

2 Notes from a shrinking market

'Anticipatory nostalgia' and place-making in the midst of change

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Introduction

Travel beyond the city centre's highly polished razzamatazz, under the old railway bridge, to the other side of the tracks, where shopfronts begin to look careworn and everything feels a bit 'rough-and-ready'. Press on along the Gallowgate, east of Glasgow Cross. Eventually you'll be met by high metal archways, brightly painted in red and gold, one on each of the site's four sides, bidding a welcome to visitors and regulars. Pass through and you enter what can seem like a place apart. The best advice we have to offer is this: take 'The Barras Market' as you find it.

Things operate a little differently here. The tight network of lanes and streets is free of traffic, giving shoppers room to roam. When the rain holds off, market traders set up their wares outdoors on trestle tables or spilling from the stall front over the pavement. There's a clutter of second-hand stuff to weave your way through. Household flotsam: standard lamps, kitchen chairs, filing cabinets, crockery, china ornaments, chests of drawers, kids' bikes, golf clubs, guitars, carpentry tools. You name it, really.

On the street corners – offering clear lines of sight in case the authorities should come nosing – hawkers bark out the stock-in-trade of the black market: 'Cigarettes! Tobacco! Viagra!' If you're not too choosy about quality, there are pirated DVDs, of the latest Hollywood releases and porn films catering to male fetishes and fantasies. When hunger pangs set in, there are a few 'greasy spoon' cafes, burger vans and fast-food vendors to choose from. Local drinkers loiter in the free-houses and bars, decked out in colours celebrating the green-and-white side of Glasgow's famous footballing rivalry.

Covered markets and small courtyards interconnect the lanes. Some of the stall holders deal in seasonal staples and festive decor. A few are pop-ups, surfacing only intermittently, punting heavily discounted fakes, shop-soiled stock, and stuff likely to have 'fallen off the back of a lorry'. Others are licensed to trade in homeware and hardware, flooring and furnishings. Some are aimed at the specialist worlds of collectibles, memorabilia and military paraphernalia dating from old wars. Plenty more deal in period pieces trawled from house clearances: antiques and curios, the odds and ends, bric-a-brac and knick-knacks of yesteryear. There are surviving scraps of the city's once-roaring rag trade: tangles of second-hand clothes and

jumbles of shoes. A couple of junk traders sprawl their salvage and scrap along the length of indoor halls with fading facades that once gave the impression of an olde-world arcade. There's ample room. Things have gotten quieter than in the market's heyday. By certain measures, it is a shadow of its former self. A fair number of the stalls lie unoccupied, shuttered and locked, during the entire trading weekend. Things feel and look like they're just about hanging on, while successive waves of urban change surge and swirl in the city beyond.

'Resilience' is a concept commonly bandied about in multiple planning and policy circles today, presented as a valuable asset and estimable quality (Jha, Miner, and Stanton-Geddes 2013) and projected onto all sorts of social and cultural settings, including the domain of heritage (Holtorf 2018). Yet resilience doesn't quite capture the situation or sensibility in The Barras. Rather, it's an air of defiance that lingers on here, exhibited as a politics of endurance within a socially disenfranchised community and place (Povinelli 2011). It shows up in unfussy, sometimes proud, displays of vernacular culture. It is visible as an attitude or a way of carrying yourself. The way bargain hunters set their jaw and square their shoulders. It's akin to a siege mentality: still here, in spite of everything. 'A tax haven for the poor' is how one trader describes the market's current function and significance. This description feels like a truer fit. A statement of self-determination, solidarity and social concern. Communitarian and compassionate ideals coupled with commercialism, pitted against continued structural inequalities.

Over the course of 2019, we have paid a series of research visits to The Barras, documenting change, challenge and compression, as complex cultural processes, occurring in real time. This chapter is an opportunity to report on this exercise in embedded observation and engagement and to do so conscious of how our practice falls within a long ethnographic tradition of urban inquiry, one where the act of witnessing must neither overlook research conduct as a form of social privilege nor erase the possibility that the researchers' presence can itself be a source of concern, uncertainty or suspicion (McCorkel and Myers 2003).

