little-studied narratives about the Italian Centre – architectural reviews, advertising and sales material by property and other commercial agents, interviews with the architect, as well as novels published in the early twenty-first century – I will consider how these narratives promote, analyse, or critique the social implications of the 'culture-led regeneration' that the Centre apparently embodied. I will also briefly compare these representations with several semi-autobiographical narratives about historic Italian-Glaswegian identities and cultures, and particularly the functional and symbolic role of the café. By thus examining texts written outside the geographic and cultural 'Centre' of Glasgow, I will locate counter-narratives about urban regeneration and the formation of civic and national identities.

Culture-led urban regeneration in Glasgow and the Italian Centre

The ideals, and the outcomes, of urban regeneration policies in Glasgow during the 1980s and 1990s have been well-examined from a number of disciplinary perspectives, notably cultural policy, urban studies, geography, sociology, and architecture.¹ As Franco Bianchini has noted, the new focus of many city decision-makers on ‘cultural industries’ including fashion, design and tourism was a response to the decline of various industrial sectors, such as shipbuilding and manufacturing. Instead, ‘a lively and cosmopolitan cultural life was increasingly seen as a crucial ingredient of city marketing and internationalisation strategies’.² Many of these scholars have criticised the focus on civic boosterism and branding – such as the ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’ campaign in 1983 – and the creation of an urban mythology through a sanitised, image-driven presentation of local urban features, such as the tenement and the river Clyde.³ While the 1988 Garden Festival and, in particular, the 1990 European City of Culture awards have been rightly perceived as pivotal to changing international images of Glasgow, the social realities of poverty remained. Some of the first culture-led regenerative projects, such as the Burrell Collection, produced employment opportunities, but many of them were low-paid, casualised jobs in the tourism and catering sectors.⁴

The use of language in the city marketing campaigns clearly indicates that ideas about what constituted ‘culture’ were at stake, and to whom this culture belongs. Glasgow was,

the first city to use the ECOC as a catalyst to accelerate urban regeneration, which resulted in an ambitious programme of cultural activity with an unprecedented level of funding from local authorities and private sponsors...[there was an] emphasis on using a wide definition of culture, comprising not only the arts but other elements that reflected Glasgow’s identity, such as design, engineering, architecture, shipbuilding, religion and sport.⁵

As Northall has observed, there were different imperatives amongst the ‘artistic elite’ or the producers of culture such as writers and musicians, and ‘culture prescribers’, or planners and policy-makers, who sought social, economic and environmental improvements via cultural initiatives. Moreover, ‘culture’ comprised both established canons and institutions of cultural

value and the ‘cultural industries’. In all cases, though, the definitions of cultural value were largely formulated by middle-class professional decision-makers. These different cultural discourses combined in new and various ways in the 1980s and 1990s.⁶

The re-branding of the inner-city downtown area – where the Italian Centre is located on Ingram, John and Cochrane Streets - as ‘Merchant City’ began in the 1980s, when funds were invested by the Scottish Development Agency in developing inner cities.⁷ The particular re-branding of ‘Merchant City’, a name that alluded to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century banks, townhouses and factories of the area, paid homage to an idea of a city of entrepreneurs. However, it elided the global slave trade which underpinned this activity, despite the remaining urban/textual traces, including street-names such as Jamaica Street.⁸ In the 1980s, many regeneration projects such as the Italian Centre were co-funded by the public sector and private financiers, or latter-day entrepreneurs. Critics including Graeme Evans have argued that the economic benefits of culture-led regeneration were the focus of these 1980s schemes, although in future years arts-based projects which ‘address social exclusion, the ‘well-being’ of city residents and greater participation in community life’ and ‘their symbolic potential, such as heritage and identity’ became more prominent.⁹ Thus, the Italian Centre – which was completed in 1990 - developed in a rapidly shifting urban policy context which promoted a flexible definition of culture, drawing on local, national and international conceptions of high and popular art, aiming to attract various users, and influenced by a range of marketing and promotion discourses. Furthermore, the Italian Centre’s self-consciously international or cosmopolitan image underlined the global nature of city branding, which sought international investment.¹⁰

The role of architecture in Glasgow’s culture-led urban regeneration was contentious and produced many competing narratives in the architectural press, scholarly works, local newspapers, and policy statements from a range of organisations. The editors of *Architects’ Journal*, opining on Glasgow’s ECOC success, declared that its international competitiveness was informed by its architectural regeneration: ‘the buildings that once seemed the useless relics of a former age find new roles in determining a city’s identity and character’.¹¹ The urban literary scholar, Johnny Rodger, and the architectural historian Miles Glendinning, have both noted that, during the ‘new urbanism’ of the 1980s, a postmodernist ethos produced a focus on restoring tenement and other historic buildings, following the slum clearances, and the development of new towns, in earlier decades.¹² The ‘postmodern’ emphasis on mixed use developments, and design features such as ‘facades, decoration and

eclecticism' was particularly evident in the Merchant City area – and in the Italian Centre - where many disused warehouses and offices were converted into multi-purpose spaces containing apartments, shops, cafes and restaurants.¹³ There were also criticisms of this approach as nostalgic and inhibiting new design: for example, one newspaper article on 'The regeneration game' – which was prompted by the Italian Centre's win of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland's 'Supreme Regeneration Design Award' in 1992¹⁴ - indicated that 'the anti-conservationist lobby...argue we have ceased to look to the future, that progress is stifled...too many buildings are listed'.¹⁵ Indeed, Rodger criticised this approach to regeneration as a 'piecemeal' one which created an 'opposition' between 'buildings' and 'people', by focusing on Glasgow's 'urban', rather than its 'civic', identity.¹⁶ In other words, Rodger claimed that design decisions by paternalist city planners and architects were disconnected from citizens' lived uses of buildings.¹⁷

The designers of the Italian Centre, Page and Park Architects, were responsible for several Merchant City regeneration projects during this period, including the re-design of the Glasgow Cathedral precinct on the nearby High Street, and 178-190 Ingram Street, which adjoined the Italian Centre. These developments included a number of features that would prove important for the vision of the Italian Centre: the use of commissioned artworks to create a visual narrative of Italy, pedestrianisation to enable citizens to navigate and re-imagine urban space, and the space of the café to promote a cosmopolitan atmosphere.¹⁸

All of these themes are taken up and explored in the textual representations of the Italian Centre.

