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# Glasgow's East End transformation and deprivation over time

the utilization of artists as pioneers in the process of  
urban regeneration through gentrification in the case of  
the Barrowlands

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### Abstract

**Purpose** – the purpose of this article is twofold: to set the historical development of Glasgow's East End as a deprived area in relation of a possible regeneration approached through gentrification using analytical frameworks. Second, to gain insight into the current regeneration strategies and the perception of the area estimating developments in the future.

**Design/methodology/approach** – Data has been collected during the researchers fieldwork over the course of a week, including data analysis of government statistics, conduction of stakeholder interviews and online questionnaires.

**Findings** – Reviewing academic literature, artists could be identified as drivers of gentrification, which presents a suitable approach towards urban regeneration in the case of Glasgow's East End. However, due to negative perception of the strategy by stakeholders the process has been found to be incompatible at this point of time after all.

**Keywords** Glasgow East End, Regeneration, Art, Deprivation, Urban regeneration

**Paper type** Class Coursework

### Introduction

Glasgow, with more than 600,000 residents, is the highest populated city in Scotland and known for its heritages as a former stronghold of the steel producing industry of the country (Council, 2005b; Gómez, 1998; Power, 1921). The city has been shaped by marine and railway construction and heavy industry of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Vamplew, 1972). Areas such as the East End and the Gorbals formed the significant turning points of the industrialisation process e.g. as residential area of steel workers. The rapid industrial development and the increase in the number of workers required in production, formed the basis of social issues in these areas which persists and influence the development of the city down to the present day (cf. Archer, 1990; Lever, 1991; Walsh, Taulbut, & Hanlon, 2010).

Measures towards urban transformation of these areas have been taken as evident e.g. in the run of Glasgow for European city of culture, however research reveals that Glasgow's East End is still one of the areas with the highest level of deprivation in the country (Macintyre, McKay, Cummins, & Burns, 2005; Mooney, 2004; Pacione, 1986). Past, present as well as future actions of various stakeholders to introduce a regeneration process will be presented in this work.

Geographically the East End is situated eastern from the city centre of Glasgow and expands according to the Glasgow City Council (2008) from High Street in the west to Tollcross in the east, as well as Alexandra Parade in the north and the river Clyde in the south which also forms the city border in this area.

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**Glasgow's industrial heritage**

Historically, the East End developed from the expansion needs of Glasgow at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Renwick, Lindsay, & Eyre-Todd, 1934). Apart from few prestigious building projects, the area developed into a designated working-class district (cf. Clark, 1997). With the implementation of the steam engine in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century textile industry started to flourish since manual weaving mills as well as coalmines were located in the area (Clark, 1997; Hamilton, 1963). From 1830 the heavy industry such as steel production and marine construction settled in the area of Glasgow, which resulted in an increase in population and therefore as an effect of industrialisation (Checkland, 1964; Hamilton, 1963). The development of mass accommodation and slums followed. After the downturn of these industries after WW1 the unemployment rate increased which had drastic effects on the East End. In order to manage the housing situation according to the population an initiative called 'slum clearance' was established in the 1950s to tear down the slums and establish affordable new housing according to the needs of the area (Allan, 1965). Due to the high demand the aim was to build cheap and fast, which resulted in a fast increase of housing development of low quality basic structure buildings (Munro & Maclennan, 1987).

**The Barrowlands**

Due to historically evidenced low purchasing power in the area of Glasgow's East End, the establishment of street sales and later organised markets provided a trading opportunity for reasonable goods in the area (Donnison & Middleton, 1987). In the 1920s Maggie McIver organised the loose traders in the Barrowlands market by renting out stalls, which provided opportunity to display the offerings and shelter from the weather (Burrowes, 2011). The up until the 1990s highly fluctuating Barrowlands market is still family owned and organised by the Barrows Enterprise Trust, which redeveloped the market and events area in the 1960s and later established the Barras Arts and Design Centre (BAAD) (cf. Sutcliffe, 2010).

**Today's issues**

The east end with its social problematic neighbourhoods is listed within the top 10% of Scotland's most deprived areas according to the 'Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation' (SIMD) (SNS, 2012). Due to the issues accompanied by the situation people moved into other areas, which resulted in an increase of brownfield site, which in 2005 formed about 15% of the area (Council, 2005a). Therefore over time various projects aimed to address these issues.