To begin, we provide a capsular history of The Barras place in Glasgow's industrial and post-industrial story; we then review how questions of post-industrial place-making are currently being addressed and re-theorised. We go on to offer three place-portraits, drawing on informal conversations with three members of the Barras business community, as part of fieldwork investigations encompassing site survey and observant participation as market shoppers (Gall, Gall, and Borg 2003, 239). Informality, as well as our differing identities (one Scot, one Spaniard) and accents, allowed for flexibility and responsiveness in chance conversations. The resulting descriptive vignettes are expressed, we hope, with an empathic voice. Each enables us to fuse local realities, personal memories and emerging impressions, turning stories and snatches of speech into affective narratives. Our overarching aim is to present the phenomena of 'anticipatory nostalgia' as a place-making attribute, one that explains how powerful forms of affiliation are enabling The Barras to turn towards an uncertain future.

A situated history of The Barras

There is a lively place mythology centring on The Barras – and a tendency to romanticise its history. Efforts at portraiture are seldom entirely immune from it, our own included. The market is widely regarded as a city institution and a site integral to Glasgow’s modern story. Referred to conversationally with warmth and affection, local lore recalls an independence of spirit, where anything goes and punters are ever ready to ‘tell it like it is’. For some Glaswegians The Barras remains a ‘People’s Republic’, home to street-smart enterprise backed by quick-witted sales patter: ‘Take your time, but hurry up!’, ‘See ye later gorgeous!’, ‘Wan way in, no way oot!’ Notoriety and infamy are another legacy from the past, stemming from an entrenched history of organised crime and gang violence in the city’s East End (i.e., Holligan and Deuchar 2009; Jeffrey 2009; Davies 2013). This dark and difficult inheritance is now reconfigured as charismatic folk memory, personified in a dramatis personae of indigenous white Scots, associated with a collective, territorialised identity built around standards and measures of masculinity (Fraser 2013). To understand the complex fusion of place, politics and personality, this locality needs to be situated in a greater transformative urban geography of ongoing post-industrialisation.

The street market takes its name from the term ‘barra’; in West of Scotland dialect, a single-wheeled hand-pushed vehicle, used by city pedlar-traders in the early days to load and transport their goods for sale. The first of the market halls opened for business in 1921. Founded by James and Maggie McIver (known as ‘The Barras Queen’), the same family remain the site’s proprietors today. The McIver name still appears in green and gold paintwork, alongside a bold assertion of ‘World Famous’ status (Figure 2.1). Claims to global renown are attributable, in large part, to the Barrowland Ballroom, an adjoining night-time venue. Opened in 1934, the ballroom was for decades a prime venue for weekend dancing, drinking and socialising (Irvine, Leslie, and Miller 2019). It continues to operate as a live indie and folk music venue today – in the main frequented by a city-wide community of gig-goers, many the descendants of white, working-class Irish migrants. If the ballroom, the neighbouring market and the neighbourhoods of the East End can be subject to broad sociological characterisation, as urbanists Gray and Mooney (2011, 8) note, they do not have ‘anything approaching the ethnic concentrations of the French *banlieue* or US ghetto’.

For much of the twentieth century, the mercantile quarter of the inner East End was host to a series of outdoor and covered markets, serving a population of local labourers in shipyards, manufacturing and heavy industries and their families. Specialist merchants, brokers and stall holders traded in the Meat Market (and slaughterhouse), the Fruit Market, the Fish Market and Paddy’s Market, the latter dealing in second-hand clothing (Figure 2.2). Now on the brink of significant change, The Barras is the sole survivor from that older tradition of urban mercantilism (Dudgeon 2009). Over the last fifty years, Glasgow’s other great arcades and bazaars catering to the industrial working class were swept away by programmes



Figure 2.1 Origin story in blistered and peeling paint: 'World Famous McIver's Markets Est. 1921'