Italia / mini-Milan / the Italian Centre¹⁹

The Italian Centre was one of the first major developments in the regeneration of Merchant City, and was developed from semi-derelict listed warehouse buildings. It consists of a large courtyard, modelled on the form of an Italian palazzo, which remains open to the street; shops and café units that face the courtyard and streets, a covered inner walkway (modelled on a Bologna portico) and individual apartments on the upper floors. A number of different regions, themes and historical moments of Italian culture were embedded in the design, including statues of mythical entities such as Mercury to represent classical Rome, Futurist artworks, a café, and designer shops to evoke the modern fashion centre of Milan.²⁰ Hence, the architects took a postmodern, eclectic approach to their interpretation of Italian culture.²¹

In this section, I will examine the marketing of this ‘Italianness’, its relation to theories of cosmopolitanism, and the ways in which these discourses are questioned or undercut by a range of literary voices. In the architectural press, Dan Cruickshank’s was one of several reviews that presented the Italian Centre as an exemplary case of regeneration, and also foregrounded the narrative quality of such accounts: ‘the story behind the development is complex, but it is worth summarising for it is a story worth imitating’.²² The ‘stories’ of regeneration that will be foregrounded in this essay include the account of the architect, David Paton, relayed to me in an interview.²³ The Italian Centre has also appeared as a motif in three recent works of Glaswegian crime fiction: Karen Campbell, *The Twilight Time* (2008), Liam McIlvanney, *Where the Dead Men Go* (2013) and Alex Gray, *The Bird that did not Sing* (2014).²⁴ While the Centre only features briefly in these works, it carries a range of symbolic meanings that reveal contemporary preoccupations about new forms of urban regeneration and cosmopolitanism, and the ruptures between city branding of places and the lived experience of many citizens. The novels feature multiple characters from a wide cross-section of Glasgow, and the ensemble casts are linked by a police officer or journalist, whom I will refer to as a ‘situated protagonist’. Within the novels, the situated protagonists are simultaneously actors, *flaneurs* and philosophers, moving seamlessly between classes and districts, outlining detailed walking routes and place-names, while also being highly skilled at interpreting many different forms of representation – advertising slogans, emails, newspaper stories and architectural details, which are all inserted into the texts. For example, Campbell’s novel juxtaposes slogans from city marketing campaigns about culture-led regeneration, with accounts of the actual uses of city spaces. Her situated protagonist, policewoman Sergeant Anna Cameron, observes of Blythswood Square: ‘used to be a pecking order depending on your position on the hill, but it’s all junkies now...lots of foreign lasses too now – from the Balkans and all that. City of *Culture*, us. City of Shite more like’ - and of a building by Alexander Greek Thomson, ‘part of *smart successful Scotland*’s architectural heritage’, that it ‘was given over to ‘a hairdresser and an [Italian] ice-cream shop’.²⁵ Campbell thus observes that the ‘foreign’ populations are often trapped in a poverty-ridden cycle of low-paid work, drug abuse and prostitution; nevertheless, their physical presence transforms these locations and challenges the rhetoric of regeneration.

The novels’ mosaic of stories, then, reflects the sum of the city’s experiences, which are situated within recent and upcoming regeneration projects, and are particularly concerned to question official stories, and the links between nation and representation. In the passage

below from McIlvanney's novel, the narrator imagines that the elevator of the re-developed Princes Square – another urban renewal project, from 1986 – is a microcosmic image for Glasgow's narrative of regenerative progress.²⁶

You couldn't live in Glasgow through the Nineties and not feel that the place had changed, that the city had shed its skin of soot and been born anew in a blaze of yellow sandstone. The glassy towers round Charing Cross, the Concert Hall on Buchanan Street, the Versace store in the Italian Centre; they hoisted us clear of the past. Riding upward on the escalator in Princes Square you could feel that you had left it all behind, the gangs and the grime, the ice-cream wars, the maudlin squalor.²⁷

This brief passage summarises some key themes and symbols of the official stories that will be examined in this essay: the cleansing and 're-birth' of buildings, tall architectural forms that remove citizens from the streets to an ideal city, the alignment of the Italian Centre with high culture ('the Concert Hall'), and a reference to the long-standing Italian-Glaswegian community ('ice-cream wars') which is juxtaposed with 'gangs and grime'.²⁸ Thus, the Italian motif is aligned both with urban regeneration, and with urban decay and gangland crime. Indeed, the Italian-Glaswegian community's history was marked by poverty, hard labour and a struggle for acceptance, rather than the images of style and high culture that the Centre embodied.²⁹ The first waves of emigration from Italy to Scotland took place from the 1860s, and initially many immigrants worked as street vendors selling plaster statuettes; by the early twentieth century, many had become cafe owners. The design of the Italian Centre drew on the design features of the Glasgow Italian café, which had become a familiar part of the urban landscape. However, although the Italian Centre celebrates many urban centres, a prominent cultural link has always existed between Glasgow and the Tuscan town of Barga.³⁰ References to the long-standing Italian community recur in the three novels and in other texts as well, such as the autobiographies by Barghese-Glaswegian authors. Taken together, works from these different genres provide a multi-faceted critique of both urban regeneration projects and the ideas about Italian identities that are contained within them.

One facet of the Italian Centre's regeneration project, as indicated by McIlvanney's description, was 'the restoration of the external fabric which has become precious to Glasgow's awakened confidence'.³¹ David Paton similarly emphasised the physical and symbolic importance of cleaning or 'lightening' the buildings, and the similarly lightening effect on bystanders: 'so, for some years, that cleaning went on... the net effect was one of

lifting the mood of the city'.³² In his 2006 autobiography, *River of Memory; Memoirs of a Scots-Italian*, Italian-born Joe Pieri replicated this view of how Glasgow has been transformed from the 'foggy city of dark tenements and darker factories' of his 1920s childhood to the 'modern and pleasant city we know today'.³³ However, he links Paton's 'lightening effect' to the Italian landscape of 'blue skies and clean air'.³⁴ This narrative dichotomy, like McIlvanney's image of transcendence, links the physical lightening of the Italian Centre, and its lightening effect on bystanders, to the 'Europeanisation' of the city.³⁵

Another key discourse in the account of the Italian Centre's regenerative potential, which was highlighted by the architects and the reviewers, was its enabling of the idea of 'living in the city' through its mixed-use design of flats, shops and cafes. These ideas about the 'ideal' city were modelled on a more widely-held interest in re-making and re-branding Glasgow as a 'cosmopolitan' city, despite its diverse history as a multi-ethnic city, as its existing Italian population indicates.³⁶ Johnny Rodger notes that one of the aims in fashioning Glasgow as a 'city of festivals' was to introduce associations of 'culture, cosmopolitanism, entertainment, art, style and design'.³⁷ The architect, David Paton, said that:

it was a real desire to encapsulate what it meant to move into the city and be cosmopolitan, if that was suddenly now possible in Glasgow... The courtyard's physical and symbolic links to other urban spaces enabled the Italian Centre to become a microcosm of the re-branded downtown area... The Merchant City was beginning to become, in people's minds and imaginations, this idea of living in the city.³⁸

Two sales and marketing features on the upper-floor flats, 'Scotland's Homes', and 'Italian Style in Glasgow City Centre,' evoked the images of being 'hoisted clear' of the past and of the imaginative 'lightening effect' in the bystander that Paton described: 'high above the pedestrianised walk-way, the Italian Centre shows another face – the calmer world of gracious living...breathtaking views' and 'a flat in the prestigious Italian Centre, with its reminders of pavement life and Roman chic all around, is surely the model for city living. Even on a grey, wet day'.³⁹ The implication is that the Centre's 'physical and symbolic links' to Italy situated the residents as privileged urban spectators who observed, but were ultimately separated from, the street life, as McIlvanney's narrator imagined the Princes Square elevator hoisting citizens from the past.