**Urban regeneration programme "GEAR"**

In 1976 a programme was adopted to regenerate the 1600ha of Glasgow's East end in order to address the urban challenges of the district (Wannop, 1990). The 'Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Scheme' (GEAR) aimed to regenerate the area suffering from the effects of the deindustrialisation and lack of adaptation to the new economic climate (Rich, 1981). Barke and Sim (1981) describe a decrease of about 100.000 people in the area between 1951 and 1978 and an increase of the unemployment rate to over 20%. Quality of housing decreased due to a lack of private investors. The goal of the GEAR Scheme was to renovate the economic and social regeneration of the area in order to transform the image of the East End (Booth, Pitt, & Money, 1982; Wannop, 1990). The project was led by the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) and eight subdivisions (Rich, 1981).

A sum of £550m was invested to create or renovate more than 7500 apartments and

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build schools, libraries and playgrounds (Wannop, 1990). Due to bureaucracy and a lack of efficiency, the project is often criticised (Booth et al., 1982).

#### **Glasgow City Plan**

The 'Glasgow City Plan' is a scheme focusing on project development in all areas of Glasgow mostly financed by private investors aiming to equal out development in the areas of employment, housing and education in all districts (Council, 2001). The aim is to reach an equal level of sustainable development to compete with other metropolis internationally (Council, 2005a). The plan also takes areas of 'core economic development' such as the East End into consideration. The first part of the plan includes housing programmes and access to transportation whereas the second part includes a shop front regeneration scheme, especially for the east end and the area surrounding the Barrowlands (Council, 2001). The scheme includes access to loans for shop owners of the area in order to redesign the outward appearance of the shop remise in order to improve the urban design of the area (cf. Scotland, House, & Terrace, 2007). For this 5-year plan the £3.5m were made available (Council, 2001).

#### **East End Local Development Strategy**

The East End Local Development Strategy is a detailed plan focusing solely on the East end of Glasgow for the time between 2008 and 2011, which should optimise the City Plan to maximise the impact on the East End of Glasgow (Council, 2007). The plan mainly focuses on the successful realisation of the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow 2014 and optimizing the infrastructure and the urban design (McCartney et al., 2010). Various projects are therefore addressing the issues of brownfield site in order to recycle the area and aim for an appealing look (Council, 2008).