Source: Authors

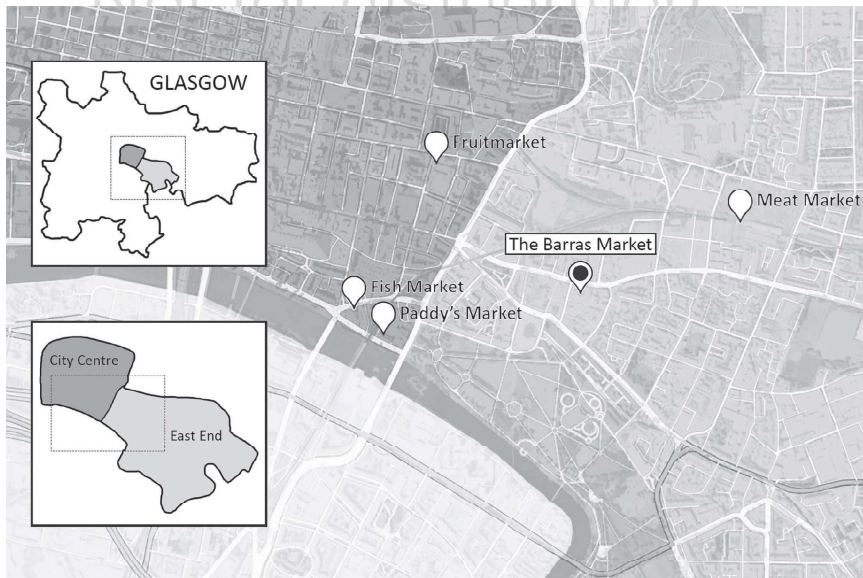


Figure 2.2 The Barras is the sole surviving trading place from a network of historic markets in Glasgow's mercantile quarter

Source: Authors

of large-scale urban redevelopment and post-industrial economic restructuring. The relic architecture and original sites of a 'City of Markets' are occupied by new residential developments, artists' studios, hotel and retail space and entertainment venues. For the immediate vicinity of The Barras, a civic narrative of investment and boosterism continues to set as its target the reversal of persistent trends of decline and decay. Abandoned industrial spaces, notable for the quality of their relic features and facades, afford multiple development possibilities and are increasingly aligned with a neoliberal configuration of urban culture (Göbel 2014). To counteract what some judge a 'shabby and underwhelming' appearance (Braiden 2016), a range of arts and music initiatives have been introduced to support East End communities where multiple indicators of social deprivation impact intergenerationally on the health and life opportunities of residents of all ages.

The changing market as post-industrial place

Within the cultural sector, the phenomenon of industrial heritage has emerged and flourished over the course of the past three decades, as a response to cycles of sectoral and regional restructuring in the economies of the Global North. The recognition and re-presentation of former factories, docklands and extractive landscapes has broken down the temporal and aesthetic barriers of early, more conservative, heritage categorisations, opening the way for more progressive, if sometimes contentious, designations (Orange 2008). With the growing significance afforded to a critical heritage agenda – led by academic debate and its dissemination into wider public programming – the labour experiences of former workers and their communities have been afforded increased prominence (High and Lewis 2007). The democratisation and diversification of narrative histories told about industrial development and decline (Mah 2012) are no longer confined to sites of labour and production. They also materialise in former domestic architectures, public spaces, sites of popular recreation and cultural consumption, such that the patterning of everyday life has come to be valued as a heritage asset (Atkinson 2008).

In the case of The Barras – located in the midst of neighbourhoods where multiple measures of social deprivation register highly – 'post-industrial' status is manifold variously. The market is an ordinary meeting place where community life occurs and social identities are affirmed, and it is an ongoing place of work, continuing to sustain (if not stimulate) the local economy. While during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Glasgow could confidently claim status as Britain's 'Second City of the Empire', with economic and imperial contraction the city experienced successive decades of shrinkage (Maantay 2017). The Barras' celebrated rise to prominence overlaps with a period of steady economic decline, marked by the collapse of heavy industry along the River Clyde and the city's shift to a post-industrial condition.

Commonly, literatures on de-industrialisation and ruin studies draw from Walter Benjamin's famous *The Arcades Project* ([1982] 2002) to account for the end of an era in spectacular consumption. The German critic, writer and theorist

reconstructed the glamour of fin-de-siècle Paris by musing on the shopping galleries that were abandoned in the rapidly changing world of the interwar era. In more humble terms, a comparable process of transformation is taking place in The Barras. Dramatic changes in cultures, habits and patterns of consumption have engulfed some of its original functions as a marketplace. Much of the commerce is entirely peripheral to discourses of smart urbanism, where digital and technology-driven innovation is advanced as ‘a universal solution to varied urban issues in different cities’ (Verrest and Pfeffer 2019, 1328). Importantly, The Barras’ community is not ‘falling prey’ to a process of change that – combining the familiar dualism of ‘local presence vs. economic progress’ – might all too easily be labelled as gentrification since, at present, it is not actively being displaced.

If approaches to post-industrial dereliction often depict sites that seem to be ‘frozen in time’, here – it seems reasonable to contend – the site’s materiality is ‘melting’. It doesn’t yet belong to any trending trade in retro-goods. Rather it is a space of commerce where the powerful ‘aesthetics of juxtaposition’ and their extremely low ‘regime of value’ (Cresswell 2012) are brought to the fore. They materialise in chaotic piles of poor-quality goods on sale, spiralling to the point where any likelihood of further circulation seems doubtful. It is tempting – but illusory – to read this pairing of deteriorating architecture and all-but-obsolete objects as a choreographed display (Figure 2.3).