Indeed, David Paton explained how the Centre's Italian signifiers joined up with developing ideas of Glaswegian 'style' and 'quality', and their commercial viability, rather than with any distinctive Italian-Glaswegian history:

He [Douglas Loan, the developer and co-financier] had seen something in London called the Swiss Centre...The City Chambers interior is only one example of a significant Italian influence on many aspects of Glasgow's development. The development is seen to be one of quality of design at all levels and who better to complement this with their produce than the Italians who are renowned for their quality of design. So that was the idea, to give it some distinctive selling-angle, but one that meant something...It connected with the city's history, but also connected with the idea of style....⁴⁰

The concept of 'style' had been used in city marketing campaigns since the inception of the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign in 1983; it was frequently evoked to encapsulate all aspects of the Italian Centre's cultural offerings. Indeed, in 'Italian style in Glasgow's City Centre', the concepts of 'Italian' and 'style' were conflated: 'from the Coliseum in Rome to the romantic waterways of Venice, the allure of Italy can be summed up in a single word – style'; and, echoing Sue Tranter's comment about visual reminders of Italy on a grey, wet Glasgow day, another advertising brochure claimed that 'the Centre is all about style and flair...no wonder that visiting the Italian Centre has been described as a feeling of entering Italy itself'.⁴¹ In the architectural press, similar discourses were invoked when Dan Cruickshank did not elaborate on the specificity of Glaswegian-Italian connections, conflated a homogenised notion of Italianness with style or the 'best' design, and noted the marketability of this formulation: 'Glasgow has a long and curious association with Italy...[the Centre contains] the best traditional Italian urban life and design. The idea has worked from a commercial point of view'.⁴²

Thus for many viewers and advertisers the Centre seemed to represent what has been called the 'mobilisation of the spectacle', whereby the 'ideal' or gentrified city embodies culture-led regeneration through architectural or sculptural display and its promotion.⁴³ As Booth and Boyle have noted, this can be at the expense of social regeneration. Only some of the Italian Centre's cultural offerings were available to all citizens – the quick cappuccino, or the public sculptures, which I will discuss shortly. In this respect, the visual appeal of particular signifiers of 'Italianness' constitute a form of spectacular urbanism: images of the Italian

Centre could be reproduced and circulated in city marketing brochures and did not, in fact, link to the city's Italian history. As McIlvanney stated, these images hoisted Glasgow clear of its Italian-influenced past. The next section will illustrate how Campbell's novel critically examines the idea that cosmopolitanism can potentially develop a wide range of national heritages – such as Italian-Glaswegian identities – and that some of the effects of globalisation, such as consumerism and new architectural styles, can achieve similar aims.

Pedestrian streets and private urban realms

Several reviews of the Italian Centre emphasised the creation of the internal courtyard, which was overlooked by the flats and commercial units, but remained open to the streets.⁴⁴ Paton described the functional plan for the courtyard - 'cutting out the space in the middle...allowed flats to be formed all around at the upper level, and shops and bars and cafes at ground level' – which then enabled 'this artistic idea that we could make a place that in itself was embryonic of a little city'.⁴⁵ The creation of this space, which contained sculptures and a fountain, was also integral to the visual pleasures of the aforementioned flat-dwellers. Johnny Rodger also observed that this scheme helped to re-envision the uses of courtyards: 'which in Glasgow were formerly used only for dumping household rubbish. In this way a private urban realm was created as an alternative to a suburban garden'.⁴⁶

However, Paton outlined how the (semi)-open courtyard was designed to function as both a public and private urban realm, to balance the needs of residents and the wider public:

So you'll see there are gates and a lot of thought and discussion went into the gates, and how they'd be closed, who would close them. The idea was that after 8pm, the courtyard became a quiet place for the residents; they had sole access to the courtyard after that time. Ideally if you're going north-south, you can nip through the Italian Centre, maybe buy something, or stop for a coffee as you go. That was seen as being really important, to invite people in during the day...the other thing about the outside- and it was quite a significant change – was to close off John Street....

This account also alludes to the pedestrianisation of John Street; this development also enabled the creation of shop and café units, by extending the outdoor space. The Centre was

quickly nicknamed ‘mini-Milan’ for its high-end designer stores. Paton described Douglas Loan’s determination to persuade ‘the shops – Armani and Versace... amazingly both came and that really helped – if you want to get two names in that would help you fill the rest of the units, those were them’.⁴⁷ The inception and development of the Centre, then, was informed by notions of cultural value whose expression of the ideal city extended to an elite, market-driven economy via ‘high-value’ brands such as Armani and Versace. Inevitably, then, many citizens were excluded from the pleasures of shopping at the Italian Centre and the new design features meant that it could be difficult to ‘nip through’ the Centre.

Campbell’s *The Twilight Time* provides a critique of the pedestrianised and shopping areas in the Italian Centre, through its use of the ‘police procedural’ genre which depicts multiple day-to-day operations, including a range of characters using the Centre. The main protagonist, Sergeant Anna Cameron, is a third-person narrator, and although the use of free indirect discourse encourages identification with her individual perspective, the choice of narrative style also enables the entry of other voices, discourses and marketing slogans. In this novel, the ‘regenerated’ Merchant City does not engage ordinary citizens who can neither find employment in traditional industries, nor afford the new flat conversions, or the boutique shopping:

Shiny hotels and office blocks exclaimed skywards over empty factories and decaying docks. Continental bistros sat next to fern-clad, piss-stink closes; and nearly every boutique had its own Big Issue seller outside. Enough boutiques to make Glasgow the shopping capital of Scotland too.⁴⁸

In this landscape where poverty and conspicuous consumption exist literally side-by-side, the lure of the ‘boutique’ provides the impetus for a visit to the Italian Centre by Anna and her police colleagues:

‘All sisters together’. Derek’s voice came, muffled, through the wall. ‘C’mon then gorgeous. Let’s hit the shops and you can try out your charm on the salesgirls. I’m wanting a polis discount at Slessingers, and you’re the boy to get it.’

‘Piss off’. That must be Alex. ‘That’s an old man’s shop. We’ll hit the Italian Centre’.

‘That’s a bloody pedestrian district. Nae chance of getting a turn there’.

‘So we’ll tell her we went on shoplifting patrol instead.Right, move it. We’re going to Slessingers – via the multi-storey...’⁴⁹

In this exchange, further contrasts are created between the Italian Centre and the ‘old man’s shop’, whose typical lower-middle class customer can be inferred from the ‘polis discount’; and between the ‘multi-storey’ and the ‘bloody pedestrian district’. This novel presents a more negative view of pedestrianisation, as obstructive to citizens who require access to other city routes for (in this case, police) work, and for more affordable shops. The Centre, then, is financially and physically inaccessible to many citizens.