### **Literature Review**

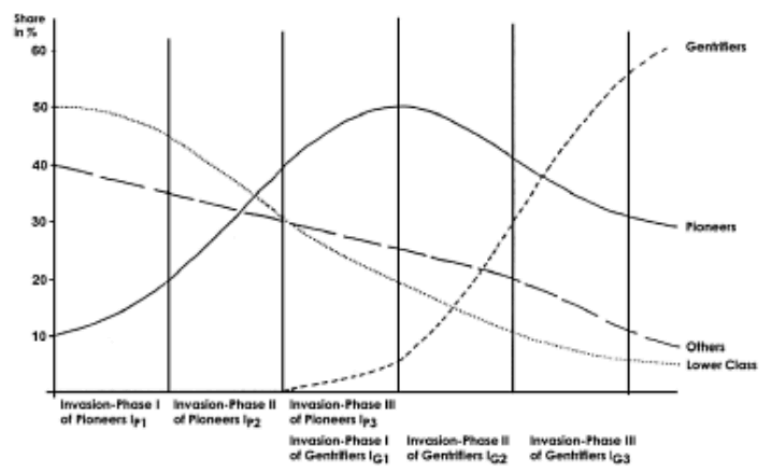
#### **Gentrification**

According to Lees (1994) numerous academic discussions have been published on the evaluation of urban regeneration through gentrification (Cameron, 2003; Warde, 1991; Zukin, 1990). Whilst Smith (2002) defines gentrification as the systematic renovation and redevelopment of working class neighbourhoods to fit leisure and housing needs of the middle class definitions of other authors may vary in objectivity. The British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964, p. XVIII) introduced the term 'gentrification' in an urban transformational sense by describing it as an "invasion by the middle class [...] taking over the mews and cottages of the working class" and "transforming prosperities into modern residences" (Lees, 1994, p. 200). This outline suggests a negative or even unlawful intention as driving power of gentrification, presenting it in relation to class clashes and expropriation. The recurring Hamnett and Randolph (1988) however clarify it as legal option of the landlord given "leases have expired" (Hamnett & Randolph, 1984; 1986, p. 269). Numerous authors see the issue in gentrification connected to irreversibility of the process, which may result in social and psychological effects on the people displaced (Griffith, 1996; Simon & Kazepov, 2005; Wolpert & Seley, 1986). Atkinson (2002) research for instance links gentrification to high social costs, such as isolation and uprooting (Atkinson, 2002, 2003). Contrary findings present a study of Cameron (2003, p. 2368) outlining a case of positive regarded gentrification in Newcastle which differs from the original definition by Glass (1968). Cameron (2003) suggests gentrification to be a necessary tool for a city's approach "going for growth", in order to address issues of globalisation and historical challenges in neighbourhoods especially seen in "post-industrial cities in present-day". Taking this argument further Lees, Slater, and Wylly

(2008) argue Atkinson's view as too narrative and outline a more complex view by taking a macroeconomic perspective into consideration by suggesting that it is a city council's obligation to foster regeneration of any kind. Cameron (2003) builds on this thesis based on Butler (1997) by describing this kind of regeneration as "one of the social objectives of a city council in a situation where other approaches have failed" (Cameron, 2003, p. 2373). Regarding the previous action plans and the impact outlined in this article, the author agrees with the classification of gentrification as a tool worth researching in the case of Glasgow's East End regeneration attempt and will therefore discontinue further elaboration on the ethical aspects of gentrification but focus on the phenomenon itself; based on the assumptions of Smith (1993) regarding it as an effect which results based on geographic as well as historic factors and the specific relation of disinvestment and reinvestment. Disinvestment is therefore the necessary precursor of investment with the deprivation of capital which finally results in gentrification (Bird, 1993, p. 191). Busse (1990) sums up the advantages by highlighting the possibility of mixing up social classes and the chances of regeneration due to that fact for a neighbourhood, outlining the possible increase in attractiveness for private investors which would finally result in an increase in variety for the area.

**The double invasion succession cycle (DISC)**

The double invasion succession cycle based on Park (1936) is the framework often regarded as the framework of choice to indicate the tendency of gentrification (Koch & Mandl, 2011). This approach determines two separate actors in the process; group 1&2. The theory inherits that members of group 2 invade the neighbourhood previously occupied by group 1, which results in a decrease in, the housing obtained by group 1 and finally the domination of group 2 in the area (cf. figure 1). This level is reached when group 1 obtains 3 out of 4



**Figure 1:** The double invasion succession cycle (Koch & Mandl, 2011)

houses in the neighbourhood. The framework was firstly developed further by Clay (1979) and is based on an American study of neighbourhood regeneration in Chicago. Clay (1979) firstly distinguished between two different groups in the process also called pioneers and gentrifiers. Firstly pioneers enter the neighbourhood and replace or displace the previous inhibitors; afterwards the gentrifiers follow up on the pioneers who displace previous inhibitors as well as the pioneers progressively. German literature further distinguished the double invasion succession cycle according to Dangschat and Friedrichs (1988) in two phases. In the first phase (resurrection) young professionals and educated adults, mostly without children (pioneers) will enter the neighbourhood and displace previous inhibitors such as lower middle class, workers, unemployed, elderly, people on benefits and foreigners. The second phase indicates an increase in the number of gentrifiers moving into the area while the number of pioneers decreases. Gentrifiers are described as older, with higher income and number of children than pioneers. As families, gentrifiers are less

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willing to take risks, since they aim for a long term stay in the neighbourhood and therefore are willing to invest into an appropriate developing area (Friedrichs, 2000). Kecskes (1996) explains the effect by an increase of attractiveness of the area caused by the pioneers for gentrifiers; due to increase interest and demand in the area, prices for properties (rent and sell) rises, which results in a direct or indirect displacement of the pioneers.