Yet, in spite of its decline, The Barras continues to be upheld as one of the few remaining relics that properly encapsulates the city’s soul, amid a greater



Figure 2.3 Marketplace aesthetics, jumble and juxtaposition

Source: Authors

recognition that for too long Glasgow has neglected – or sometimes simply obliterated – its industrial pasts (Richter 2017). Understanding heritage authenticity from a traditional point of view – centring on an awareness of original architectural fabric (Silverman 2015) – The Barras’ tangible qualities are partly acknowledged. Some of its signature buildings have listed architectural status, and the area features in many promotional brochures and the routes of institutionally approved city heritage tours. The City Council’s ‘People Make Glasgow’ website presents The Barras as the place where visitors can go to enjoy ‘the real Glasgow experience’.¹ The safe-guarding of a more intangible, social authenticity is at stake. In this sense, the notion of social preservation, defined as active care for the ‘presence and practices of old-timers, [who are seen] as indispensable to preserving a pristine “social” wilderness and as arbiters of authentic community’ (Brown-Saracino 2004, 135), can function as a potential approach to cushion the processes of change already underway (Figure 2.4).

While the original conceptualisation of heritage value emerged as a protective response to authenticity endangered by new development, it is now generally accepted that processes of managed change are integral to heritage futures and moreover that actively inviting or generating change through a heritage site can be a means to foster acceptable forms of development. By borrowing the concept of ‘anticipatory nostalgia’ (Batcho and Shikh 2016) and framing it within the present discussion, it is our intention to ground social preservation’s emotional aspects in the realm of ongoing geographical, heritage and urban debates. Departing from



Figure 2.4 New modular architectures in the traditional market

Source: Authors

the conventional formulation of nostalgia (as a feeling for that which has passed from experience), Batcho and Shikh define the anticipatory version of this sentiment as one born of ‘missing aspects of the present before they are lost in the future [which is aligned with] a greater tendency to sadness and worry’ (2016, 75). Our configuration of anticipatory nostalgia conveys a melancholic sense of loss felt for meaningful sites that are not yet gone but seem set to fade from view and then eventually disappear. Places that are cast in the twilight hour. Certainly, a review of online posts left for ‘The Barras Market’ in Google Maps shows how sorrow is expressed by those who first came to know the place in its heyday and feel a prick or pang from the realisation that it ‘is not yet gone but surely soon will be’. What remains significant to our understanding is that anticipatory nostalgia does not channel feelings down a dead-end. Awareness can result in *a motivation to act* – and in this sense, is related to progressive structures of feeling such as ‘productive nostalgia’ (Blunt 2003), ‘pre-nostalgia’ (Mindlich 2016) and ‘anticipatory history’ (DeSilvey, Naylor, and Sackett 2011).

To give deeper texture and a degree of situated detail to our account of anticipatory feelings brought by change we now spotlight the activities of three traders from The Barras business community.

Change in the spotlight I: keeping on

Aged in her seventies, Marion has been a Barras stallholder on-and-off for many years. She sells babywear and kid’s clothing. Everything is hand-made in patterns, styles, and colour schemes of her own design. There are bibs and booties, dresses, leggings and knitted cardigans, hats, mittens and baby-grows. Her stall is one of several set around the perimeter of a small covered courtyard. It is open-faced, with display items pegged and hung from the back wall. She took the pitch on a year ago, following a move caused by business closure in another of the city’s cornerstone trading outlets. When Sloane’s Argyll Arcade ‘went under’, the resident makers and traders lost their rental spaces. In the past, Marion’s pitch rentals at the Barras happened between spells spent on the move. She travelled the country, selling at fairs and markets, living and trading out of the van she drove. Decades of independent trading have fostered adaptability and durability. In wintertime, she keeps herself well-bundled up because the stall is unheated. Between customers, she works at the sewing machine, wearing fingerless gloves. She sees the irony in people’s appreciation of her choice of striking colour-schemes, since colour-blindness means she must identify any piece by its pattern alone. With her eightieth birthday now not far off, Marion has ended up doing just what she told her family she wouldn’t do: keeping at it, not letting up.