The Italian Centre re-appears in *The Twilight Time*, unnamed but clearly identifiable, when Anna arrives early for a meeting with a corrupt city councillor at the nearby City Chambers. David Paton recalls that the proximity of the original warehouses to the flagship City Chambers building, in George Square, provided the initial impetus to redevelop the site:

I think somebody suggested that something needed [to be] done with it... and in common with the rest of Merchant City, no one was doing anything with these buildings...they were all pretty low-grade, not of interest...but at that point, Glasgow was just beginning to change. In 1988, Glasgow held the Garden Festival and people began to look at Glasgow in a different way.⁵⁰

Once more, though, this narrative of progress through architectural restoration is undermined by its literary representation, in which the hint of political corruption extends to the urban surroundings:

The bar’s faux-French frontage opened off a faux-Italianate courtyard that was really just a paved street. A scattering of tables sat hopeful outside, surrounding a winged statue of a naked winged god. In true Glaswegian style, someone had stuck a traffic cone on his head. This could have been forgiven as ironic urban *eclat*, if they hadn’t also squidged the remains of a pizza round his naked, bronzed buttocks.⁵¹

Here, the ‘paved street’ is foregrounded once more, this time as another example of the ‘faux’ nature of regeneration projects, which do not necessarily aid social regeneration. Campbell’s narrator hones in on the ground-level statue of Mercury – the ‘naked winged god’ – as one of these ‘faux’ signifiers of cosmopolitanism. In many narratives, these artworks were similarly identified with the stylish urban spectacle for passers-by and television viewers: ‘the use of

sculpture...reminds those passing of the shared and rich decorative traditions of Glasgow and Italy...and formed the backdrop for fashion shoots and television dramas'.⁵²

However, these works also drew widespread praise from the arts and architectural press, who were debating the role of public art in urban regeneration projects. Cruickshank's review in *Architects' Journal* foregrounded 'this remarkable marriage of art and architecture', while the Whitfield Partnership, Dundee commented that 'the Italian Centre remains an outstanding example of how enlightened developers, sensitive architects and creative artists can combine to create a piece of urban regeneration that would be a source of pride to any city'.⁵³ In their work on public art in Glasgow, Sharp, Pollock and Paddison have discussed how some sculptures, such as the Donald Dewar statue on Buchanan Street, have been vandalised and that such reactions indicate how their 'meaning, for the self and more specifically the self as citizen, can be read as more or less inclusive' depending on how the monuments are situated and interpreted, and the degree of consultation that has taken place about their installation.⁵⁴ Lindsay Callander, writing in *Art Review*, echoed Cruickshank's view that 'the Italian Centre in Glasgow...is much lauded as a perfect example of art and architecture in perfect accord' and this praise was focussed on the fact that the developers 'involved artists and craftsmen from the outset, and devoted an amazing 8% of the budget to artworks'. Callander's concern was about the 'quality' of public art which should 'create a more stimulating environment, strengthen the image of a company or the identity of a community'. However, Callander notes that local communities are often not consulted about the works, and there is no documentation to indicate that such consultation took place for the Italian Centre.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, these works are available for public viewing, at street and high levels, and are also integrated into the individual units, including the flats. This means that the artworks are also available for a range of creative re-interpretations by the public. To return to Campbell's novel, 'in true Glaswegian style, someone had stuck a traffic cone on his [Mercury's] head. This could have been forgiven as ironic urban *eclat*, if they hadn't also squidged the remains of a pizza round his naked, bronzed buttocks'.⁵⁶ This account echoes earlier newspaper articles, including one that depicted Alexander Stoddart working on his statue, while the journalist speculated on 'the object in Mercurious's right hand. Although it resembles a half-eaten cornetto, and some might argue that appropriate for a figure intended to conjure up ice-cream crazy Italy, it is in fact a bag of money'; and a photograph accompanied by the headline 'Debra Hart of Page and Park Architects stands beside an illuminated Christmas tree designed in the shape of a cone in Glasgow's Italian Centre courtyard'.⁵⁷ In these examples,

anonymous citizens worked alongside the sculptor, architect, journalist and novelist to re-interpret the site; and, as I indicated earlier, these intrusions of pizza and ice-cream mark the presence of the Italian-Glaswegian community. In the next section, the contested representations of the café will be examined.

From the margins to the Centre: the Italian-Glaswegian café

The café was integral to the Italian Centre's vision of continental living, and 'pavement life'. The sales advertising for the apartments emphasised their proximity to the cafes, which opened to the semi-public courtyard and the streets, and the possibilities for leisurely urban spectatorship: 'the outer piazza permits visitors to sit at open-air tables sipping cappuccinos and watching the world go by' and 'perhaps the only pitfall to life here would be the temptations awaiting down below, like idling over a morning cup of alfresco coffee on the pavement'.⁵⁸ In his account of the first café at the Italian Centre, David Paton observed that 'there was an indigenous Italian community who'd been here for many years now – they were here, and already in fashion, the cafes and shops...we had this nostalgic and slightly romantic idea of the shop-owner coming out, opening the gates in the morning, and raising the glass canopy'.⁵⁹ As Paton's comments illustrate, then, the architects of the Italian Centre were also developing their vision from the Italian-Glaswegian inhabitants of their city: from their impact on its built environment ('cafes and shops') and the real or imagined traditions that were attached to these places ('romantic' and 'nostalgic' rituals surrounding gates and canopies). Paton indicates that the idea of the canopy was transformed to evoke, once more, the visual pleasures of Italy: this time, by bringing the outdoors inside, and locating the customer as both a spectator and participant in a faux-rural scene – 'in the café, there was this idea that you were sitting in a forest and that all the walls and columns would be clad in veneer timber and leaves would be cut into this, in the canopy above you and as the leaves fell, they turned in colour and became copper...'.⁶⁰ However, Joe Pieri and Bruno Sereni provide accounts of Italian Glasgow café life in their autobiographical accounts that attach these traditions and design features to very different forms of social experience and urban spectatorship. These accounts are echoed in the novels, which were written at a similar period, and in which the Italian cafes problematize the discourses of regeneration and cosmopolitanism that were represented by the Italian Centre.

Pieri's works demonstrate a sophisticated awareness of the constructed nature of Italian-Glaswegian identity, and the ways in which language constructs places and identities. In *Tales of the Savoy*, he foregrounds these issues by using a semi-autobiographical first-person narrator - a café-owner named Mario – while in *River of Memory* he foregrounds the linguistic construction of memory, and his dual national identity, through the titular image of the river Clyde. Pieri also contrasts the Italian household business with the Glaswegian separation of home ('tenement') and work ('factory'), and the development of the family café and shop is an attempt to unite the two and to create an Italian-Glaswegian place: '...for that was the dream of every Italian immigrant: to have a business of your own, and to own a home of your own'.⁶¹ The Pieris' first café was near the city centre, at Crown Street. This relatively central location was unusual, according to Sereni: 'the first shops owned by the Barghigiani of Glasgow were all located in the poorest quarters of the city. They were not really shops so much as tiny rooms and cellars'.⁶² Sereni's book of articles, *They Took the Low Road* (1974), provides a general history of the triumphant progress of the café-owners to the city centre:

'the conditions of the Glasgow Barghigiani gradually improved as they moved from the outskirts of the city to the centre...by the turn of the century families from Barga were running some of the most important restaurants in town' and 'in under 50 years, with great courage and initiative, they graduated from rudimentary shops in the slum quarters to more luxurious establishments in Sauchiehall Street and the city centre, with lots of mirrors on the walls, wooden partitions and leather-covered seats'.⁶³

Pieri's works provide a more nuanced account of the Italian-Glaswegian café-owners' social and spatial positions. Despite its central location, the Crown Street café remained a haven for marginalised citizens: Pieri recalls that during the General Strike, crowds of striking workers *en route* to protest meetings in George Square would seek refuge from police brutality in their café.⁶⁴ The Savoy Café was on the 'edge of the city centre' on the corner of Renfrew and Hope Streets, but Pieri, unlike Sereni, emphasizes the marginal position of this area, situated between the artistic centres, and the central bus and train stations that were the haunts of street prostitutes and gang members. The cafe was the 'focal point for all this low-life...it was situated on the edge of cinema and theatreland, and surrounded by a sea of public houses'.⁶⁵ Pieri thus describes the café as a fluid and borderline space, which was 'transformed' at different times of day, depending on whether theatre-goers or criminals were frequenting it.