### **The influence of artists**

Based on DISC framework, research suggests that artists can act as pioneers in the gentrification process (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003). Various research indicates a connection between artists and urban regeneration and statistical evidence conducted in the USA links the number of artists in an area to gentrification processes (Knauss, 2005). In international studies artists are mostly classified as pioneers, having an active part in taking the gentrification process forward in the first phase of DISC but will be displaced by gentrifiers in the second phase (Cole, 1987; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003). However specific academic theory addressing the artists, art and gentrification has not been conducted yet. Regarding the most common definitions of gentrification (Smith & Williams, 1986) artist are not explicitly mentioned.

An approach towards research regarding the connection between art productions and artists in urban regeneration processes offers Zukin (1987) focusing on changing consumption modes in cities. According to Zukin (1987) gentrification therefore forms a prototype of post-industrial social urban development for deprived neighbourhoods. The paper criticises urban development focusing on consume, which dominates today's 'consume based spatial complexes' instead of functional developments.

### **Urban brand image, regeneration and art**

Glasgow's 'Scotland with style' campaign presents a suitable link between outlined urban regeneration strategies and gentrification through art (Mooney, 2004). It was developed in cooperation with Glasgow city marketing bureau, Visit Scotland and the Glasgow City Council and forms the brand tourism strategy of the city (Haven-Tang, Jones, & Webb, 2007). Launched in 2004, this separates Glasgow from competitors such as Edinburgh and builds on 20 years of urban development and future redevelopment plans (Council, 2003; Litteljohn, 2006). Literature regards the relevance of the sectorial elements of Glasgow's campaign for the urban development mostly as based on economic and cultural benefits for the post-industrial city (Hutton, 2009; Pratt, 2009; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). Beyond this innovation encouraging effects and knowledge spill-overs from other branches of the urban economy encourage regenerative processes of the city (Cunningham-Sabot, 2010; Heeley, 2011). The resulting encouragement of economic development may revitalise industrial areas in deprived neighbourhoods (cf. Potts, 2009). According to Läßle and Kanai (2005) this may result in a renaissance of urban living, housing and work environment.

### **Signs of gentrification**

According to Friedrichs (2000) on-going gentrification can be determined by a list of factors. The following characteristics therefore identify an area in a process of gentrification (cf. table 1).

### Methodology

In order to address the topic of “*Glasgow’s East End transformation and deprivation over time and the utilization of artists as pioneers in the process of urban regeneration through gentrification in the case of the Barrowlands*”, the researcher collected data in order to backup the hypothesis established though a gap in academic literature regarding the topic.

1. Close distance to city centre
2. Establishment in the end of the eighteens, beginning of nineteenth century
3. Housing development in deprived condition
4. Low ground prices and rents
5. Lower class inhabitants
6. Remedial action planned or on-going

**Table 1:** Six signs of gentrification (Friedrichs, 2000)

Literature suggests gentrification to be a suitable tool for the regeneration process of a deprived urban area such as the East End of Glasgow. The academic literature review revealed a gap in the published research, focusing on artists within the regeneration process of a deprived neighbourhood. This article aims to research the process of on-going gentrification focusing on the example of the Barrowlands. The research will analyse possible connections between the number of artists in a neighbourhood and gentrification process is evident, taking signs of gentrification based on the double invasion succession cycle framework into account. The BAAD of the Barrowlands is perceived as the cultural centre of the East End and therefore presents a focus point of research in order to gain insights of artistic influence in the area.

An online survey was the research tool chosen in order to estimate the level of public interest in the area as well as the perception of the East End, which forms the basis of this article. The technical framework was supplied by SurveyMonkey and spread via social networks such as Facebook.

Furthermore, observational studies based on Friedrichs (2000) were conducted focusing on characteristics of gentrification to determine and underline the argumentation of an on-going gentrification process in the area. Based on the previous outlined assumptions the researcher used qualitative approaches of data collection during fieldwork and East End area visits. Photographic evidence as well as memory protocols aided the data collection. The fieldwork included interviews with various stakeholders affiliated with the Barrowlands and its art initiatives e.g. BAAD and local government representatives, to get a perception of the stakeholders view towards urban regeneration and the future plans for the art centre in order to foresee the possible future impact this project has on the area. Further interviews included artists located within the Barrowlands in order to analyse their pioneer role further.