Marion’s presence is a testament to persistence, where, to invoke the well-worn axiom, necessity has been the mother of invention. From a social preservation perspective, she personifies qualities understood to characterise the community pillar or elder, one of those in whom it is thought that ‘authentic

community belongs' (Brown-Saracino 2004, 141). In Glasgow's East End, hers is a now-ageing generation, with an accent, family ties and friendship relations that correspond, in the main, with working-class values and communities and an identity forged through its association with the Catholic Church, dating back to waves of Irish immigration. Within the homogenous population in the market area, still distinct from a more ethnically diverse one found in the rest of the globalised post-industrial city, these plain facts of belonging can accrue the status of local heritage since they are sustained by shared memories and continuity of experience.

But on Sunday afternoons when the protective shutters are drawn down, there is no certainty that they will be pulled back up the following week, since like so many of The Barras old-timers Marion has no business plan based on generational succession.

Change in the spotlight II: new designs

Fresh out of art college, Isobel is one of the few Barras new stall holders. And 'Razor' is her first tentative step into the world of independent commerce. One and a half metres deep, it's little more than a narrow strip, providing just enough room to display the latest issues of fashion and style magazines and allow sufficient browsing space for those she hopes will become her clientele: Glasgow's community of designers and artists in search of inspiration. And perhaps the occasional inquisitive passer-by, much like ourselves. Propped up in mint condition, each magazine is presented as a collectible art object in itself. As if to emphasise the point, her stock only extends to a single copy of everything. Cover models, captured in high gloss or artfully left out-of-focus, throw hard stares and strike curious poses, all sharp cheekbones and expensive hair. Most of the titles on sale are single word statements – *Plastik. Broccoli. System. Blanc. Pylot.* – promising to blaze a trail to all that's nouveau and avant-garde.

Perched behind a laptop, Isobel is generous with her time, describing how welcome she's made to feel by the established trading community. She likes the proprietors' relaxed approach, their openness to an influx of new licensees. And the peppercorn rent helps, of course. There's a strategy at work here. Generating renewal, fostering vibrancy and enabling occupancy (no-one is yet mentioning the more worrisome word 'rescue') means bringing a new, younger generation of traders and makers to the site. New businesses, it is hoped, will increase footfall, turning the market into a destination for discerning shoppers. Bigger moves are afoot across the road. The arrival on-site of BAaD ('Barras Art and Design') – a multi-purpose entertainment, dining and arts venue, equipped with units and workshops for creatives and independent business people – spells out one future: the sort that speak of investment based on the logics and language of place-making, home-grown talent, start-ups and urban connectivity. In 2020, BAaD has begun hosting its own covered Sunday market, family and dog friendly, in an indoor courtyard, promising 'true Barra style' with 'a new twist'.²

In the marketplace, Isobel still feels like a rarity. Her case is different, buoyed up on youthful promise, energetic and educated, the 'regime of value' (Cresswell 2012) of her stock-in-trade is considerably higher than the junk-sellers abutting her stall to the left and right. High enough in fact, that sales need only hit two or three magazines per day to cover the week's rent. Yet, the investment she has made is in more than arthouse publishing alone. Isobel is speculating with time, and the measure of her success will depend on how long she can hold on. Her confidently stated belief that 'things here are going to change' does not imply that old timers must pack up and clear out. The Barras' owners are aware that the place can only survive with a fresh breeze (Irvine, Leslie, and Miller 2019), but the ethics of saving the market without saving its people are underlying – how 'true' to the 'old' will the 'new' be? Life goes on, and heritage is something also produced in the present (Harvey 2001). For the moment, there seems room enough for happy coexistence.

Change in the spotlight III: anything goes

Gary sits in the studio's clutter, coffee in hand, the splash, splatter and spill of art-making all around. Tins, tubes and tape, brushes propped in mugs, half-drunk cans and pie-crusts. He recounts the origin story for the 'Arti Son Toi' gallery:

Wi started sellin' furniture. And this wis ur front office. Still is tae be fair. Then the painting started up, as a way to bring mair folk in. Mibbe it's takin over. That's the hope anyway.

Some of the pieces are finished, others partway done. There's enough wall space to mount just a few. Most of the stock is propped up around the walls, two or three canvases deep. Lots of it is figurative stuff. Life-size portraits of local legends: champion boxers, gangland leaders, star-crossed lovers. The mythology of The Barras is never too far from view. Some of the work is being done on commission, requested by other stallholders. Paintings are priced according to size, sales settled by haggling. Gary talks us around the gallery, piece by piece. The wild takes. The experimental efforts. Introducing us to the gallery's prevailing spirit where – stylistically at least – anything goes. We chat about neo-expressionism, mental health and the therapeutic value of art and the point at which drink or weed helps or hinders the creative process.