The hybrid identity and marginal position of the cafes and their owners continue to symbolize various forms of exclusion. The Savoy café was situated adjacent to the location of McIlvanney's narrator, when he muses on the regenerated city centre: 'the Concert Hall on Buchanan Street, the Versace store in the Italian Centre...you could feel that you had left it all behind, the gangs and the grime, the ice-cream wars, the maudlin squalor'.⁶⁶ While McIlvanney implicitly invokes the social realities of the Glasgow Italian café in this passage, Campbell's novel moves from the aborted shopping trip at the Italian Centre to the setting of Capaldi's café to explore themes of ethnicity and gender, in relation to social exclusion. In *The Twilight Time*, the infestation of less prestigious cultural activities into central and monumental sites is strongly linked to the Italian-Glaswegian community, both through the 'squidging' of pizza onto the Italian Centre's 'naked winged god', the opening of an ice-cream café in an Alexander Greek Thomson building, and attacks on female sex workers.

Sergeant Anna Cameron is investigating the slashing of prostitutes' faces and this novel's themes, and imagery, are inflected with a distinctly female perspective that further modifies its concerns with class, ethnicity and urban regeneration. As Anna traverses the city, Glasgow is frequently personified as marginal female characters in narratives about its development. The unregenerated city is a working-class woman who 'sprawled and lolled, taking up more than its fair share of the west of Scotland, like a fat woman on the bus', the typical inhabitant of 'post-war schemes, built over stately homes and green fields'.⁶⁷ But it is also a decaying middle-class Victorian lady: 'from a distance, all the terraces had the same grandeur. Up close, they were faded and gappy – like a genteel widow's teeth'.⁶⁸ The intersecting disadvantages of class, gender, ethnicity and decay are embodied in the person of Mrs Capaldi, whose café on London Road is situated, like Pieri's, at the boundary of the city centre. This café also retains the traditional interiors that Pieri's and Sereni's autobiographies describe: 'mirrored splendour...A museum piece of wooden booths and marble counters, the café served the best ice cream in the city'.⁶⁹ Mrs Capaldi's initially humorous antics – shouting at customers who refuse to pay - lead to fights and threats of assault charges, echoing Pieri's accounts of rough café life and ambivalent relations with the police. Furthermore, the constant references to their broken English links the Capaldis both to the other ethnic minority groups in the novel, such as an elderly Polish murder victim and Mrs Jarmal, and to the sex workers: Anna thinks, when talking to some Scottish members of the latter group, 'did these women speak a different language to her? Had she missed something

subtle in translation?’⁷⁰ Another Italian character, Mrs Iannucci, also becomes linked to the sex workers when her daughter goes missing and is suspected of working as a prostitute.

These groups, then, are linked, and marginalised by, their varying degrees of ethnic, classed, linguistic and gendered alienation from the dominant cultural discourses of Glaswegian identity, and the Italian-Glaswegian café similarly remains at the margins of the regenerated city centre. However, many of its decorative features (such as wooden interiors) and foodstuffs (ice-cream) were adapted for the purposes of visual display and consumption. The autobiographies and novels attempt to recover the subjectivity of the café owners, for whom this space represents the site of a precarious cosmopolitan identity which is alternately threatened and co-opted.

The 2014 Commonwealth Games and the regeneration game

Liam McIlvanney’s *Where The Dead Men Go* and Alex Gray’s *The Bird That Did Not Sing* situate their stories and characters within the wider narrative arc of the development of the 2014 Commonwealth Games. Glasgow’s successful bid to host the Games led to ambitious aims for the regeneration of the city’s East End through the construction of new housing, sporting and cultural facilities; a sizeable cultural programme also accompanied the Games. The novels make explicit links between these regenerative aims, trans-national crime and social injustice, and thus explore what Marie-Odile Pittin-Hedon has described as the evolution of ‘post-national identity’ and the impacts of globalisation and devolution on the formal and thematic preoccupations of the novel.⁷¹ All of the novels discussed in this essay also belong to the broader category of Glasgow crime fiction, and, like many of these works, draw on Gothic or ‘Tartan Noir’ themes to personify a divided city, and to depict a range of official crimes and equally murky moral transgressions.⁷² Crime writers, as Peter Clandfield notes, often engage directly with recent urban developments such as the Games project, and thus ‘make effective use of architecture in the construction of their variations on the structural conventions of the crime genre’ and ‘connect individual urban crimes to less directly violent kinds of spatial and environmental injustice’.⁷³

McIlvanney’s novel forms the second part of his ‘Conway Trilogy’ and features the *Glasgow Tribune* crime reporter, Gerry Conway. He is investigating the murder of a fellow journalist and becomes embroiled in a wider investigation of gangland rivalries. Set in late 2011,

shortly after the Scottish National Party's election success, the novel reflects on the significance of this historical moment for Glaswegian identity as Conway, formerly a political journalist, juxtaposes his reflections on the 'map of a foreign country... SNP yellow', the upcoming Independence referendum, and early preparations for the Games.⁷⁴ The novel ends on a relatively optimistic note, with Conway's successful prevention of the awarding of Games building contracts to gang chiefs. Gray's work, which features her serial detective, Detective Superintendent Lorimer, was marketed specifically as a 'Commonwealth Games' novel.⁷⁵ It begins exactly one year before the opening ceremony, in August 2013, with an explosion in Stirlingshire that is linked to a terrorist threat to the Games, and to an international sex-trafficking operation, which both culminate at the Opening Ceremony. Her title is an allusion to the Glasgow coat of arms – 'this is the bird that never flew' – and the symbol is used for various characters to indicate the complexities of social and cultural integration, alternately symbolising linguistic, physical and cultural freedom and limitations.

As they walk through an intricately mapped Glasgow, McIlvanney's and Gray's situated protagonists interpret the marketing discourses shaping the Games and juxtapose it with their own urban experiences. Conway is a first-person narrator, and a former public relations consultant, and thus the novel is saturated with his knowing voice and shrewd interpretations. After musing on the new Scottish political map, he flags a cab and sees the Games logo on the seat: 'the green G, in its coloured rings' and considers that he returned to investigative journalism because 'I got sick of PR'.⁷⁶ Gray's novel is written in the third person, and juxtaposes sections of free indirect discourse from a range of characters besides Lorimer, enabling access to the thoughts of the terrorists, the trafficked women and the Games enthusiasts. Both novels foreground the variety of 'stories' about the city, told in taxicabs by illegal immigrants and by award-winning reporters writing books about Glasgow gangs.