Additionally quantitative research has been conducted, researching various government databases e.g. Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics for geographical, political and statistical data in order to gain a detailed insight into the East End development and deprivation state over time. This enabled the researcher to broaden the hypothesis beyond subjective impressions of interviews and survey contestants recorded during qualitative research.

Findings

In order to support the hypothesis of gentrification as a suitable regeneration process for the Glasgow's East End Friedrichs (2000) model *six signs of gentrification* is utilised to backup the observational study of the area and features. Due to its geographic location bordering the merchant city, the East End can be regarded as an extend part of the city centre. This is especially true for the Barrowlands complex located less then one mile away from Buchanan Street.



**Figure 2:** SMID Index of the East End identifying the most deprived areas of Scotland. (Pin marks the location of the Barrowlands) (SNS, 2012)

Friedrich (2000) further outlined the prerequisite of the researched area being established in the end of eighteenth century, which fits the East End with its development as a result of the industrial revolution in Glasgow. Further the neighbourhood, especially around the Barrowlands, is in a deprived state regarding storefronts and facades resulting in low ground prices and rents. Numbers published by the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics of the area identifies the area as within the top 15% of the most deprived areas in the country, which forms a steep contrast to the bordering merchant city (cf. figure 2). Lastly Friedrichs (2000) identified the existence of remedial action plans as an indication of the applicability of gentrification, which is the case in this area is evident though the Glasgow City Plan, the GEAR Project, and East End Local Development Strategy outlined in the historical background of this paper.

On the way to the Barrowlands the researcher interviewed a taxi driver in order to gain a general overview on the perception of the area and its development over time. According to the driver the Barrowlands in their glorious days offered, “champing for beer money”, indicating the good price value situation at the market. However the cab driver identified a lack of sufficient investment and redevelopment of the premises, which overtime lead to a decrease in diversity of the offerings on the market since the change of management at the Barrowlands trust.

As part of the observational study a perpetration of the Barrowlands marketplace and BAAD Centre premises on trading day was conducted. The marketplace premises seem to be in an equally desolate condition as the surrounding buildings, within various booths providing opportunity for traders to offer different goods. More than 50% of the stalls were not occupied, and the goods offered varied from jewellery, over confectionery to vintage clothing, DVDs and fresh meat. One artist offering various oil paints, located in the lower area was willing to participate in the research. He caught the author’s attention with the arrangement of his pictures, as well as the strong difference in choice of motives of the displayed work; a verity of landscape pictures in the back were mostly covered by mediocrelly quality portraits of local football players.

Interviewing the artist reviled the intention behind the difference in choice of motives. As it is financially inapplicable for him to relocate his atelier out of the East End, he found over time that the interest in his landscape art decreased but high demand for football players and other sport related motives of the local club developed. His passion and artistic focus lies still in paintings of the highland scenery but he can simply not follow his inspiration anymore due to the low demand, which he had to adjust to. Asked about the future of the neighbourhood he prognoses more artists settle around the Barrowlands, since the conditions are suitable for this line of work after all; low prices for booths at the Barrowlands market to display their works and a level of public interest in art in the area. However he expressed hopes for a micro loan system established by the City Council to support artists at the beginning of their careers. Addressing the shop front renovation scheme for the area he stated that no financial support is available for merchants at the Barrowlands, which he identified as a missed opportunity for young artists. Lastly he mentioned the BAAD centre as a great opportunity of young artists, but criticised the lack of advertisement to attract passing trade. As a result artists that choose the BAAD for their ateliers had to close them again due to lack of visitors.

Interviewing two young fashion designers and current tenants of the BAAD, mirrors previous findings. They were surprised about the lack of advertisement as well, however their business model is mainly based on online sales, which provides them with independence from passing trade. Therefore the low rent compared to the merchant city is a major advantage, which made them decide to locate their business in the East End. They also state this as the reason, which let them succeed while other artists had to give up.

Over the term of the fieldwork week an online survey was conducted in order to capture the public perception of the Barrowlands. Results mostly indicated the state of deprivation as widely perceived and a strong tendency to avoid the area due to this fact. Findings reveal that there is an interest culture associated with the Barrowlands e.g. in musical events and concerts, however fewer than 10% associate the Barrowlands with art in the classical sense at the moment. Out of 51 respondents, about 47% stated they visited the East End for a cultural event. When asked for intentional changes to the area, the majority of responders stated a need for regeneration and an increase of police presence in the area, but also asking for an increase in art and culture.