The 'Arti Son Toi Gallery' occupies the ground floor of a former pipe factory. Its practitioners are local to the area, none has formal training, all are self-taught. Some come with their issues, sensing that art might offer a way out, aware of the consolations to be found in shared company and keeping busy. Glasgow's renowned contemporary scene is a distant presence, so too the national funding landscape in support of creative arts. 'We don't need to sell ourselves to them', Gary asserts. 'The art world can come here and discover us'. As gallery curator, he explains an alternative, permissive version of grassroots politics and arts-activism,

growing in different directions, promoted with a personal touch and through the gallery's own YouTube channel. Having wandered in, without appointment, we left, immediately feeling the need to return.

In many respects, the gallery's sense of community materialises many of the intangible qualities that have given The Barras its renown. There is companionship, self-conscious happiness and wilful naivety. There are cutting jokes and elaborate anecdotes. There is modesty in ambition and soaring levels of self-confidence that function like a protective shield, guarding against the excesses of the world beyond. The collective identification with the outsider and the amateur, in art as in life, plays an essential social role, and it serves to scramble how we understand values of critical heritage being built from the bottom up (Robertson 2012). By actions as important as they are mundane – gather, paint, listen, talk, laugh – integrity, authenticity and place-making are constructed (Atkinson 2008). And mirroring this atmosphere, a transitional streetscape, which keeps original architectural materiality in place and ushers in new modular multipurpose built forms. Glasgow's lifelong idiosyncrasy in a nutshell, despite assumed aesthetic rejections where, much like in other post-industrial cities, decaying architectures become a form of identity reaffirmation (Sandler 2011).

Anticipating a centenary story

In its current guise, The Barras is a site foreshadowed by visions of its final days. That the market is also on the cusp of its centenary year makes the anticipation of cultural change all the more intense. Having arrived much too late to experience its heyday and yet too early to simply mourn its passing, for researchers, there are obvious temptations in taking sides: backing the underdog, the losing side, the wrong team, David faced by Goliath's might. These notes on the market's shrinking time-horizon emerge from having set foot at the precise moment in which an ambivalent emotional response was likely to be aroused and when the near future is complex enough to merit critical heritage inquiry. Thus, our understanding is not of a place entirely beyond help and cannot be anything else except that. This tension is one of the striking aspects of encountering post-industrial heritage.

We want to recognise that The Barras is an area that should not be imprisoned by stubborn efforts to cling on to cultural authenticity. Opting for a steadily phased transition, rather than for fast planning, means empowering the voices of a remaining and passing generation of stall holders and making them part of forms of urban coexistence that grant dignity without confrontation. This realisation can be usefully aligned with the recent efforts to exhibit greater ethical concern for the atmospheres and ambiances of deindustrialised areas (i.e., Guano 2015; Giddy and Hoogendoorn 2018; Jaffe et al. 2019). We argue that certain characteristics of informal street economies (such as barter, bargaining, deregulation and disorder), which can easily be judged undesirable aspects of urban life, can also become attributes in imaginaries of rooted authenticity. The livelihoods of pedlars and stall holders and the landscapes of the street-market

are part-and-parcel of Glasgow's shift to a post-industrial condition. This version of social preservation is not in denial about rights to an improved quality of life. Instead, it acknowledges that, currently, stall-holders in The Barras' are not wholly part of or entirely commensurate with the promise of a better life in this area of the city. Rather, elements are disappearing, as a consequence of being dislocated from an increasingly normative world of consumption. To forestall (perhaps even to prevent) the community's eventual disappearance, through social preservation, its ongoing presence needs to be conceived of and cared for as a heritage value. This involves advocacy for kinds of coexistence that grant rights to the city *within the city* and resist retail-led homogenisation. In Glasgow, as well as many other post-industrial cities (Sandler 2011), anticipatory nostalgia has the potential to function as a wake-up call: a structure of feeling that, instead of making us succumb, changes people's perception, first raising awareness and then triggering action.

Notes

- 1 See the guide's official website at <<https://peoplemakeglasgow.com/trip-inspiration/shopping/weekend-markets>> (accessed March 20, 2020).
- 2 See BAaD's website at <https://baadglasgow.com/barras_art_and_design_east_end_glasgow/markets-shops> (accessed March 20, 2020).

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