In Gray's novel, one of the less self-aware narrators is Gayle, who lives and works in the Merchant City, at the Games headquarters in Albion Street. She is dating one of the terrorist gang, who, unbeknown to her, is using her to acquire information. She enthusiastically promotes the Games' visual rhetoric, which is likened by another, more critical narrative voice to an attempt to bombard the senses and obliterate alternative interpretations: 'posters and banners with the ubiquitous grinning mascot... everyone seemed to have fallen under its spell. There were banners all over the Merchant City; and Clyde, that flaming mascot, its stupid thistle face... a sop for the masses... but Gayle loved it'.⁷⁷ Other narrators reproduce the speeches of local politicians on the supposed long-term benefits of the new Games sites. In

Gray's novel, it is reported that 'the athletes' village would provide over six hundred homes for the city's East End, where the regeneration programme had been enthusiastically waved in front of its citizens', rather like the Games mascot;⁷⁸ while in McIlvanney's work, a Radio Scotland news programme reports that the corrupt Council leader sold East End lots for 'one pound' to developers, and the 'city's arm's length construction company' then bought the land back at 'inflated sums' to build the athletics complex.⁷⁹ Both novels, then, engage directly with ongoing criticisms of the East End regeneration programme: Glasgow City Council similarly sold land at high prices to private companies on the basis of expected profits⁸⁰ and many East End 'citizens' received compulsory purchase orders for their homes. One case that received wide publicity was that of an Italian-Glaswegian family, the Jaconellis, whose tenement flat was demolished to make way for the athletes' village and its elite international visitors.⁸¹

Within this context, various fictional characters are deployed to connect past and present discourses, and spaces, of regeneration and national identity. In Gray's novel, the Italian Centre and the Games are connected via Gayle, whose urban walking-route regularly includes the Centre: 'Gayle had seen an expensive black dress in a shop window as she had strolled along past the Italian Centre, something that would look good at the opening ceremony'.⁸² As in Campbell's novel, the main signifier of the Centre is the 'expensive' visual pleasure of window-shopping. This sensual luxury is reinforced by the preceding passage, which features Gayle's remembrance of a love-making session that incorporates another luxurious-sounding product, 'Elixir Sensual'; and, in the following passage, by a memory of her terrorist partner's head-turning appearance in a kilt at a Burns Supper.⁸³ It seems, then, a range of national styles can be appropriated (at a price) by Glasgow's citizens, and worn at the multi-nation Games.⁸⁴ However, the identification of cosmopolitan nationhood with style and consumption is complicated when Gayle next looks longingly at a product of the Italian Centre. At the Games headquarters, she is interviewed by a journalist who is 'half-Asian, possibly', and who asks her about the increase in human trafficking during the Games: 'and she was wearing that bright yellow dress Gayle had seen in the Italian Centre, the one Cameron had laughed at when he'd seen the price tag'.⁸⁵ This characterisation of a Glaswegian professional woman of indeterminate racial origin - who can afford designer clothes and has links with the 'Centre for Social Justice' - hints at the successful integration of different national heritages in her own life history, and a concern for social regeneration that is not separated from cultural consumption.

However, this passage is followed by a description of the rape of a trafficked girl, and Gray's novel is generally cynical about the effectiveness of arts and culture in social regeneration. After noting the official message that 'part of the remit of the Commonwealth Games is to provide cultural experiences for all the visitors to Scotland',⁸⁶ the novel reveals that Lorimer's old girlfriend has murdered her husband due to his involvement with an African theatre troupe that aided the trafficking of Nigerian girls; and that one of these girls, Asa, is marked by a piece of Pictish tattoo art, which signals her identity as a Glaswegian-Nigerian slave. This passage about Asa is juxtaposed with a section that signals a divided urban consciousness which can be exacerbated by the slogans of regeneration:

Most of the citizens of Glasgow did not regard their city as a hotbed of human trafficking, despite it being the fifth most popular place in the UK for such criminal activity. It was their Dear Green Place, the former City of Culture, Glasgow's Miles Better being a logo that had filled its folks with pride.⁸⁷

This roll-call of logos indicates how city marketing discourses are perceived to have shaped imaginings of Glasgow, as well as the actual physical transformations that were imposed on the city. The Italian Centre similarly remains an important 'logo' or motif, as well as an important location, for narratives that seek to question the aims of urban regeneration. The eclectic and postmodern approach of the architects to their restoration project led to a collage of Italianate styles and themes, and thus the Italian Centre prompts questions about the shifting relationships between a civic/national 'centre' and its outskirts, between cultural and commercial imperatives, about place and cultural formation, and about how national and Glaswegian identities are constructed in a European, devolved and globalised nation. It is inevitable, then, that the Italian Centre is a contested terrain, and continues to be incorporated into new narratives about the purposes and meanings of culture-led urban regeneration in the twenty-first century.

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² Bianchini, op cit, 2.

³ See Peter Booth and Robin Boyle, 'See Glasgow, see culture', in Franco Bianchi and Michael Parkinson (eds.), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration* (Manchester University Press, 1993), 25.

⁴ The 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign attempted to re-brand the city as a tourist and business destination. It was one of the first city marketing slogans and featured a yellow cartoon character, 'Mr Happy' – see <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story/?id=TGSFC05> Also in 1983, the Burrell Collection was opened at Pollok House and featured the art collection that had been acquired by William Burrell, one of Glasgow's Victorian shipping merchants, on his colonial travels.

⁵ Beatriz Garcia, 'Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration in Western European Cities', *Local Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 4, (2004), 319.

⁶ Phil Northall, 'Culture-Led Regeneration and Local Art Communities', *Local Work, CLES* (Centre for Local Economic Strategies, 2008)

⁷ See 'Merchant City: Glasgow City Centre Strategy' -

<https://www.glasgowcitycentrestrategy.com/project/merchant-city> and Jack Brand, 'Building the Merchant City: Some Lessons in Urban Regeneration' in Alice Brown and Richard Parry (eds.), *The Scottish Government Yearbook 1990*, Unit for the Study of Government in Scotland, University of Edinburgh (1990).

⁸ See, for example, Stephen Mullen, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery*, The Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland (2009).

⁹ Graeme Evans, 'Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, Nos 5/6, (2005), 966.

¹⁰ Bianchini and Parkinson's volume includes case studies of other European cities that have embarked on culture-led regeneration projects, including Bilbao, Rotterdam and Bologna.

¹¹ The Editors, 'The culture of cities', *AJ: Architects' Journal*, 27 November 1991, 13.

¹² Johnny Rodger, *Contemporary Glasgow: The Architecture of the 1990s* (Rutland Press, 1999), 3; Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie (eds.), *A History of Scottish Architecture: from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 488.

¹³ Other examples of mixed-use conversions in the Merchant City district include the Sheriff Court and General Post Office buildings.