In order to take all stakeholders of the Barrowlands project into account, an interview with the main investor of the BAAD was arranged. He identified the Art and Design Centre as one of his secondary projects after a new hotel site building. He made it clear that he had and still has enthusiastic plans for the area but not in the near future. The impression was made that the current state of the only half occupied BAAD presents a sufficient outcome and doesn't require future addressing of the advertising problem. However given historical events at the Art Centre he identifies it as a great opportunity for an increase in artistic culture for the area.

As addressed by previously presented interviewees, the Glasgow City Council forms the institution people rest most anticipation in for producing a plan of action for the Barrowlands as well as the East End. Interviewing a representative from the department focusing on regeneration affairs reviled a strong emphasis on the regeneration of the East End but not due to gentrification but restructuring programmes in order to create an appearance suitable for Commonwealth Games.



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The presentation of the current shop front regeneration scheme with an investment sum of £3.5m so far forms the lowest regeneration investment of the past 20 years in that area. Furthermore projects seem to rather address changes on the façade and surface then tackling social challenges of the east end (cf. East End Local Development Strategy). When asked about the anticipated micro loan system suitable for small companies and artists in the East End and the Barrowlands none of that fits the current strategic orientation of the council. Furthermore regeneration though gentrification is clearly not outlined as a goal in the process of regeneration for the East End at this point in time.

### Discussion

Given the conducted research and analysing the results while setting them into relation to the historical development of the research area, the findings present a rather surprising picture. According to the framework presented by Friedrichs (2000) and data of the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, the East End of Glasgow presents a suitable case for a redevelopment strategy driven by gentrification (SNS, 2012). Furthermore the existing interest of the public in art and culture within this area (cf. findings/questionnaire) as well as the existence of an art centre in the historically hub of the neighbourhood presents the necessary prerequisites for this strategic plan going forward in that direction.

A bottleneck became evident in the interviews with both the investor of the BAAD as well as the city council representative. Representing the main stakeholders and investors in possible future redevelopment, both parties perceive gentrification as a negative instrument in the regeneration of a deprived area. Literature has shown that the tendency for this mind-set towards this topic is widely spread, however the discussion outlining the advantages in the process has been made and especially focusing on local government objectives the benefits have found to be prevailing.

As Glasgow's skyline is rapidly changing due to the impact of various projects connected to the 2014 Commonwealth Games the interviewed investor of the BAAD outlined other projects as ranked higher regarding priority than an art and design centre in this area. Reflecting on past investments, the art centre being not fully occupied and not as well known as it could be, there are no concrete plans to adjust any strategies at this point of time.

The City Council's plan seems to include only regeneration plan covering the surface issues of the area and the Barrowlands at this point; brushing up the design elements and outward appearance of single shop fronts in the area in order to create an appropriate look for traveling through visitors of the commonwealth games. A short-term loans system supporting business start-ups is not intended to be realised as well as any financial support for art and culture in this area. This is also evident in the steep decrease in monetary resources, comparing the current £3.5m plan of shop front regeneration scheme to past regeneration projects of the East End e.g. urban regeneration programme "GEAR" with £550m in 1976. A possible reason may be found in the forthcoming Commonwealth Games and the financial obligations and investments in projects connected to this event. Further research, reflecting in retrospective on the organisational development strategy decisions of various stakeholders in that process to determine the level of impact on the area in long term regarding the state of deprivation e.g. athlete village and the utilisation after the event.

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This journal article argues that gentrification is a suitable tool for Glasgow's regeneration approach of the East End, regarding the signs of positive adaptation of pioneers in the area, which will increase in number and effect with the necessary support from local government as well as private investors. Research findings estimate, in the case of available financial incentives and cultural support of the area being available in the future, the gentrification process, encouraging artists as pioneers according to Cameron et al. (2005) may result in long-term positive effects on the area (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003). Examples of a similar regeneration approach can be found in the case of Berlin's successful regeneration programme, which resulted in the redevelopment of the Prenzlauer Berg district transforming it from a deprived area over an artistic neighbourhood into the district with the highest rents and tax income of the German capital city (Bernt & Holm, 2009; Holm, 2006; Levine, 2004).