¹⁴ The Italian Centre won various awards, also including a Saltire Society Award and a Civic Trust Award in 1991, and a Diploma of Merit at the 1991 Europa Nostra Awards.

¹⁵ See Kathleen Rantell, 'The Regeneration Game', *The Arts, Glasgow Herald* (no day/month, 1992), p.12.

¹⁶ Rodger, op cit, 12.

¹⁷ Rantell's article pointed out that nine of the shortlisted buildings for the 1992 Regeneration Design Award were located in Glasgow, and claimed that regeneration promoted civic cohesion: 'when a dilapidated building is restored many see it and appreciate it for the first time. It becomes a source of local pride' (Rantell, op cit). The award of the UK City of Architecture and Design 1999 to Glasgow, in late 1994, prompted a statement by the Director of Planning at Glasgow City Council about the 'long tradition of design excellence' (Mike Hayes, 'Glasgow: UK City of Architecture and Design', *Focus-Glasgow*, p. 66 (Page/Park Archive)).

¹⁸ For example, Mary Langshaw, in 'Cathedral precinct', *AJ: Architects' Journal*, 27 November 1991, pp. 38-39, highlights the importance of pedestrianising the area: 'Page and Park's design to convert the awkward area to the west of Glasgow Cathedral into a pleasant space has finally been realised'.

¹⁹ David Paton, interview held at Page/Park Architects on 18 January 2017. Paton outlined that the sculptor Alexander Stoddart was both inventing and re-interpreting national myth and tradition in his evocation of 'Italianess': he 'invented Italia...we're all aware of Britannia, or Germanica...He invented a figure of Italia that would stand at the end of Glassford Street, and address the street down towards Argyle Street. So if you look at her, you'll see that she's representing all the bounty of Italy – there's a cornucopia filled with all the fruit and the good things of Italy'. For the Milan association, see <http://www.attractions.glasgowvant.com/the-italian-centre/> - 'discover Glasgow's mini-Milan'.

²⁰ Alexander Stoddart was an advocate of neo-classicism in civic sculpture and he created three versions of Mercury – two at high level, and one at ground level on John Street - which invited citizens to ponder their

various meanings: *Mercury*, *Mercurial* and *Mercurious*. Jack Sloan's Futurist metal 'Guardians', depicting the story of Phaeton, were placed on the courtyard's north elevation, below the flats' window shutters.

²¹ Brian Edwards' review of the Italian Centre, *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 2 April 1993, p. 17 discusses the mixing of references and the 'gallery of architectural metaphors'.

²² Dan Cruickshank, 'Glasgow Renaissance', *AJ: Architects' Journal*, 27 November 1991, 28.

²³ In interpreting this interview, I draw on the work of oral historians about the value of personal histories which often go unrecorded. Many oral historians have focussed on the history of work, but it has often been a social history 'from below'; in this case, I sought to access both the 'vision' and practical details of the architect's work. At the same time, oral history methodology has emphasised the unreliable and selective nature of memory, and the inter-subjective quality of the interview situation, while the 'cultural turn' has prompted a more literary-critical scrutiny of life histories as narratives. I will, then, read Paton's account as another narrative that draws on a number of literary and cultural discourses. See Angela Bartie and Arthur McIvor, 'Oral History', *Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland*, Culture and Sport Glasgow (Glasgow Museum, 2015).

²⁴ Each novel forms part of a series that features the situated protagonist. All three authors are native citizens of west Scotland or Glasgow, and McIlvanney and Campbell are products of the Scottish literary tradition: McIlvanney is the son of the celebrated Scottish writer, William McIlvanney, while Campbell took the MLitt in Creative Writing at Glasgow University. Campbell's and Liam McIlvanney's books were also marketed as semi-autobiographical (Campbell had been a police officer).

²⁵ Karen Campbell, *The Twilight Time* (Hodder and Stoughton, Kindle Edition, 2010), 101; *A Smart Successful Scotland: Strategic Direction to the Enterprise Networks and an Enterprise Strategy for Scotland* was first published by Scottish Government in 2001.

²⁶ Princes Square is an indoor shopping centre in Buchanan Street, and was re-developed by the Hugh Martin Partnership from the existing centre built in the 1840s by John Baird. The re-developed centre contained new upper floors (hence the significance of the 'elevator'). Like the Italian Centre, the development won many awards, including a Civic Trust Award in 1989 and the Royal Institute of British Architects Scottish Regional Award for Architecture in 1989.

²⁷ Liam McIlvanney, *Where the Dead Men Go* (Faber and Faber, 2013), 146. See Angus Frazer, 'Little Italy', *Top Gear*, December 1994, pp. 46-50, which also juxtaposes the Italian Centre with Glasgow's Italian history.

²⁸ The 'ice-cream wars' refer to gang rivalries in Glasgow's East End in the 1980s, when drugs and other goods were sold from ice-cream vans. Some of the key players – such as the Marchettis – were of Italian origin. Bill Forsyth's film *Comfort and Joy* (1984) depicts similar rivalries between two Italian ice-cream firms.

²⁹ See Terri Colpi, *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain* (Mainstream, 1991). Colpi notes that Scots-Italians are generally defined as a community of Italian descent living in Scotland, or of mixed Scottish and Italian descent. Many of the Southern European tropes featured in the Italian Centre – sunnier climates, classical antiquity – as well as the Catholic faith, and suspicions of allegiances to Mussolini's Fascist state, formed the basis of discriminatory treatment of immigrants (see Wendy Ugolini, *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other': Italian Scottish Experience in World War II* (Manchester University Press, 2011)).

³⁰ The BBC documentary *Pesce e Patate* (1993) on the annual Scottish fish and chip festival held in Barga explores wider relationships between Glasgow and Barga, including café culture.

³¹ 'Award Winning Buildings: Restoration' C40 (Page/Park archive)

³² D. Paton, op cit.

³³ Joe Pieri, *River of Memory: Memoirs of a Scots-Italian* (Mercat Press 2006), 194.

³⁴ Joe Pieri, *The Scots-Italians: Recollections of an Immigrant*, (Mercat Press, 2005), 64.

³⁵ 'Italian Style in Glasgow City Centre', *Construction 92: a special report, Scotland review of the industry in Scotland*, *Build and Design Professional* (1992) 50: 'Italian style can turn Glasgow living into a Continental lifestyle'.

³⁶ '...the city of Glasgow has an internationalism not found in other provincial British cities...the commercial development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought further cultural variety...from eastern Europe, from Italy, from the United States...so much so that as early as 1915 the town clerk spoke of the cosmopolitan mix of the city' (Booth and Boyle, op cit, 26).

³⁷ Rodger, op cit, 6.

³⁸ D. Paton, op cit.

³⁹ 'Italian Style in Glasgow City Centre', op cit, 51; Sue Tranter, 'Oasis of style and sophistication in the Merchant City' (Scotland's Homes), *The Herald*, 23 November 1994, p. 6.

⁴⁰ D. Paton, op cit.

⁴¹ 'Italian Style in Glasgow City Centre', op cit, 50; brochure for Italian Centre. See Booth and Boyle, op cit, 41.