The difference in this case of Berlin compared to the developments in Glasgow is the support from local government and private investors in the strategy plan. This article argues that necessary investments need to be conducted in order to start the process, however reflecting on revealed findings the time for gentrification as a strategic part of the regeneration process of the East End has not come yet. However the findings indicate a strong applicability in this approach, evident in form of artists deciding to settle in the East End already, due to the low rents for ateliers. Future allocation of financial resources and investments will determine the future pathway of art as part of Glasgow's East End.

### Conclusion

Given Glasgow's development over time and the current challenges of a post-industrial city, strategies had to be found to maintain a competitive image for Scotland's biggest city. As a place shaped by the industrial revolution, districts as the East End present a special challenge for adjustment and redevelopment in order to address today's challenges. Due to high levels of unemployment, crime and deprivation, the urban regeneration of the Glasgow east requires new ideas and frameworks. Gentrification has been presented as a suitable tool to address the given challenges of an area with these characteristics, however research revealed that due to negative prejudices this approach remains unconsidered by various stakeholders. Other European metropolis, facing similar challenges due to their post-industrial history present cases of urban regeneration utilising gentrification as factor of success.

In the case of the East End, the Barrowlands forms the cultural hub of the district, which presents an opportunity to encourage regeneration through art. Supporting artists as pioneers of gentrification has been shown to be an applicable approach towards the solution of this manner. Frameworks have been presented supporting the thesis of this journal article for a strategic reorientation for the East End.

Given this strong cultural post-industrial heritage of Glasgow's east stakeholders are required to invest into new ideas, given the outcome of previous regeneration approaches. This article debates that regeneration driven by gentrification supporting artists as pioneers can have a positive long-term impact on the social issues of the area. Finally an original angle on the topic of regeneration of the East End needs to be found, this journal article argues for a step towards planned gentrification. However shareholders need to be mobilised in order for this approach to succeed.

## Reflection

Reflecting on the process of researching the selected topic the author identifies two levels of challenges connected to this task. Firstly the fieldwork of collecting data in the chosen environment presented the authors with more challenging tasks than expected. On the one hand the interviews for instance presented an excellent opportunity to learn about the history of the area based on experience of others, but the organisational aspects and the challenge of planning them turned out to be more time consuming than expected. Furthermore it is rather hard to keep interviewees on the topic in the course of a conversation and prevent them from elaborating into a direction unsuitable for the research topic. Taking a focus of the choice of topic, the author aimed to research a different direction than the rest of the research team and had therefore to organise extra interviews focusing on the artistic elements of the Barrowlands, which the other team members dismissed from their research objectives.

The author went beyond the given course material in order to explore a different, often negative interpreted topic of urban regeneration. The choice of topic resulted in multiple discussion within the research team, out of which the author developed the objectives of this paper. However the given circumstances increased the challenge writing this article, since no other group member decided to select the same topic.

On a second and personal level, the author had to overcome a degree of discomfort regarding the conduction of research in a deprived area as Glasgow's East End due to storytelling and preconditioned stereotypes picked up over three years in Glasgow, which in fact increased with the first sight of drug trafficking only a couple of yards away. However, overcoming this personal challenge and continuing the fieldwork resulted in discovery of a relative positive outlook for the future this area. More people should ignore the recommendations of the Scottish tourism bureau and visit the East End in order to explore the developing art scene at the Barrowlands and BAAD.

Reflecting on the process of creating a journal article, the author found himself surprised by the necessary investment of time for reviewing and organisation of data and personal thoughts before the process of writing could start. Stepping back from the paper for a day enabled the researcher to reflect on more ideas and experience in order to explore various angles and cut loose from limitations previously set. In the end this project enabled the author to engage with an area and its history in a level previously thought of as impossible. It shows how stereotypical assumptions hinder our chance of experiencing new things. Altogether the author is convinced that the experiences both academically as well as personally though this project will enable the researcher to produce a better and more detailed dissertation in the future.

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