⁴² Glendinning notes the importance for the 'capitalistic formula of central-area development' of 'a new breed of architect-developers' who could develop and co-finance projects (Glendinning et al, op cit, 493). Page and Park had already worked with Douglas Loan, owner of Classical House Ltd, on the cathedral precinct project.

Cruickshank extolled ‘this remarkable marriage of... private profits with public benefits’ (Cruickshank, op cit, 30).

⁴³ Booth and Boyle, op cit, 22.

⁴⁴ The courtyard represented ‘the “ideal” city with four typological facades representing the ‘ordinary, pragmatic, palatial and exploratory’ (‘Award Winning Buildings’, op cit). D. Paton, op cit: ‘we tried to give each façade a distinctive character. One is a palazzo, one is a tower...and then we were adding things, like the fountain that runs across the courtyard’.

⁴⁵ The feature on ‘Award Winning Buildings: Restoration’, which reviewed the Italian Centre, the cathedral precinct and six other buildings that had been awarded Europa Nostra Awards in 1991 for ‘projects which successfully conserve and enhance the architectural heritage’ stated that ‘the objective was to bring homes back into the city, attract new retailers and promote the Merchant City as a place to use and enjoy’.

⁴⁶ Rodger, op cit, 4; ‘...up until then, you had to have a back close, a back garden where you’d hang out your washing and put your bins. So we had to really work through that one and say we’re moving into a new age when people have tumble dryers and washing machines, you don’t go and put it out in the back court’ (David Paton, op cit).

⁴⁷ D. Paton, op cit.

⁴⁸ Campbell, op cit, 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁰ D. Paton, op cit.

⁵¹ Campbell, op cit, 259.

⁵² In other articles, well-known films and books were invoked that add new layers of symbolic meaning to the Italian Centre. For example, a ‘Merchant City Trail’ leaflet referenced both ‘The Italian Job’ (invoking the 1969 film featuring a criminal gang operating in Italy and the UK) and ‘La Dolce Vita’; while the Italian Centre brochure (from which the main-text quotation is drawn) paid homage to modern Scottish film and medieval Italian literature via John Forsyth’s film *Gregory’s Girl* (1982) and Dante’s *Paradiso*.

⁵³ Cruickshank, op cit, 30 and the Whitfield Partnership, Dundee – ‘Annual Award Winners 1995’ (British Urban Regeneration Association, 1995).

⁵⁴ Joanne Sharp, Venda Pollock and Ronan Paddison, ‘Just Art for a Just City: Public Art and Social Inclusion in Urban Regeneration’, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, Nos 5/6, (2005), 1002.

⁵⁵ Lindsay Callander, ‘Street Wise’, *Art Review*, spring 1996, p. 17

⁵⁶ Campbell, op cit, 259.

⁵⁷ Stephen Mansfield,, ‘Moving experience for the new Glasgow gods’, *WS in Focus*, p. 9 (Page/Park Archive); ‘A Shimmering yuletide glow brings warmth to a bleak midwinter’s night’, *Home News 5* (Page/Park Archive).

⁵⁸ ‘The Courtyard’ in the Italian Centre brochure (Page/Park archive); and Tranter, op cit, 6.

⁵⁹ D. Paton, op cit.

⁶⁰ Ibid; and see images of the first café in Peter Weatherhead, ‘Piazza Pizzazz’, *Building*, 22 March 1991, pp. 39-41,

⁶¹ Joe Pieri. *Tales of the Savoy: Memoirs of Glasgow Café Society* (Neil Wilson Publishing, 1999); Pieri, *River of Memory*, 5.

⁶² Bruno Sereni. *They Took the Low Road. A Brief History of the Emigration of the Barghigiani to Scotland* (Barga: Il Giornale di Barga, 1974), 7.

⁶³ Ibid, 21, 3: he explains in the Preface that his work is ‘a book of articles written to ‘stress the moral significance and idealistic purpose of the journey’ of the 1972 visit to Scotland by the Mayor of Barga. His stated aim is to write ‘in praise of the friendship that has long existed between the Scots and the Barghigiani’ and he locates his own autobiographical reflections within this context.

⁶⁴ Pieri, *River of Memory*, 10.

⁶⁵ Pieri, *River of Memory*, 19.

⁶⁶ McIlvanney, 146.

⁶⁷ Campbell, op cit, 16.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 56.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 180.

⁷⁰ Ibid,, 24.

⁷¹ Marie-Odile Pittin-Hedon, *The Space of Fiction: Voices from Scotland in a Post-Devolution Age* (Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 2015), introduction.

⁷² Examples of other contemporary Glasgow crime writers who employ Tartan Noir motifs to explore the urban environment are William McIlvanney, Denise Mina and Louise Welsh.

⁷³ Peter Clandfield, ‘Architectural Crimes and Architectural Solutions’, in Sarah Edwards and Jonathan Charley (eds.), *Writing the Modern City: Literature, Architecture, Modernity* (Routledge, 2011), 108.

⁷⁴ McIlvanney, op cit, 28.

⁷⁵ Another novel that uses the forthcoming Commonwealth Games to consider questions of national and political change is Campbell Hart, *Referendum* (2016). Alison Irvine's *This Road is Red* (2013) became associated with the Games regeneration project when it was announced that the Red Road housing scheme in the East End would be demolished at the Opening Ceremony.

⁷⁶ McIlvanney, op cit, 29

⁷⁷ Alex Gray, *The Bird That Did Not Sing* (Sphere, 2014), 299; Clyde, the Games mascot, was an anthropomorphic thistle (the emblem of Scotland).

⁷⁸ Ibid, 73, 211.

⁷⁹ McIlvanney, op cit, 320.

⁸⁰ See Oliver Wainwright, 'Glasgow faces up to reality of a divided Commonwealth Games legacy', *The Guardian*, 3 March 2014— 'we used to have a cafe and a chemist, two newsagents and a chip shop, but all that's been flattened'. One of Joe Pieri's cafés was located in this area.

⁸¹ See Gray, Neil, 'By Any Means Necessary: Urban Regeneration and the "State of Exception" in Glasgow's Commonwealth Games 2014', *Antipode* Vol. 47 No. 2 (2015), 380–400; and Chris Leslie's photo-portrait of Margaret Jaconelli - <http://www.chrisleslie.com/galleries/portraits-2016/margaret-jaconelli-eviction-dalmarnock-3/>

⁸² Gray, op cit, 180.

⁸³ Ibid, 179-80.

⁸⁴ In his account of the Games legacy, journalist Chris Green says that 'the Games point to a world of consumption, glamour and excitement that is beyond the reach and financial resources of the vast majority of people in the east end of Glasgow'. Chris Green, 'Commonwealth Games: Glasgow legacy is cashed in as residents move into athletes' village', *The Independent*, 23 July 2015

⁸⁵ Gray, op cit, 296-97.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 193.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 175; 'Dear Green Place' is the English translation of Glasgow (Scottish Gaelic); the phrase has since acquired various symbolic resonances. For example, see Archie Hind's 1966 novel of this name which depicts its working-class hero's struggle to become an artist. In current city marketing, 'People Make Glasgow', the slogan is used to refer to the city's parks and gardens and their historic, environmental and community-building value.